

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
University of Toronto



CROSSING THE KOMATI RIVER.

Drawing by Donald E. M'Cracken.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE TRANSVAAL WAR

BY

LOUIS CRESWICKE

AUTHOR OF "ROXANE," ETC.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

¹⁸
VOL. VII. — THE GUERILLA WAR. FROM FEBRUARY
1901 TO THE CONCLUSION OF HOSTILITIES. THE
DEVELOPMENT OF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS FROM
FEBRUARY 23, 1901, TO MAY 31, 1902

LONDON
THE CAXTON PUBLISHING CO.

DT
930
C7
v. 7-8



CONTENTS—VOL. VII.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE	PAGE viii
COMPOSITION AND STRENGTH OF COLUMNS	xiv
THE SITUATION—FEBRUARY 1901	i

CHAPTER I

CONTINUATION OF THE DE WET CHASE, 1ST TO 10TH MARCH—ACROSS THE ORANGE RIVER	PAGE 7	LYTTELTON'S SWEEPING MOVEMENT—10TH TO 20TH MARCH—THABANCHU LINE	PAGE 9
---	-----------	--	-----------

CHAPTER II

CAPE COLONY—PURSUIT OF RAIDERS—MARCH AND APRIL—CHASING KRUITZINGER	14
--	----

CHAPTER III

THE OPERATIONS OF GENERAL FRENCH IN THE EASTERN TRANSVAAL, FROM 27TH JANUARY TO 16TH APRIL 1901	19
--	----

CHAPTER IV

IN THE WESTERN TRANSVAAL—JANUARY TO MAY	31	APRIL. ORANGE RIVER COLONY—OPERA- TIONS OF GENERAL BRUCE-HAMILTON AND GENERAL RUNDLE	40
--	----	--	----

CHAPTER V

COMBINED MOVEMENT FOR THE CLEARANCE OF THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL—MARCH AND APRIL	43	LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR BINDON BLOOD'S OPERATIONS NORTH OF THE LINE MIDDEL- BURG—BELFAST—LYDENBURG	45
		COLONEL GRENFELL AT PIETERSBURG	48

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL ELLIOT'S OPERATIONS FROM KROONSTAD	50	GENERAL ELLIOT'S OPERATIONS—SECOND PHASE	52
---	----	---	----

CHAPTER VII

GENERAL BRUCE-HAMILTON'S OPERATIONS, ORANGE RIVER COLONY (SOUTH)	55	MAJOR-GENERAL C. KNOX, ORANGE RIVER COLONY (CENTRE)—MAY AND JUNE	57
---	----	---	----

CHAPTER VIII

LORD METHUEN, TRANSVAAL (SOUTH-WEST)—MAY AND JUNE	59
---	----

CHAPTER IX

OPERATIONS BETWEEN THE DELAGOA AND NATAL LINES—MAY AND JUNE	66	LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR BINDON BLOOD, EASTERN TRANSVAAL	71
BRIGADIER-GENERAL PLUMER IN THE EASTERN TRANSVAAL	68	ACTIVITIES AROUND STANDERTON AND HEIDELBERG	73
MAJOR-GENERAL BEATSON'S OPERATIONS	70		

CHAPTER X

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GRENFELL'S OPERA- TIONS. TRANSVAAL, N.	75	SITUATION AND SKIRMISHES IN CAPE COLONY—MAY AND JUNE	77
--	----	---	----

CHAPTER XI

ORANGE RIVER COLONY, S.—MAJOR- GENERALS BRUCE-HAMILTON AND C. KNOX—JULY	82	TRANSVAAL, S.W.—OPERATIONS OF GENERAL FETHERSTONHAUGH—CLEARING THE MA- GALIESBERG—JULY	93
ORANGE RIVER COLONY, N.—MAJOR- GENERAL ELLIOT	84	TRANSVAAL, E.—LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR BINDON BLOOD	94
ORANGE RIVER COLONY, E.—LIEUTENANT- GENERAL SIR L. RUNDLE	90	STANDERTON-HEIDELBERG—LIEUTENANT- COLONEL COLVILLE	97
ORANGE RIVER COLONY, N.—COLONEL RIM- INGTON—BRIGADIER-GENERAL BULLOCK— BRIGADIER-GENERAL SPENS	92	CAPE COLONY—JULY	98
		THE SITUATION—AUGUST	100

Contents

CHAPTER XII

	PAGE		PAGE
ORANGE RIVER COLONY—AUGUST.	105	TRANSVAAL, S.W.	114
ORANGE RIVER COLONY, S.—BRIGADIER- GENERAL PLUMER	107	THE PIETERSBURG LINE—LIEUT.-COLONEL GRENFELL	116
ORANGE RIVER COLONY, E.—MAJOR- GENERAL ELLIOT—AUGUST	107	THE TRANSVAAL (NORTH-EAST)—GENERAL BLOOD'S OPERATIONS	116
SWEEPING THE KROONSTAD DISTRICT— BRIGADIER-GENERAL SPENS	109	LIEUTENANT-COLONEL COLVILLE'S OPERA- TIONS	120
OPERATIONS NEAR HONING SPRUIT AND THE LOSBERG—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GARRATT	110	NATAL — LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR H. HILDYARD	121
SCOURING THE MAGALIESBERG—COLONELS ALLENBY AND KEKEWICH	112	CAPE COLONY—LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR J. FRENCH	122

CHAPTER XIII

NATAL AND THE EASTERN TRANSVAAL— SEPTEMBER 1901	127	OPERATIONS IN THE ORANGE RIVER COLONY, N.	133
TRANSVAAL (WEST)	131	MAJOR-GENERAL ELLIOT—ORANGE RIVER COLONY, E.	133
OPERATIONS ON THE VAAL	133	EVENTS IN CAPE COLONY	136

CHAPTER XIV

PROGRESS IN OCTOBER 1901	140	OCTOBER IN THE ORANGE RIVER COLONY	145
TRANSVAAL (EAST).	140	OPERATIONS IN CAPE COLONY	146
TRANSVAAL (WEST)	144		

CHAPTER XV

THE CLOSE OF 1901—PROGRESS IN NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER	149	IN THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL	157
TRANSVAAL (EAST).	149	TRANSVAAL (WEST)	158
TRANSVAAL (WEST)	150	ORANGE RIVER COLONY	158
ORANGE RIVER COLONY	151	CAPE COLONY	162
THE SWAZI BORDER	153	THE SITUATION—JANUARY 1902	163
NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER	153	THE LOYALISTS OF THE CAPE COLONY	171
TRANSVAAL (EAST)—DECEMBER	154	THE SOLDIERS' CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION	176

CHAPTER XVI

THE NEW YEAR—JANUARY 1902	178	ORANGE RIVER COLONY	180
TRANSVAAL (EAST).	178	A BIG TRAP FOR DE WET	181
TRANSVAAL (NORTH)	179	CAPE COLONY	183
TRANSVAAL (WEST)	180		

CHAPTER XVII

THE EVENTS OF FEBRUARY AND MARCH 1902	184	ORANGE RIVER COLONY—MAJUBA DAY	189
TRANSVAAL (EAST).	184	THE CAPE COLONY	190
TRANSVAAL (WEST)	185		

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CLOSE OF HOSTILITIES—MARCH, APRIL, AND MAY 1902	192	TRANSVAAL (WEST)—MARCH	194
TRANSVAAL (EAST).	192	CAPE COLONY—MARCH	196
FINISHING CLEARANCE OF THE ORANGE RIVER COLONY	193	THE SITUATION—APRIL AND MAY	199

APPENDIX—THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. COMMENCED MARCH 12, 1902; CONCLUDED MAY 31, 1902	201
--	-----

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE AFTER THE BATTLE OF COLENZO, DECEMBER 15, 1899	210
--	-----

RECIPIENTS OF THE VICTORIA CROSS	212
--	-----

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS—VOL. VII.

1. COLOURED PLATES

	PAGE		PAGE
CROSSING THE KOMATI RIVER	<i>Frontispiece</i>	CHURCH SQUARE, PRETORIA	104
CECIL J. RHODES AT GROOTE SCHUUR	32	BULLOCK WAGGON CROSSING A DRIFT ON	
AN ARMY DOCTOR AT WORK IN THE FIRING		THE UMBELOSI RIVER, SWAZILAND	120
LINE	64	DE WET'S ATTEMPT TO CROSS THE RAILWAY	160
DELAGOA BAY.	100	A DUTCH VILLAGE NEAR EDENBURG	176

2. FULL-PAGE PLATES

	PAGE		PAGE
DEFENDING A TRAIN DERAILED BY THE BOERS	24	MOUNTED INFANTRY UNDER COLONEL	
CHARGE OF THE BUSHMEN AND NEW		WILLIAMS	112
ZEALANDERS ON THE BOER GUNS DURING		THE DEFENCE OF FORT ITALA	128
THE ATTACK ON BABINGTON'S CONVOY		THE GALLANT BUGLER OF FORT ITALA	132
NEAR KLERSDORP	36	THE FIGHT AT BAKENLAAGTE	140
DEFEAT OF A NIGHT ATTEMPT TO CROSS THE		MISHAP TO THE SCOTS GREYS AT KLIPPAN	184
RAILWAY	44	LORD METHUEN RALLYING HIS BROKEN	
THE CAPTURE OF DE WET'S CONVOY AT		FORCES AT TWEEBOSCH	186
REITZ	52	BRILLIANT DEFENCE BY NEW ZEALANDERS	
THE ENGAGEMENT AT VLAKFONTEIN	60	AT HOLSPRUIT	188
THE MISHAP TO THE VICTORIANS AT WIL-		THE TRAIN CONVEYING THE REMAINS OF	
MANSRUST	72	MR. RHODES SALUTED BY THE BLOCK-	
BOERS CAUGHT IN THE ACT OF CUTTING		HOUSE GUARDS	196
THE TELEGRAPH WIRES	96	SURRENDERED BOERS AT BELFAST ANXIOUS	
NIGHT ATTACK ON A BOER CONVOY BY		TO JOIN THE NATIONAL SCOUTS	206

3. FULL-PAGE PORTRAITS

	PAGE		PAGE
MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES KNOX	8	MAJOR-GENERAL WALTER KITCHENER	88
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. H. SETTLE	16	LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR BINDON BLOOD	148
BRIGADIER-GENERAL THE EARL OF ERROLL	68	MAJOR-GENERAL ARTHUR PAGET	152
MAJOR-GENERAL BRUCE-HAMILTON	80	MAJOR-GENERAL BABINGTON	168

4. MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS IN THE TEXT

	PAGE		PAGE
MAP—DE WET'S RUSH IN CAPE COLONY	4	COLONEL COLENBRANDER	76
MAP—DE WET'S ESCAPE FROM THE ENVE-		GENERAL ELLIOT'S SWEEP SOUTH OF THE	
LOPING CORDON	6	VAAL	89
MAP—OPERATIONS IN SOUTH-EAST OF		CONCENTRATION CAMP AT NORVAL'S PONT	99
ORANGE RIVER COLONY	10	GENERAL ELLIOT	110
MAP—REORGANISATION OF TROOPS IN		LIEUT.-COLONEL GORRINGE	123
ORANGE RIVER COLONY	12	COLONEL BETHUNE AND HIS BRIGADE	
MAP OF OPERATIONS IN EASTERN TRANS-		STAFF	134
VAAL	20	MAP OF EASTERN PORTION OF CAPE COLONY	147
MAP—POSITION OF FORCES AROUND ERMELO	23	COLONEL PILCHER	151
COLONEL BENSON	36	GENERAL BEATSON	156
MAP OF COMBINED MOVEMENT TO CLEAR		MAP OF THE BLOCKHOUSE SYSTEM	163
NORTHERN TRANSVAAL	47	MAP OF WESTERN PORTION OF CAPE COLONY	172
COLONEL DE LISLE.	53	COLONEL CREWE	191
A TYPICAL BLOCKHOUSE	56	COLONEL H. T. LUKIN	193
MAP OF OPERATIONS BETWEEN DELAGOA		COLONEL DOUGLAS HAIG	193
BAY AND NATAL LINES	67		

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—VOL. VII.

JANUARY 1901.

- 1.—“Call to arms” at Cape Town. General Charles Knox and others continued the pursuit of De Wet.
- 2.—Arrival of Lord Roberts at Osborne. He is created by the Queen an Earl.
- 30.—De Wet breaks through the Bloemfontein - Ladybrand line going south.

FEBRUARY 1901.

- 1.—General French continued to operate against Botha in the Eastern Transvaal.
 - 6.—The War Office decided to reinforce Lord Kitchener by 30,000 mounted troops beyond those already landed in Cape Colony. “Call to arms” at Cape Town.
 - 9.—“Call to arms” at Cape Town.
 - 10.—“Call to arms” at Cape Town.
 - 22.—Extraordinary proclamation signed by Steyn and De Wet published.
 - 23.—Accounts of Boer atrocities published. “Call to arms” at Cape Town.
- Severe defeat of De Wet by General Plumer, who captured two guns, fifty prisoners, and all De Wet's ammunition. De Wet's attempt to invade Cape Colony completely failed.

General French gained several victories over Botha in Eastern Transvaal, with capture of guns, ammunition, and waggons.

- 28.—Further great captures from the Boers by General French, and heavy Boer losses.

MARCH 1901.

- 2.—De Wet was forced over the Orange River with the loss of his guns and convoy.
- Sir Alfred Milner proceeded north from Cape Town to take up the duties of the Governor of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies.
- 26.—Victory by General Babington over Delarey at Ventersdorp. Nine Boer guns captured.

APRIL 1901.

- 6.—General French, in his sweeping operations in the Eastern Transvaal, captured all the enemy's guns in that district.
- 8.—Colonel Plumer captured Pietersburg, the terminus of the railway running due north from Pretoria.
- 10.—Civil administration resumed in the Transvaal.
- 15.—Smuts' commando defeated near Klerksdorp. Two guns captured.
- 18.—Sir A. Milner obtained leave of absence on account of the state of his health.
- 19.—Generals Plumer and Walter Kitchener co-operated with General French in clearing the Eastern Transvaal and Lydenburg district.
- 30.—General Blood discovered documents and banknotes of Transvaal Government at Roosenekal, from which place Mr. Schalk Burger fled.

MAY 1901.

- 8.—Municipal Government started in Johannesburg.
- 24.—Sir A. Milner arrived in London and had a peerage conferred upon him by the King.

JUNE 1901.

- 1.—Severe engagement between General Dixon and Delarey at Vlakfontein, in the Magaliesberg. Enemy repulsed with heavy loss. Our casualties also heavy.
- 6.—De Wet severely defeated near Reitz by General Elliot, who made large captures.
- 9.—Lieut.-General Sir John French assumed command of the troops in Cape Colony.
- 12.—General Beatson surprised near Middelburg (Transvaal). Loss of two pom-poms.

JULY 1901.

- 5.—In reply to Botha's inquiries about ending the war, Kruger telegraphed to Botha to continue fighting.
- 6.—A train wrecked on the Pretoria-Pietersburg line.

Chronological Table

- 15.—Capture of the so-called "Orange Free State Government" at Reitz. Important Boer papers seized. Steyn alone of the members of his "Government" escaped—in his shirt.
- 16.—Important success by General French in Cape Colony.
- 19.—Publication of Lord Kitchener's despatch embodying contents of important documents seized at Reitz.
Death of Mrs. Kruger.

AUGUST 1901.

- 2.—More murders by Boers officially announced. One of the murdered men was an Imperial Yeoman.
- 8.—Commandant de Villiers and two Field Cornets surrendered at Warmbaths.
- 10.—Lord Kitchener by proclamation called upon the Boer leaders to surrender on or before the 15th of September.
- 13.—Lord Kitchener reported the largest return of Boer losses yet sustained in a week. More than 800 prisoners, 700 waggons, and 33,000 cattle.
- 27.—Lord Kitchener received letters from Steyn and De Wet protesting against his proclamation.
- 28.—Lord Milner arrived at the Cape from England.

SEPTEMBER 1901.

- 2.—Another case of train-wrecking on the Pretoria-Pietersburg railway.
- 7.—Lotter and his entire commando captured in Cape Colony.
- 20.—Reverse to Major Gough near Utrecht.
Severe fighting in Cape Colony.
- 21.—Reverse at Vlakfontein, near Sanna's Post. Two guns lost. (Afterwards recovered.)
- 23.—The camp of Lovat's Scouts rushed by Kruitzyner near Herschell. Koch's commando captured near Edenburg.
The Carolina commando captured by Colonel Benson.
- 26.—Ten Boer leaders banished under Lord Kitchener's proclamation. Attacks on Fort Itala and Fort Prospect. Boers repulsed with

very heavy losses at both places. The attempt of Botha and De Wet to invade Natal foiled.

- 29.—Proclamation issued in Pretoria providing for the sale of the properties of Boers still in the field, in accordance with Lord Kitchener's proclamation.
- 30.—Great attack by Delarey and Kemp on Colonel Kekewich's camp near Magato Nek, in the Magaliesberg. Boers repulsed. Severe losses on both sides. The Scottish Horse especially distinguished themselves and sustained severe loss.

OCTOBER 1901.

- 6.—General Walter Kitchener and General Bruce-Hamilton engaged Botha's forces in the south-east of the Transvaal. Botha escaped to the north.
- 9.—Martial law extended to the whole of Cape Colony.
- 11.—Commandant Lotter sentenced to death. Death sentence on five members of his commando was commuted to penal servitude for life.
- 13.—Lieut.-Colonel Hon. J. Byng attacked laager at Jackfontein and captured eighteen prisoners.
- 15.—Major Damant took prisoner Adjutant Theron. Colonel de Lisle surprised laager at Wilge River and captured fifteen prisoners.
- 16.—Colonel Rawlinson returned to Standerton with twenty prisoners and many prizes.
- 21.—Colonel Lukin surprised Vander Venter's laager near New Bethesda.
- 22.—Colonel Benson captured laager at Klippoortje.
- 23.—Gallant attack on laager in Pongola Bosch.
- 24.—Colonel von Donop's brilliant defeat of 1000 Boers at Kleenfontein.
- 25.—Botha's farm surrounded at Schimmelhoek. His papers captured.
- 26.—Colonel Benson repulsed attack on his rearguard on the Steenkool Spruit.
- 27.—Colonel Williams' force occupied the Witnek Pass and routed a strong body of Boers from the position.
- 30.—Attack on Colonel Benson's force

The Transvaal War

at Bakenlaagte. Colonel Benson and Colonel Guinness killed. Colonel Kekewich captured a laager at Beestekraal.

NOVEMBER 1901.

- 2.—Patrol under Captain Walker captured twenty-one prisoners near Wolvekop.
- 7.—Attack on Piquetberg repulsed by garrison under Major Wilson and Town Guard.
General B. Hamilton commenced operations against Botha in the Eastern Transvaal.
- 8.—Major Wiggin (26th Mounted Infantry) surrounded laager near Mahamba. Fourteen prisoners secured
- 9.—Line blown up at Myburg Siding by Fouché.
- 11.—Major Pack Beresford and detachment of South African Constabulary captured laager at Doornhoek.
- 13.—Squadron Imperial Yeomanry detached from Hickie's force surprised and surrounded. Rescued by reinforcements.
14. Rearguard of Colonel Byng's column attacked near Heilbron by 400 of the enemy under De Wet. Boers repulsed. British loss considerable.
- 16.—Further captures by Major Wiggin within Swaziland border.
- 18.—Lieutenant Welshman with patrol of West Yorkshire Regiment surprised party of Boers and captured eight prisoners.
- 20.—Engagement with Buys near Villiersdorp. Major Fisher killed. Buys captured by Colonel Rimington.
Captain Elliot successfully engaged Boers in Griqualand. Captain Elliot killed. Three officers wounded.
- 24.—General Dartnell, with Highland Light Infantry, engaged Boers near Harrismith. Captured twelve and killed two.
Offer of Canadian Government to raise 600 more troops for service in South Africa accepted.
- 25.—General Dartnell's force surprised Boers near Bethlehem and took twelve prisoners.
- 26.—Lord Basing engaged Joubert in

Orange River Colony. Joubert wounded and captured.

Major Pack Beresford attacked convoy near Paardeberg.

- 27.—Imperial Light Horse under Colonel Mackenzie took twenty-four prisoners, &c.

Attack on Colonel Rimington's rear-guard by De Wet repulsed. Many prisoners taken.

- 28.—Van Rensburg and thirteen burghers captured by Colonel Lowry Cole in Wepener district.

DECEMBER 1901.

- 1.—General Elliot reached Kroonstad with 15 prisoners, 114 waggons, 89 carts, 2470 cattle, and 1280 horses.
- 3.—Colonel Colenbrander broke up Badenhorst's commando, and took fifteen prisoners and all the waggons.
- 4.—Laager surprised at Oshoek (twenty miles from Ermelo) by Spens' and Rawlinson's columns. Ninety-three prisoners taken.
- 7.—Colonel C. Mackenzie, in night march towards Watervaal (Eastern Transvaal), took sixteen prisoners. Colonel Holland surprised Brand's laager and took six Boers.
- 11.—Badenhorst and twenty-two burghers secured by Colonels Colenbrander and Dawkins, near Zandriverspoort.
- 13.—Brilliant surprise of Boers by General B. Hamilton at Witkraus. Laager broken up. One of Benson's guns recovered.
- 15.—Secretary of State for War congratulated General Bruce-Hamilton on his brilliant achievements.
- 16.—Haasbroek killed in encounter with Colonel Barker's men in the Doornberg.
Capture of Kruitziuger by Colonel Dorans' and Lord Charles Bentinck's columns.
- 18.—Colonel Steele, with South African Constabulary, captured thirty-six Boers in the region of the Magaliesberg.
Four hours' fighting between De Wet and General Dartnell. Boers driven off.
Lord Methuen reported capture of thirty-two Boers.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE TRANSVAAL WAR

PEACE

“On her knees, before the glory of the Lord,
Britannia sheathes the lightnings of her sword ;
Once again, to utmost ends
Of the Red Line it defends,
She hath peace.”—SIR EDWIN ARNOLD.

THE SITUATION—FEBRUARY 1901

THE reign of His Majesty King Edward VII. began in clouds! There was no denying that the last half-year had been one of retrogression. In June 1900, from the Orange River southwards, there had been comparative quietude. The southern and eastern half of the Orange River Colony had become fairly settled, while even in some districts of the Transvaal—towards the south-western area especially—the inhabitants gave indications of a willingness to accept British rule, and of a desire to return to their agricultural and peaceful avocations. But with the end of the year came a deplorable change. The enemy, broken up into a large number of desultory gangs, commenced raiding and wrecking, consequently the British forces, in order to cope with and pursue these vagrant bands, had to be broken up to correspond. The area of hostility and destruction grew larger daily and the difficulty of fighting more extreme. The lack of supplies now drove the Boers, who lived entirely on the country through which they passed, to spend their time in looting, in pouncing on the farms and small villages, and in seizing everything they might need. Stores, clothing, horses, cattle, all were grabbed at the point of the rifle, if not, as in some cases, delivered up on demand. To frustrate the tactics of the enemy, the British forces were compelled to denude the country of every movable thing, and to place whatever could be conveyed there in refuge camps which were established at points along the railway lines. But in this operation great loss was entailed, owing to the difficulty of finding sufficient grass for the number of collected animals, and of keeping them alive *en route*.

The loss of crops and stock became a still more serious matter than even the destruction of farm buildings—a measure which had almost entirely been abandoned. Having regard to the inexpensive

The Transvaal War

character of these structures, this measure, to quote Sir Alfred Milner, was a "comparatively small item" in the total damage caused by the war to the agricultural community. But, he said, the wanton and malicious injury done to the headgear, stamps, and other apparatus of some of the outlying mines by Boer raiders was a form of destruction for which there was no excuse. It was a vandalism unjustified by the requirements of military operations and outside the scope of civilised warfare. Directly or indirectly, all South Africa, including the agricultural population, owes its prosperity to the mines, and, of course, especially to the mines of the Transvaal. To money made in mining it is indebted for such progress, even in agriculture, as it has recently made, and the same source will have to be relied upon for the recuperation of agriculture after the ravages of war. The damage done to the mines Lord Milner estimated was not large "relatively to the vast total amount of the fixed capital sunk in them. The mining area," he said, "is excessively difficult to guard against purely predatory attacks having no military purpose, because it is, so to speak, 'all length and no breadth'—one long thin line, stretching across the country from east to west for many miles. Still, garrisoned as Johannesburg now is, it was only possible successfully to attack a few points in it. Of the raids previously made, and they have been fairly numerous, only one has resulted in any serious damage. In that instance the injury done to the single mine attacked amounted to £200,000, and it is estimated that the mine is put out of working for two years. This mine is only one out of a hundred, and is not by any means one of the most important. These facts may afford some indication of the ruin which might have been inflicted, not only on the Transvaal and all South Africa, but on many European interests, if that general destruction of mine works which was contemplated just before our occupation of Johannesburg had been carried out. However serious in some respects may have been the military consequences of our rapid advance to Johannesburg, South Africa owes more than is commonly recognised to that brilliant dash forward, by which the vast mining apparatus, the foundation of all her wealth, was saved from the ruin threatening it."

The events of the last six months promised to involve a more vast amount of repair and a longer period of recuperation, especially for agriculture, than would have been anticipated at the commencement of hostilities. Still, having regard to the fact that both the Rand and Kimberley were virtually undamaged, and that the main engines of prosperity, when once set going again, would not take very long to get into working order, the economic consequences of the war, though grave, did not appear by any means appalling. The country population it was admitted would need a good deal of help, first to

The Situation

preserve it from starvation, and then, probably, to supply it with a certain amount of capital to make a fresh start. And the great industry of the country would require some little time before it would be able to render any assistance. But, in a young country with great recuperative powers, many years would not elapse before the economic ravages of the war would be effaced.

Still, the moral effect of the recrudescence of the war was lamentable. Everywhere after the occupation of Pretoria the inhabitants had seemed resigned to the state of affairs—the feeling in the colony had been one of acquiescent relief. The rebellious element was glad of the opportunity to settle down. Had these people been shut off from communication with the enemy they would have maintained their calm, and engaged themselves with their former peaceful pursuits. As it was, while the great advance to Pretoria, and subsequently to Delagoa Bay, demanded the presence of the British troops in the north, the country was left open to raiders, who daily grew more audacious as the small successes of their guerilla leaders appeared to give promise of a turn of fortune's wheel.

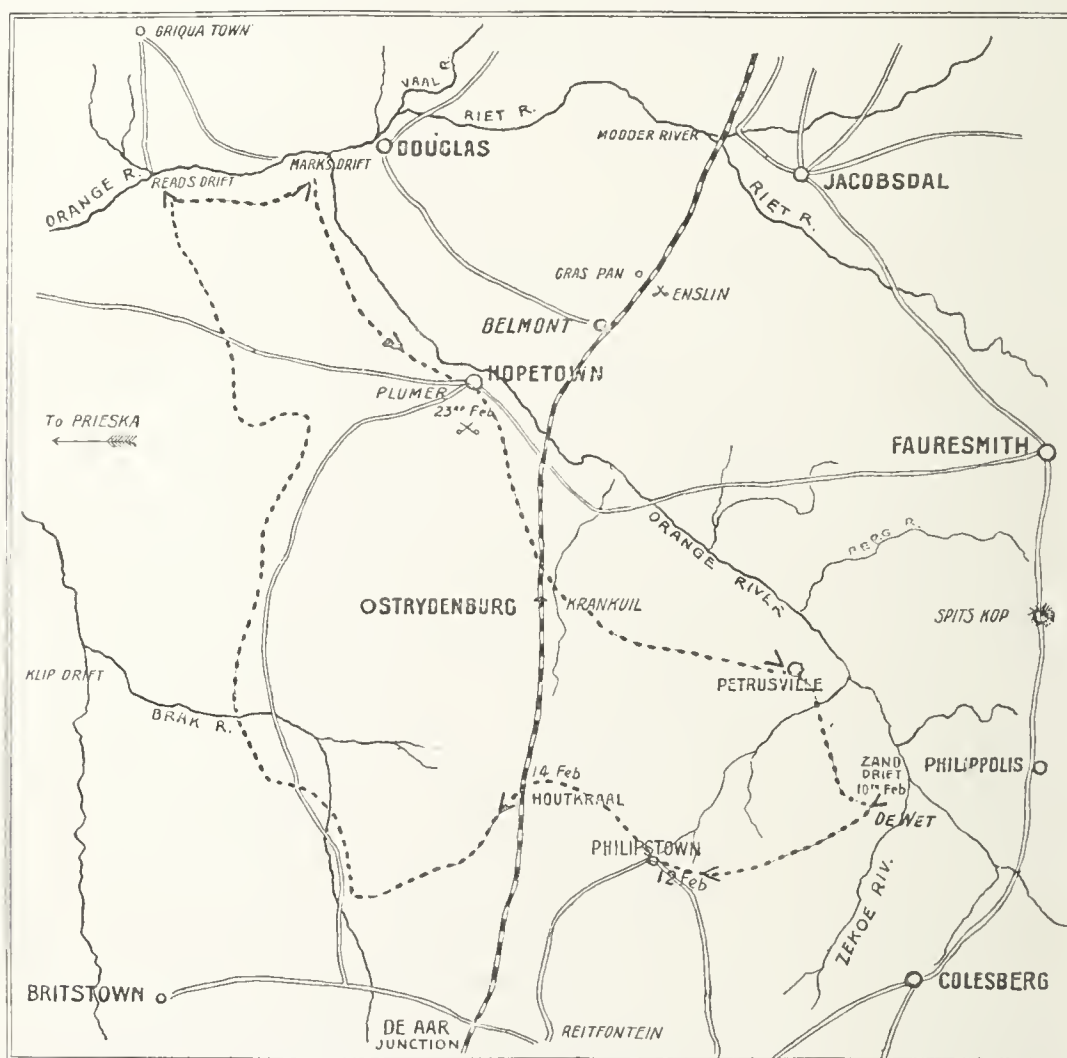
And now came the real tug of war. These raiders, both on the brink of the Orange Colony and the Southern Transvaal, kept the peaceable inhabitants of the colony in an unenviable quandary. These, and many others, on taking the oath of neutrality, instead of being made prisoners of war, had been permitted to return to their farms. But under pressure from their old comrades, they now wavered between the obligations of their oath and the calls of friendship—and many of them fell. Men who had been exceptionally well treated were again in arms, sometimes justifying their break of faith by the poor apology that they had not been "preserved from the temptation to commit it." Naturally, on the return of the troops to again quell a rising in the south, their conduct was not marked by the same leniency which had characterised the original conquest. Still, these parole breakers were not punished with the severity which might have been meted out to them in the same circumstances by other nations. Though we were by the rules of war entitled to shoot men who had broken their parole, we had not availed ourselves of the right.

We remained as humane as the exigence of discipline would permit. Efforts were made to check the general demoralisation by establishing refuge camps for the peaceable along the railway lines, but these camps were mainly tenanted by the women and children of burghers who still determined to flout us.

Lord Milner, in speaking of the situation in the new territories and the Cape Colony, described it as possibly "the most puzzling that we have had to confront since the beginning of the war." On the one hand there was the outcry for greater severity and for a

The Transvaal War

stricter administration of martial law. On the other hand, there was the expression of the fear that strict measures would only exasperate the people. He himself was in favour of reasonable strictness as the proper attitude in the presence of a grave national danger, and he further affirmed that exceptional regulations for a time of invasion, the necessity of which every man of sense could understand, if clearly explained and firmly adhered to, were not only not incom-



DE WET'S RUSH IN CAPE COLONY VIA ZAND DRIFT, 10TH FEBRUARY 1901

patible with, but actually conducive to, the avoidance of injustice and cruelty. He went on to say:—

“I am satisfied by experience that the majority of those Dutch inhabitants of the Colony who sympathise with the Republics, however little they may be able to resist giving active expression to that sympathy when the enemy actually appear amongst them, do not desire to see their own districts invaded or to find themselves personally placed in the awkward dilemma of choosing between high treason and an unfriendly attitude to the men of their own race from beyond the border. There are extremists who would like

The Situation

to see the whole of the Cape Colony overrun. But the bulk of the farmers, especially the substantial ones, are not of this mind. They submit readily enough even to stringent regulations having for their object the prevention of the spread of invasion. And not a few of them are, perhaps, secretly glad that the prohibition of seditious speaking and writing, of political meetings, and of the free movement of political firebrands through the country, enables them to keep quiet, without actually themselves taking a strong line against the propaganda, and, to do them justice, they behave reasonably well under the pass and other regulations necessary for that purpose, as long as care is taken not to make these regulations too irksome to them in the conduct of their business, or in their daily lives."

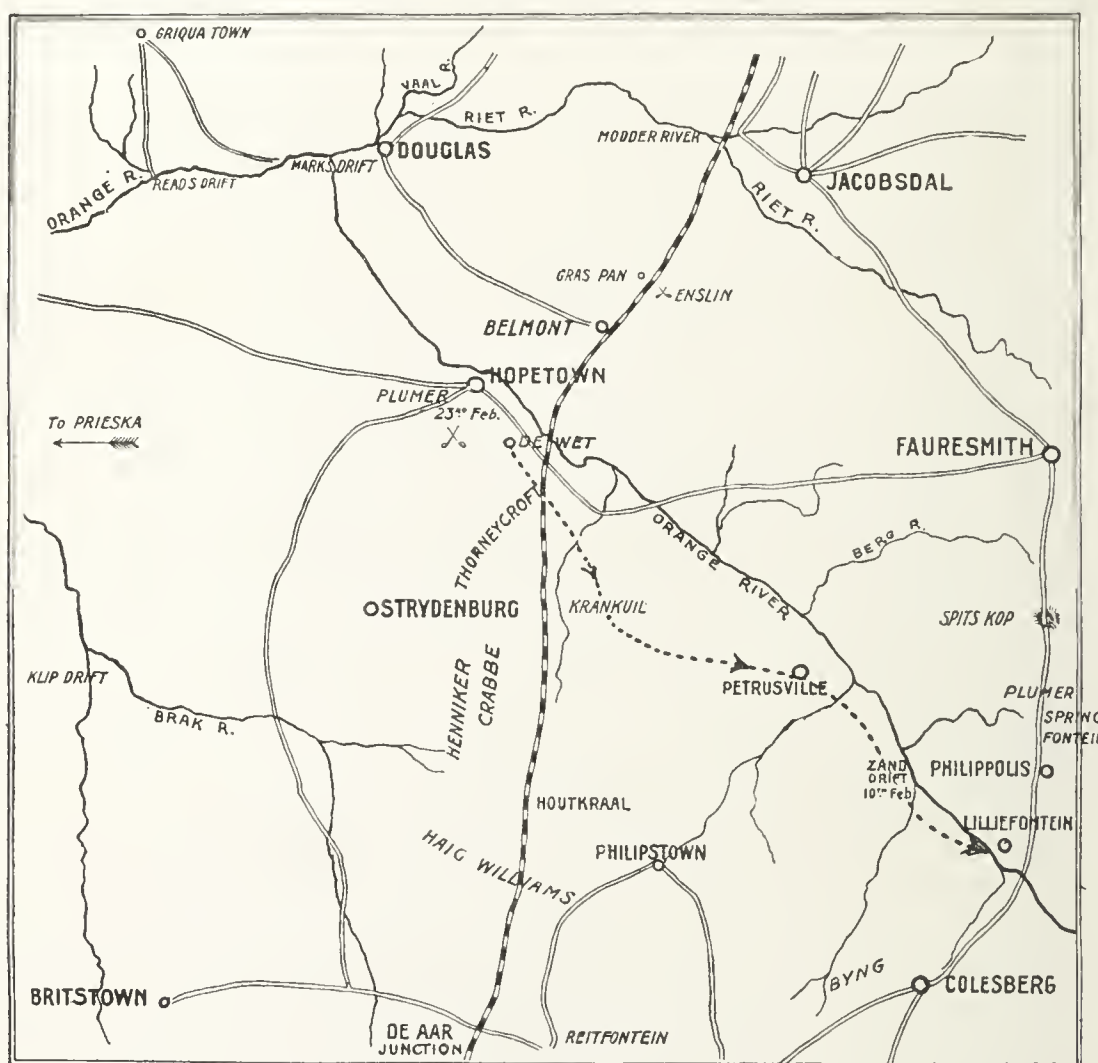
He suggested that the fact that there had been an invasion at all was no doubt due to the weakness of some of the Dutch colonists in tolerating, or supporting, the violent propaganda, which could not but lead the enemy to believe that they had only to come into the Colony in order to meet with general active support. But this had been a miscalculation on the part of the enemy, though a very pardonable one. They knew the vehemence of the agitation in their favour as shown by the speeches in Parliament, the series of public meetings culminating in the Worcester Congress, the writings of the Dutch press, the very general wearing of the Republican colours, the singing of the Volkslied, and so forth, and they regarded these demonstrations as meaning more than they actually did. Three things were forgotten. Firstly, that a great proportion of the Afrikaners in the Colony who really meant business, had slipped away and joined the Republican ranks long ago. Secondly, that the abortive rebellion of a year ago had left the people of the border districts disinclined to repeat the experiment of a revolt. Thirdly, that owing to the precautionary measures of the Government the amount of arms and ammunition in the hands of the country population throughout the greater part of the Colony is not now anything like as large as it usually was, and far smaller than it was at the onset of the war.

In regard to the "call to arms" that took place on the 1st of January, and the vehement response it had met, Lord Milner stated that it had always been admitted, by their friends and foes alike, that the bulk of the Afrikaner population would never take up arms on the side of the British Government in this quarrel, even for local defence. The appeal therefore had been virtually directed to the British population, mostly townspeople, and to a small, but no doubt very strong and courageous, minority of the Afrikaners who have always been loyalists. These classes had been already immensely drawn on by the Cape Police, the regular Volunteer Corps, and the numerous Irregular Mounted Corps

The Transvaal War

which had been called into existence because of the war. There must have been 12,000 Cape colonists under arms before the recent appeal, and as things were going, as many more promised to answer that appeal—a truly remarkable achievement under a purely voluntary system.

How gloriously the system worked throughout the year 1901 has yet to be seen, for peace was still a great way off. All yearned for



POSITION OF TROOPS AFTER THE ENGAGEMENT OF 23RD FEBRUARY. DE WET'S
ESCAPE FROM THE ENVELOPING CORDON, 28TH FEBRUARY 1901

it, all were fairly sick of carnage and ruin and sacrifice, but, nevertheless, it was agreed that to endure and fight to the bitter end were preferable to an ignoble compromise, which must inevitably bring about a recurrence of the terrible scourge in the future. All were determined that South Africa should become one country under one flag, and that the British; and this once accomplished, they would be ready to bury racial animosities for ever. But, in order to bring about that happy, that inevitable end, all decided that a vigorous prosecution of the war, at whatever cost, was an imperative duty.

CHAPTER I

CONTINUATION OF THE DE WET CHASE, 1ST TO 10TH MARCH— ACROSS THE ORANGE RIVER

ON the last day of February, as we know, De Wet and Steyn, with a bedraggled, hungry commando of some fifteen hundred Boers, precipitately crossed the Orange River at Lilliefontein, near Colesberg Bridge. They were seen by some few men of Nesbitt's Horse under Sergeant-Major Surworth, and promptly fired upon as men and horses strove to battle with the current. This unlooked for attack caused considerable dismay, so much so, that many Cape carts and some clothing were left on the south bank, while several fugitives were seen to be galloping off in Garden of Eden attire. Many Boers were left in the neighbourhood of the Zeekoe River, and of these some thirty-three were captured by Captain Dallimore and sixteen Victorian Rifles.

The retirement becoming known to General Lyttelton, who was directing the operations, the pursuing columns were ordered to converge on Philippolis. General Plumer, Colonels Haig and Thorneycroft, entering Orange River by Norval's Pont, operated from Springfontein to the river, while General C. Knox and Colonel Bethune at Orange River Bridge mounted guard there, and threatened such marauders as might retire in their direction. On the arrival of General Plumer at Philippolis, on the 3rd, he discovered that De Wet was fleeing to Fauresmith, and Hertzog, with 500 men, was making for Luckhoff. He therefore, with almost inexhaustible energy, instantly pursued the great raider, and after a rearguard action on the 4th at Zuurfontein, reached Fauresmith on the 5th, only to find the bird flown *viâ* the Petrusburg Road. On and on then went the troops, past Petrusburg—De Wet ever twenty-four hours ahead—till they reached Abraham Kraal Drift on the Modder River. By this time (the 7th) the Boer flock had dispersed over the enormous track of country with which they are so intimate, and De Wet himself vanished, as usual, into "thin air." The 8th was spent in recuperation, replenishing stores, and gaining information. On the following two days the northerly march was continued in search of De Wet, who was reported to have crossed the line (on the night of the 8th) on the

The Transvaal War

way to Senekal. But, as the redoubtable one trekked at the rate of some five miles a day more than the best column, General Plumer gave him up as lost, and marched to Brandfort, and thence proceeded under orders to Winburg. The chase had been far from stimulating, for heavy rain had fallen, causing much inconvenience to man and beast, and hindering transport operations. The veldt, however, soon assumed a rich green garb, which rendered all the English horses independent of the Commissariat Department.

Meanwhile Colonel Haig, in conjunction, had moved to Philippolis on the 4th, only to learn that General Plumer was on the track of De Wet. He therefore turned his attention to Hertzog, caught him on the 5th at Grootfontein, ten miles north-west of Philippolis, engaged him and forced him westward. He then waited orders at Springfontein lest a more speedy movement by rail might be directed.

Colonel Bethune, in his position near Orange River Bridge, spent this time in fighting and dispersing large bodies of raiders, passing at length *via* Petrusburg, on the 6th, to the line Abraham's Kraal, Roodewal, on the 8th. Here he halted. An empty convoy returning from him to Bloemfontein was attacked by the Boers, but the escort tackled the enemy, and, with the assistance of the Prince of Wales' Light Horse, put them to flight.

General C. Knox's columns (Colonels Pilcher and Crewe, moving by way of Kalabas Bridge and Koffyfontein respectively), advanced at the same time, reaching Bloemfontein on the 10th and 11th, the astute Pilcher having captured a Boer laager by the way. He had three killed, eleven wounded, three missing, and his captures included twenty-four prisoners, 1500 horses, and some cattle.

Colonel Crewe engaged in a smart tussle with Brand's commando at Olivenberg (south-west of Petrusburg), and reached his destination *plus* five prisoners, twenty-one waggons and carts with teams complete, and 2000 horses.

During March, Major Goold-Adams, the Deputy-Administrator of the Orange River Colony, in whom the burghers placed much confidence, bent his mind to the organisation of the civil administration of the colony. Mr. Conrad Linder, an ex-official of the late Government, was provisionally appointed registrar. A scheme of education, based on the Canadian principle, was drawn up, and the organisation of the civil police taken in hand. The Imperial authorities were engaged in a scheme for restocking the country after the war by establishing stock depots on the Government farms in both the Transvaal and Orange River.



MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES KNOX.

Photo Elliott & Fry, London.

Lyttelton's Sweeping Movement

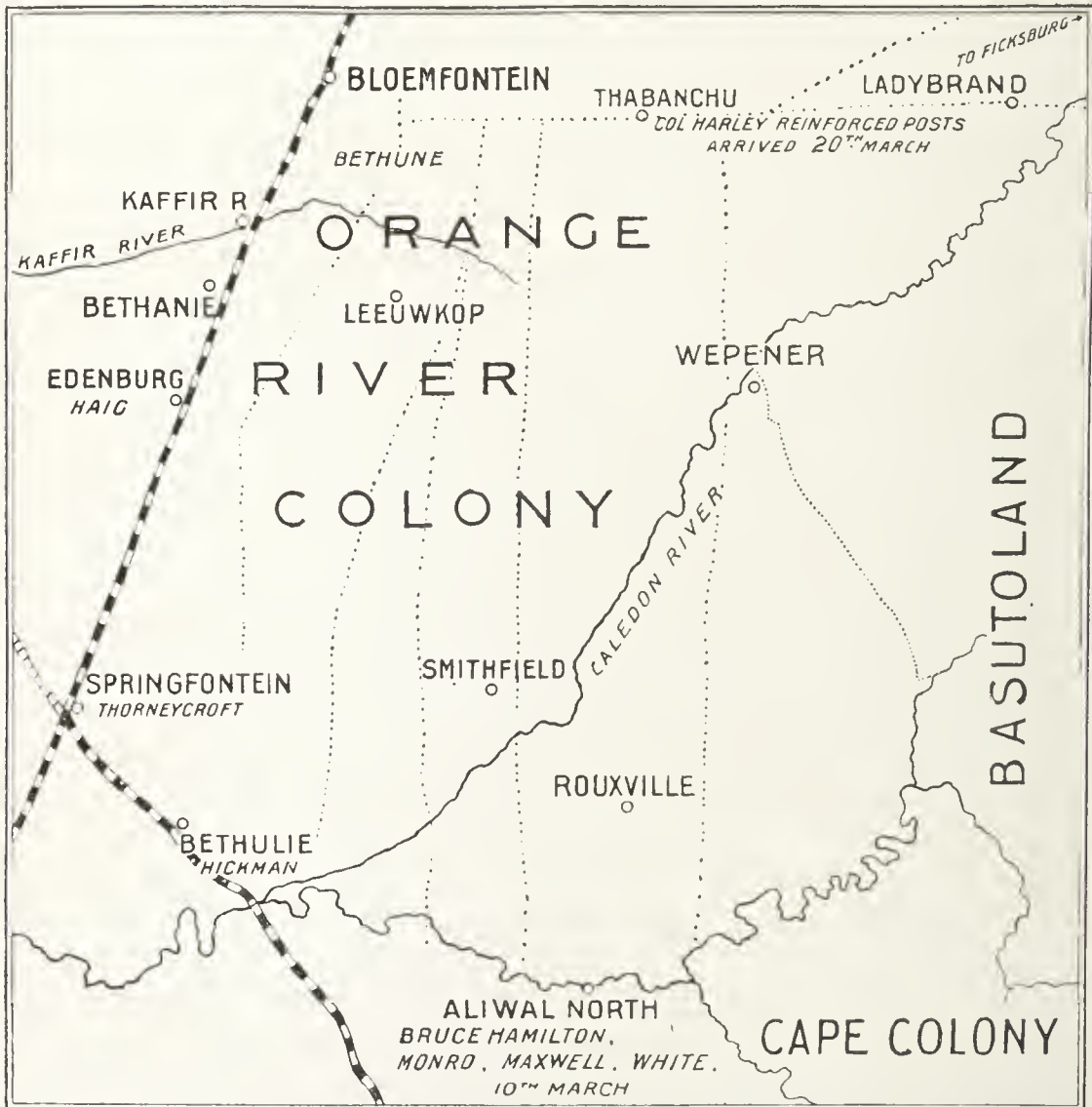
LYTTELTON'S SWEEPING MOVEMENT—10TH TO 20TH MARCH— THABANCHU LINE

The enemy, under the direction of Fourie, in many small gangs of from two to four hundred, still hovered in the region between the Orange River and the Thabanchu-Ladybrand line. With the object of sweeping them up, General Lyttelton organised a combined northward movement which began on the 10th of March. General Bruce-Hamilton's columns, under Lieutenant-Colonels Monro, Maxwell, and White pushed up from Aliwal North, Colonel Hickman and Lieutenant-Colonel Thorneycroft moved out from Bethulie and Springfontein respectively, prolonging the line on the left to the railway, while Colonel Haig's troops advanced from Edenburg. Later on, as the columns swept upwards, Colonel Bethune's Brigade took its place in the scheme, filling the gap between Leeuw Kop and Boesman's Kop, with its right flank resting on the Kaffir River. While these were marching up, the line of posts from Bloemfontein *viâ* Thabanchu to the Basutoland border was temporarily reinforced by Colonel Harley, who, with some 200 mounted men, two guns, and a battalion, had been detached from the portion of General Rundle's force which was holding Ficksburg. The road still further north, near Houtnek, was watched by Colonel Pilcher to guard against hostile movement in that region. The combined advance, though there was little fighting, was decidedly successful. Heavy stocks of grain were found, and such as could not be accommodated in the British waggons were destroyed. Though, as usual, the Boers were dispersed in driblets and most of the farms were deserted and the property abandoned, some of their number got caught in the meshes of the military net. Colonel Pilcher's men succeeded in securing some thirty-three Boers and about 3000 horses, and the total haul of the columns on reaching the Thabanchu line on the 20th amounted to 70 prisoners, 4300 horses, and many trek oxen. After this date General Bruce-Hamilton's force and that of Colonel Hickman disposed themselves between Wepener and Dewetsdorp, while Colonel Haig was ordered to keep his eye on rambling raiders from Cape Colony, in the region of the Caledon. Colonel Bethune's Brigade, marching north *viâ* Winburg and Ventersburg, soon swelled the mounted force of some 7000 men, being organised at Kroonstad (under the command of General Elliot), and Colonel Thorneycroft, now under orders of General C. Knox, took up a position at Brandfort. This place at that time was somewhat harassed by meandering marauders, who were in the habit of taking up a nightly post on a hill near by. These were

The Transvaal War

surprised by the mounted infantry and burgher police, and their number considerably thinned.

From all points the clearance of the Colony was pursued with vigour. On the 24th Colonel White, in the Thabanchu region, surprised parties of Boers, capturing six waggons, thirty-four horses, and some cattle, and on the 25th some smart work was done by a detachment of Lancers, Yeomanry, and Rimington's Guides, who



OPERATIONS IN THE SOUTH-EAST OF THE ORANGE RIVER COLONY

drove off and dispersed various portions of Fourie's commando without loss to themselves. At this time Fourie, Joubert, Pretorius, and Coetzee had been all hanging about the neighbourhood of Dewetsdorp, and on the 25th and 26th some spirited encounters took place between them and Captain Damant, who, with some of Rimington's Scouts, engaged in many perilous excursions. On the 27th General Bruce-Hamilton, with Hickman's column and Rimington's Scouts,

Lyttelton's Sweeping Movement

moved out with a view to clearing off the snipers that fringed the surrounding hills. The Scouts and the Lancaster Mounted Infantry routed the Boers from one position after another, chasing them for miles as far as Blesbokfontein, where they dispersed. Meanwhile on the left, near Byersberg, our troops had discovered the Boer laager, whereupon Rimington's Scouts rode round the position, driving the enemy, who scampered from their concealment in the ridges, in a south-westerly direction. Owing to the exhaustion of the horses the pursuit could not be continued, but the troops returned to camp with a goodly show of horses, cattle, and Cape carts as a prize for their endurance.

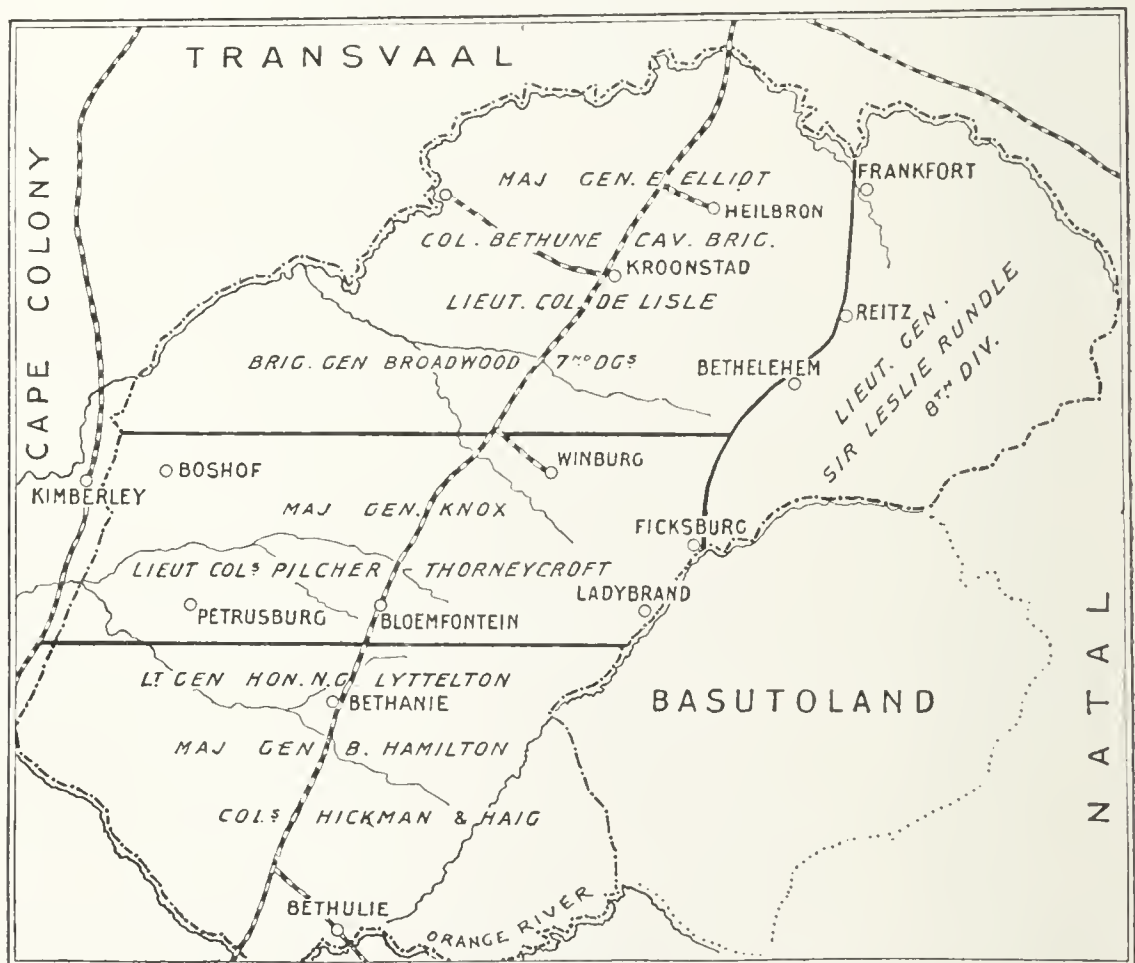
Concurrently with the activities in the south-east of the Orange River Colony, in the region of Winburg and Heilbron, good work had been going forward. Colonel Williams and Major Pine Coffin, working in combination, had cleared the Doornberg, a supply depot, which, owing to De Wet's absence, was but weakly guarded. All stock was removed, and during the operations General P. Botha and seven Boers were killed and many were taken prisoners. Colonel Williams and the combined forces, reinforced by Major Massy's column from Edenburg, now took up a position near the Vet and Zand Rivers, in order to catch De Wet should he break northward. But as this leader was now in hiding, "taking a breather" for fresh nimbleness in future, it was found unnecessary to wait there, and the column moved on towards Heilbron. Here, accompanied by a detachment from the garrison under Major Weston, Colonel Williams continued his work of clearance, fighting betimes, and capturing grain, forage, food-stuffs, and ammunition in great quantities. Colonel Williams then moved to the north of Heilbron, performing the same task of clearance between the Wilge River and the main line of rail. This occupation took him well into April, of which month more anon.

During the middle of March Lord Kitchener engaged himself with the rearrangement of the mobile columns in the Orange River Colony, dividing the place into four military districts. Each district was placed under the control of a General Officer, whose duty it was to deal with any encroachments of the enemy, to prevent the concentration of commandos, and to clear the country of horses and cattle, and any supplies which might stimulate the marauders to new exertion. The southern district, bounded on the south by the Orange River, on the north by the line Petrusburg-Ladybrand, on the west by the Kimberley Railway, on the east by Basutoland, was entrusted to General Lyttelton, his force including the columns of General Bruce-Hamilton and Colonels Hickman and Haig.

The Transvaal War

The central district, bounded on the south by General Lyttelton's command, on the north by the Bultfontein-Winburg-Ficksburg line, extending to Boshof, was assigned to General C. Knox, with whom were the columns of Colonels Pilcher and Thorneycroft.

The northern district, including part of Orange River Colony north of General C. Knox's command, bounded on the east by the Frankfort-Reitz-Bethlehem line, was allotted to General Elliot, whose troops consisted of Colonel Bethune's Cavalry Brigade, Colonel de Lisle's Column (withdrawn from Cape Colony), and General Broad-



REORGANISATION OF TROOPS IN THE ORANGE RIVER COLONY

wood's Brigade, composed of 7th Dragoon Guards, three battalions Imperial Yeomanry, and six guns.

The eastern district, as before, remained in charge of General Rundle, who, with the original 8th Division and some Mounted Infantry and Yeomanry, protected the line Frankfort-Reitz-Bethlehem-Ficksburg.

By the end of March recruiting for General Baden-Powell's Police ceased. The work of training, clothing, mounting, and equipping was carried on with all speed, and the recruits who

Lyttelton's Sweeping Movement

arrived from England promptly displayed their grit and their zeal by withstanding the assaults of the Boers, who invariably attacked such districts as they fancied were in charge of the "raw" element. The new-comers were no fledgelings, however, for the members of the Constabulary were mostly gentlemen or farmers of a high class, selected with a view to making good colonists.

CHAPTER II

CAPE COLONY—PURSUIT OF RAIDERS—MARCH AND APRIL— CHASING KRUITZINGER

WHILE the pursuit of De Wet was going forward, our troops under General Settle, and subsequently under Colonel Douglas Haig (Colonels Henniker, Gorringe, Grenfell, Scobell, and Crewe), worked unceasingly against the Boer raiders who were making themselves obstreperous in various parts of the Colony. Pearston was occupied by seven hundred of the enemy with two guns, who captured sixty rifles and 15,000 rounds of ammunition, in spite of the gallant defence of the tiny garrison. The invaders, a part of Kruitzinger's commando, were promptly swept away by Colonel Gorringe, who reoccupied the place on the 5th, and caused the fugitives to be pursued. Accordingly the commando broke into three parties and fled eastward over the railway.

About the same time one hundred raiders, under Scheepers, made a desperate attack upon the village of Aberdeen—an attack which happily failed owing to the smartness of the garrison. This consisted of a portion of the 4th Derbyshire Militia, Town Guard, and twenty men of the 9th Lancers, under Colonel Priestly. The Boers, however, succeeded in penetrating into the town, and releasing some of their compatriots who were in gaol. They further tried to loot the stores, but were not given the opportunity, so promptly did the Town Guard send them to the right-about. Colonel Parsons arrived on the scene in the afternoon, followed, the next day, by Colonel Scobell and some Colonials, and soon, though not without sharp fighting, the kopjes surrounding the place were purged of the raiders. The sharpshooters of the Imperial Yeomanry under Major Warden were untiring in the energy of their pursuit of the enemy from hill to hill, and the detachment of the 6th Dragoons under Captain Anstice helped in the discomfiture of the foe. These escaped by means of the thick bush and dongas, which afforded them timely cover.

It was now necessary to prevent Scheepers and his Boers from entering Murraysburg. To circumvent him, Colonel Scobell—commanding a force of Cape Mounted Rifles, Cape Police, Diamond Fields Horse, and Brabant's Horse, with some guns—marched hot foot at the rate of fifty-nine miles in less than twenty-five hours.

Cape Colony

Meanwhile Captain Colenbrander, commanding the Fighting Scouts, moved promptly from Richmond towards Murraysburg, located Scheepers' hordes in an adjacent village, and attacked them. The enemy were repulsed with the loss of five of their number, while the British party had no casualties.

Kruitzing's commando, continuing its depredations, seized Carlisle Bridge with a view to pressing towards Grahamstown, but the activity of Colonels De Lisle and Gorringer frustrated all effort to get to the sea. The invaders gave a vast amount of trouble, however, burning farms and securing horses, and several encounters took place. In one of these, a few miles from Adelaide, Captain Rennie and some of the Bedford detachment of the Colonial Defence Corps gave an excellent account of themselves. The Boers lost one man killed, one taken prisoner, and three wounded, together with six horses.

The raiders were routed from Maraisburg, which was reoccupied by the British on the 8th; but in the interval the magistrate had had a somewhat uncomfortable experience, having been imprisoned in his own house. The enemy reaped a certain reward of their exertions in the form of some horses, saddles, and a revolver. They afterwards broke into small gangs, and were hunted by Colonel Donald's column.

The 15th found Colonels Scobell and Colenbrander's columns still in pursuit of Scheepers, who, having caused some commotion by burning the house of a British scout named Meredith, was now hiding in the mountains around Graf Reinet. Colonel Gorringer at the same time was dodging about the neighbourhood of Kruitzing (who had abandoned the hope of going south, and was now making for Blinkwater) and keeping him perpetually on the move. Space does not admit of a detailed account of these continuous activities, but in an engagement on the 15th some smart work was done by Captain Stewart, assisted by Gunner Sawyer (5th Field Battery). While the guns were being hauled up a precipitous slope, and most of the gunners were dismounted, they were assailed by a furious fire from the ambushed foe. With admirable presence of mind, Sawyer took in the situation, and, with the assistance of Captain Stewart, unlimbered one of the guns and gave the Boers a *quid pro quo*. This considerably damped their ardour, and afforded time for the rest of the guns to come into action. The position was finally stormed by the Albany defence force under Captain Currie. In the engagement nine Boers were killed and nine wounded. On the 17th, after a sharp action, the Boers, abandoning seventy excellent horses and saddles, besides losing some forty of their number, were driven across Elands River. Kruitzing got across the Elands River in safety, but, while turning an angle of the main

The Transvaal War

road towards Tarkastad, on the morning of the 18th, he came suddenly in collision with Colonel de Lisle, who, by night, was marching—a memorable march in a terrific storm!—from Magermansberg to Tarkastad. The British force, as surprised at the sudden encounter as that of the Boers, promptly sprang to action, and succeeded in shelling the rearguard, while the Mounted Infantry started off in pursuit. From ridge to ridge went hunted and hunters, the Irish Yeomanry, under Captain Moore, with Mounted Infantry, under Colonel Knight, doing splendid work; but at last the wily quarry, through some of the troops having lost direction, succeeded in getting away through the loophole of Elands Poort. Kruitzyger, still maintaining a north-easterly direction, was next traced across the railway at Hemming Station on the 21st. Scheepers, Fouché, and Malan, who had growing forces, and had been beaten, with the loss of nine killed and seven wounded, by Major Mullins on the 15th, were proceeding east from Marais Siding. Other detached parties gave trouble elsewhere. Some, on the 16th, attacked at Yeefontein, near Steymburg, a patrol of Prince Alfred's Guards under Major Court, but left behind them two killed, three wounded, and three prisoners, while the Guards lost one killed and two seriously wounded. Fighting was taking place in various other places daily. On the 20th and 21st Colonel Scobell's force, increased by Colonel Grenfell's, skirmished in the region north of Jansenville with excellent effect. Kitchener's Fighting Scouts, under Captain Colenbrander, Major Mullins, and Colonel Gorringer converged from their various positions, while the main body made for Blaankrantz. On the 20th, by 9 A.M., a hammer-and-tongs engagement had begun, Captain Doune's two guns being met by a blizzard from the foe in the surrounding ridges. The assailants were, however, rapidly silenced and forced to retire, the British party taking up the vacated position, and "speeding the parting guest" with a salvo from pom-poms, rifles, and field-guns. But the enemy could not be entirely netted, for in ones and twos they squeezed through the bushes and made their escape. Four, however, were left on the veldt, and four were taken prisoners, while about one hundred sound horses came in handy at a time when they were much in demand. The British force lost three killed and four wounded.

Kruitzyger at this time was being gradually pressed towards the Orange River (which was known to be unfordable) by Colonel de Lisle's column, which formed part of a cordon, composed of the columns of Colonels Gorringer, Herbert, and Major Crewe on one side, and Colonels Crabbe, Codrington, and Henniker on the other. Nearly all the commandos which had invaded the Colony were retracing their sorry steps after the failure of their expedition.



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR H. H. SETTLE.

Photo Elliott & Fry, London.

Cape Colony

The fact that they had been able to keep the field so long was attributed to the persistent way in which they avoided fighting, and their mode of hugging the sheltering kopjes and bushes, and never emerging from those beneficent harbours of refuge. According to good authority, the raiders succeeded in gaining certain recruits among the Colonial Dutch, but not nearly so many as they had expected. They were amply supplied with food from the sympathetic rural population, however, and received on all sides timely information of the movements of the pursuing columns, which enabled them to double like hares at the very moment when the pursuers seemed about to pounce on them.

Train-wrecking continued, and of necessity the running of night trains had to be suspended. Some of the raiders began to drive over the less known drifts of the Orange and disappear, while certain rebels contrived to hide themselves in the mountain fastnesses so as to escape both the Boer bands and the British pursuit. On the 30th of March a skirmish took place between some of Henniker's troops (Victorian Bushmen) and a large force of Boers, during which the Colonials again showed their tenacity and grit. An advanced party of four only, under a splendid fellow, Sergeant Sandford, were set upon by the foe in the vicinity of Zuurberg. The enemy succeeded in wounding a Bushman, who fell beneath his dead horse, and was there pinned. His companions, under a perpetual sleet from the marauders' Mausers, with great coolness engaged in the immensely difficult task of moving the dead animal and drawing out their comrade from his perilous position. They then managed to mount the rescued man on Sergeant Sandford's horse and all got away in safety. Reinforcements arriving now frightened off the Boers, who had lost four of their number.

On the whole, things were progressing wonderfully. At the headquarters of General Baden-Powell's Constabulary at Modderfontein 2000 more recruits were now expected to join the 1000 already on duty there. Australian and Canadian drafts were to follow. The clerical staff of the Rand Mines' Corporation was about to proceed from the Cape to Johannesburg, a sure sign of approaching settlement. A warning to colonists was soon published stating that acts of rebellion committed after April 12 would not be tried under the Special Tribunals Act of last session, but by the old common law, the penalties under which include capital punishment or any term of imprisonment or fine which an ordinary court may impose.

On the 6th of April a post, ten miles north of Aberdeen, consisting of one hundred men of the 5th Lancers, thirty-two Imperial Yeomanry under Captain Bretherton, and Brabant's Horse,

The Transvaal War

was assailed by a horde of 400 Boers. After fighting vigorously from dawn till 11 A.M. the force was overpowered. Twenty-five of the number only escaped—one was killed and six were wounded.

On the 11th, Colonel Byng surprised a laager near Smithfield, captured thirteen tatterdemalions, who were not loth to rest, and some horses and stores.

Colonel Haig, on the 12th, reached Rosmead and took command of all the columns operating in the midlands, and he soon began the hunting of Scheepers' and Malan's commandos with his flying columns. According to Reuter's correspondent, the Boer forces in the midlands at this date comprised Scheepers, with 180 men, in the Sneeuwberg; Malan, with forty men, reported to be breaking northward; Swanepoel, with sixty men, near New Bethseda; and Fouché, with a force estimated variously at several hundreds, in the Zuurberg.

On the 14th of April Colonel Gorringe returned to Pretoria after three months' of exceptionally hard work and incessant trekking over some of the worst country in South Africa. His Colonial column had done on an average a daily trek of some thirty-one and a half miles. On one occasion, when rushing to the succour of Pearston¹ when it was overpowered by raiders, these hardy troopers, with guns and equipments, covered seventy-four miles in forty hours, crossing the frowning heights of Coelzeeberg by a bridle path.

General MacDonald now proceeded to England in order to take up command of an important post on the Afghan frontier, and General Fitzroy Hart succeeded him in command of the 3rd Brigade. Sir Alfred Milner made preparations to go home on leave.

On the 24th the Dordrecht Volunteer Guard and Wodehouse's Yeomanry gave an excellent account of themselves. They were attacking raiders for the most part of the day, and sent the Dutchmen to the right-about, capturing their horses and forcing them to make good their escape on Shanks' pony.

On the 29th Major Du Moulin's column, accompanied by Lovat's Scouts under Major Murray, arrived at Aliwal North from Orange River Colony, bringing with it 30 prisoners, 60,000 sheep, 6000 head of cattle, 100 waggons, 800 refugees, and 300 horses.

¹ See page 8.

CHAPTER III

THE OPERATIONS OF GENERAL FRENCH IN THE EASTERN TRANSVAAL, FROM 27TH JANUARY TO 16TH APRIL 1901]

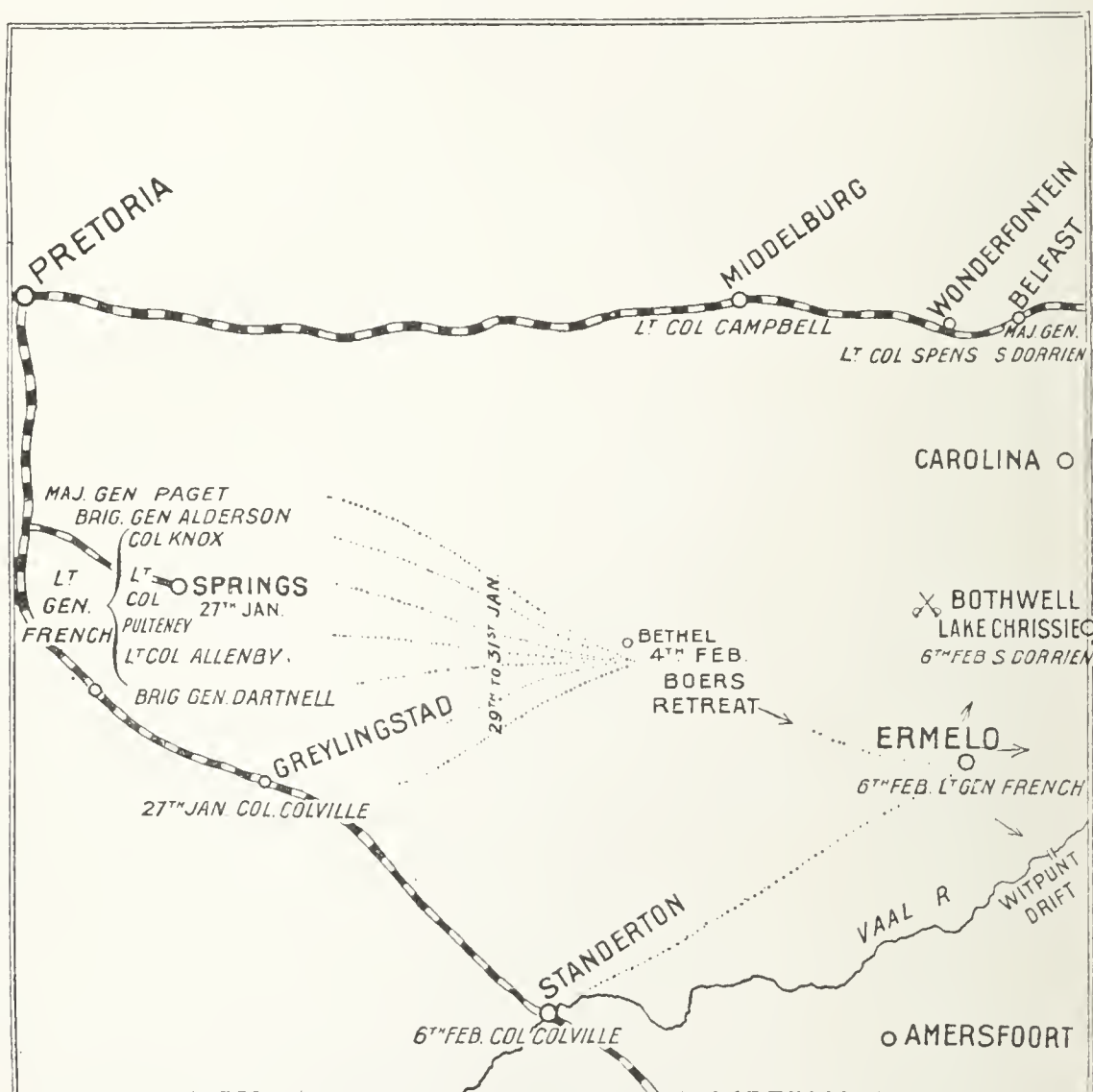
IT may be remembered that at the close of 1900 the Boer chiefs, De Wet and Botha, had invented a concerted scheme of some magnitude. They had arranged that Hertzog should enter Cape Colony and proceed to Lambert's Bay to meet a ship which was said to be bringing from Europe mercenaries, guns, and ammunition. De Wet was to follow south *via* De Aar, join hands with Hertzog, and together, with renewed munitions of war and a tail of rebels at their heels, attack Cape Town. General Botha at the same time was to keep the British occupied in the Eastern Transvaal and prevent them drawing off troops to the south, and, so soon as the plans of De Wet and Hertzog were being carried out, he was to enter Natal with a picked force of 5000 mounted men and make for Durban.

Having seen how the parent scheme, the invasion of the Cape Colony, was frustrated, it is necessary to turn to scheme two, and follow General French in the remarkable operations which defeated Botha's designs. A considerable concentration of Boers, under the Commandants Louis Botha, Smuts, Spruyt, and Christian Botha, had taken place in Ermelo, Carolina, and Bethel, which districts constituted depôts for the supply of the enemy's forces. The Commander-in-chief therefore decided to sweep the country between the Delagoa and Natal Railway lines, from Johannesburg to the Swazi and Zulu frontiers, and to clear it of supplies and families. With this object in view, on the 28th of January the following columns were concentrated from the meridian of Springs: Major-General Paget, Brigadier Alderson, Colonel E. Knox (18th Hussars), Lieutenant-Colonel Allenby (6th Dragoons), Lieutenant-Colonel Pulteney (Scots Guards), and Brigadier-General Dartnell (Commandant of Volunteers, Natal).

The troops—the southern columns under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John French—were to form a north and south line between the railway, and thus drive the enemy before them to Ermelo. They were commanded from north to south in the order shown above. While this line was advancing, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and Lieutenant-Colonel Spens, moving a march south from Middelburg and Wonderfontein, were to act as side

The Transvaal War

stops, while Major-General Smith-Dorrien, with a force 3000 strong, was to advance from Belfast *viâ* Carolina to Lake Chrissie, for the purpose of preventing the Boers from breaking north-east. A weak column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Colville (Rifle Brigade), was to work south of Colonel Dartnell to cover the



MAP SHOWING THE OPERATIONS AND DISPOSITIONS OF TROOPS IN THE
EASTERN TRANSVAAL

movement of supplies, first from Greylingstad to the north, and then from Standerton to Ermelo.

Eventually, owing to the movements of De Wet, General Paget was recalled from this sphere of action, and his place was taken by Colonel Campbell. General Alderson's and Knox's lines of advance were slightly diverted to the north, and the line between them was filled by Lieutenant-Colonel Pulteney, who originally was to have been held in reserve.

The first two marches took the western troops to a line north

General French in Eastern Transvaal

of Greylingstad to Vangatfontein, in the valley of the Wilge River, where there was a two days' halt till the 31st. The march was not without excitement, for Beyers was found to be ensconced in a strong and extended position stretching north and south, and covering the approach to the valley of the Wilge River. Bushman's Kop, fourteen miles east of Springs, was strongly held, and the advanced troops of Knox and Allenby were assailed with fierce artillery from the surrounding heights. But when Allenby's mounted men had wheeled round the south of the position, the Boers thought it high time to retreat, leaving behind them two dead. This was on the 29th. Two days were spent in receiving supplies from Greylingstad and sending the emptied waggons full of Boer families to the rail and clearing the country of supplies.

The Boers, holding a chain of sloping hills some twenty-three miles west of Bethal, were again encountered on the 1st of February. While Colonel Rimington (commanding Colonel Pulteney's mounted troops) worked round the north of the position, Colonel Allenby and the rest of Pulteney's troops held them in front. But the wily Dutchmen, now rapidly becoming demoralised, instantly they found their flank threatened, were off to the east before they could be cut off. The commanders on the right had also met with slight opposition.

The operations of the 2nd of February much resembled those of the previous day, for some 2000 Boers, who had planted themselves about ten miles west of Bethal, ceased their opposition to Colonel Allenby, when they found Pulteney's cavalry sweeping round to their north, and they made such haste to depart that they left behind them an English 15-pounder gun, with damaged breech. The village of Bethal was reached by General French on the 4th, all Boers, save a few women and children, having fled. The troops were now hurriedly pushing forward with a view to surrounding Ermelo. Their position was as follows: Allenby on the south-east; Dartnell on the south and south-west; Pulteney on the west; Knox on the north-west; Anderson and Campbell on the north; and Smith-Dorrien on the north-east and east. The enemy, seeing security at this place thus threatened, split into two factions. Louis Botha, with a following of some 3000 men, scurried to the north toward Komati without impediment, in the form of families and stock, while the rest, protecting their waggons, retreated toward Piet Retief. Botha, while scurrying as aforesaid, discovered on the 5th that Smith-Dorrien's force, about 3000 strong (with a big convoy for his own, Campbell's, and Alderson's columns), had reached Bothwell, north of Lake Chrissie. Here was a fine chance! and the Boer leader speedily availed

The Transvaal War

himself of it. He determined to attack the British column before the troops of Campbell and Alderson, moving from the west, could get in touch with it. Accordingly, dividing his force into three, and rising betimes, in the thick mists of daybreak, on the 6th, he delivered a vigorous semicircular attack upon the camp. This was successfully repulsed.

The Boers lost heavily, General Spruyt and several field-cornets being among the slain. The British had one officer and twenty-three men killed, three officers and fifty-two men wounded. Some 300 horses were killed or stampeded during the surprise. The Boers, owing to the heavy fog of the morning, got away to the north. At the moment Botha was making his attack on the camp, the officer bearing orders from General French for General Smith-Dorrien, after an exciting and hazardous ride, reached Bothwell. Owing to the fight these orders—to move on the 6th to a position E.N.E. of Ermelo—could then not be executed. General Smith-Dorrien therefore remained at Bothwell.

Meanwhile, in the south, fighting went forward. Colonel Allenby, who had been rapidly pushing east, came on the enemy's rearguard, which was occupying a ridge south of Ermelo. With infantry and artillery, and supported by Dartnell's Brigade, he engaged them, holding them on the west while the mounted troops endeavoured to wheel round the southern flank and surround them. But the Boers, who had had a long start, nimbly made good their escape over the Vaal at Witpunt before Allenby's troops could possibly reach that point, and consequently the brilliant attempt to cut off their retreat proved a failure. Ermelo was occupied on the 6th, and thus the first phase of the operations was accomplished.

It was now necessary to sweep the country from Ermelo to the Swazi frontier, which movement occupied from the 9th to the 16th of February. To this end the flanks were immediately opened out again, and the line Bothwell-Ermelo-Amersfoort taken. From this line the force wheeled half-right, the left flank (rationed on reduced scale up to the 20th) beginning to extend east towards Swaziland on the 9th.

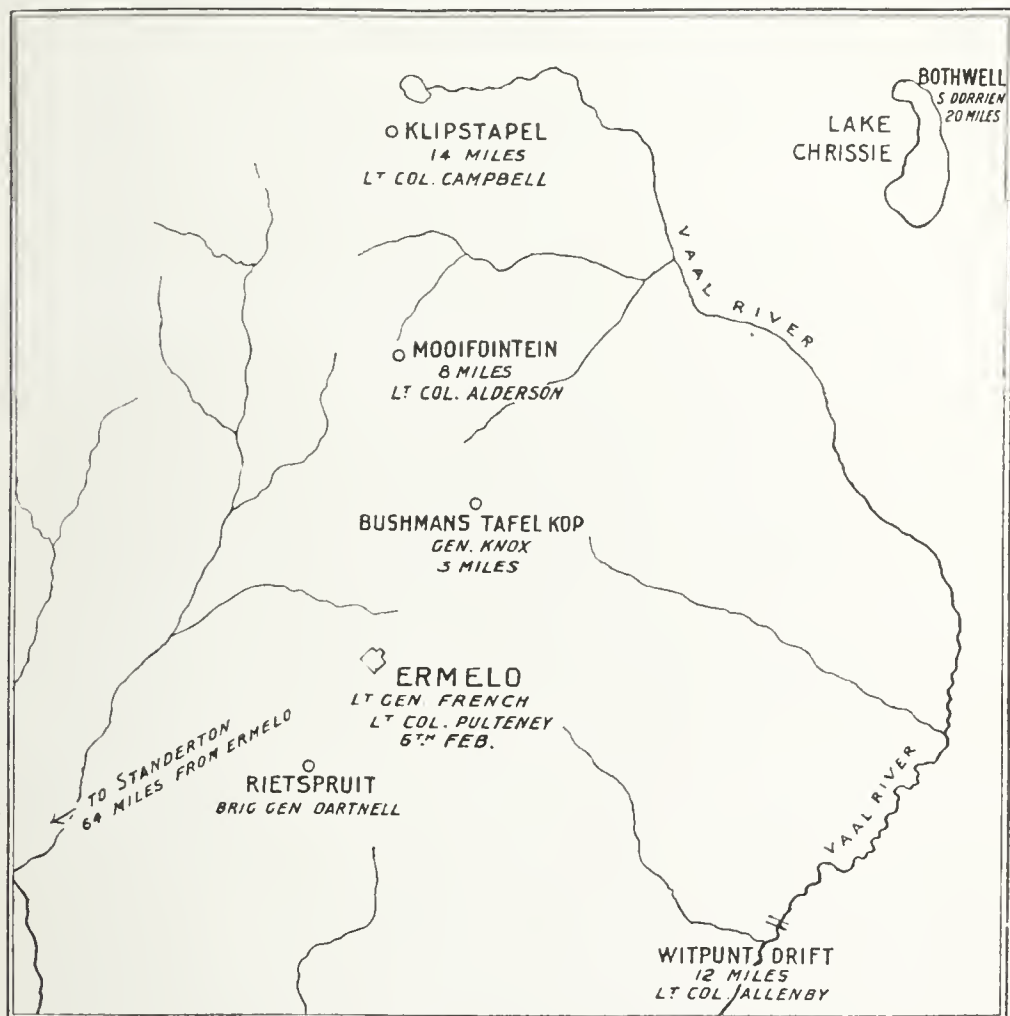
The whole force was now so ordered as to form a complete cordon for the purpose of hemming in the enemy and their belongings in the south-eastern corner of the Transvaal. The troops were here to converge on Amsterdam and Piet Retief from north and south-west, and, with the escort to the convoy from Utrecht, were to form a line from Utrecht and the Natal frontier to the Swazi frontier north of Piet Retief. On the 9th General Smith-Dorrien, moving east-north-east, encountered the Boers, and Colonel Mackenzie and his gallant men, with the assistance of

General French in Eastern Transvaal

the 2nd Imperial Light Horse, succeeded in capturing a convoy and putting twenty-one Boers *hors de combat* by a brilliant charge.

Affairs were somewhat hampered by lack of supplies, but at last (on the 10th) a convoy from Standerton having come in, the right wing (Dartnell and Allenby) were provided for. On the following day General French moved on, while Colville's emptied waggons started back with a pathetic load of Boer families and prisoners and British sick.

On the 12th, the Boers offered some opposition to the advancing



POSITION OF FORCES AROUND ERMELO

troops of Pulteney and Allenby, and near Klipfontein they, for a wonder, made a stand, and gave Colonel Rimington and the Inniskilling Dragoons an opportunity for smart work. A dashing charge, magnificently led, cleared the ground, and five dead Boers and some wounded were left to tell the tale of the encounter.

On the 13th Dartnell, who had taken up a position at Amersfoort, moved from thence steadily in line with the whole force, which proceeded with insignificant opposition to clear away stock and destroy supplies.

The Transvaal War

Amsterdam was occupied by Smith-Dorrien on the 14th, and on the 16th General French, with the troops of Knox and Pulteney, made his entry into Piet Retief, where the landdrost at once surrendered. Rains had now made the already almost impassable country into one mighty morass, and the mists, fogs, and torrents rendered the position of the troops a critical one. Great consternation prevailed as to the fate of Colonel Burn-Murdoch, on whom all hopes were set. He had been charged by the General Officer Commanding in Natal with the duty of conveying, from Utrecht, food to the force, and had apparently got lost in the mists and bog, for not a sign of his anxiously awaited convoy could be discovered. This convoy had left Newcastle on the 12th, but it was not till the 27th that its welcome supplies reached the famishing troops, who, from the 20th, had had to subsist entirely on the country, while the horses ate grass only. The rivers had by this time become raging torrents, and the roads, quagmires. The Boer farms had already been cleared out, and only by offering a sovereign for a 200-lb. bag of mealies could the natives be prevailed upon to unearth their buried treasure. The ration during this lean period sounds distinctly unpleasing: three-quarters of a pound of mealie meal (ground in the steam mill at Piet Retief), and an ounce of mealie coffee (an infusion of the same meal roasted and ground), made the sole variation to a diet of saltless meat. The men nevertheless maintained their health and cheeriness, their constant hauls conducing much to their enlivenment, and the number in hospital was abnormally low. Still there was vast annoyance in the fact that they were unable to be up and doing.

A new line of supply was opened on the 28th, when Colonel Bullock started from Volkrust to Piet Retief with a convoy of ninety-one waggons. Though this reached its destination in safety on the 5th of March, it was not till he returned with a second load, on the 21st of March, that sufficient oats could reach Piet Retief to enable the force to move. Despite the inconvenience of delay a tremendous amount of work was carried on, the troops pushing continually into Swaziland and tackling Boers who struggled to slip through the British line, and many captures were made both north and south of the border. The surrounding country was thoroughly cleared, and many guns and much ammunition were brought to light. The Engineers also worked like Trojans, improving the roads and bridging the numerous, now swollen, rivers and spruits that abounded in the district. As an instance of the force of the unceasing floods between the 6th and 13th of March, it may be mentioned that the Assegai, which is normally fordable, averaged 12 feet in depth, and on the 12th rose to 18 feet.



A NIGHT ATTACK: DEFENDING A TRAIN DERAILED BY THE BOERS

Drawing by Frank Dadd, R.I.

General French in Eastern Transvaal

The position of the forces on the 1st of March stood thus:—

General Smith-Dorrien (who had moved south from Amsterdam on the 25th of February) was now eight miles north of Piet Retief, while his mounted troops, under Colonel Henry, had penetrated into Swaziland. At Piet Retief was General French, with Colonels Knox and Pulteney, some of whose mounted troops, under Colonel Rimington, were covering the road south-west of Luneberg as far as Schihoek, whence Colonel Burn-Murdoch carried on the line to Utrecht. Colonels Campbell and Allenby were twelve and seventeen miles south-east of Piet Retief respectively, Colonel Alderson was at Marienthal, and General Dartnell at Intombi River. Colonel Bullock was at Wakkerstroom.

Soon the Utrecht-Luneberg line was abandoned as a line of supply, and the troops were based on Utrecht. On the 18th of March General Dartnell occupied the village of Paul Pietersburg, and Colonel Rimington seized the stone bridge over the Pivaan River running south of it, while Colonel Alderson built a pontoon bridge over the Pongola River at Yagd Drift.

On the 21st General French, with Colonels Knox and Pulteney, moved on, leaving General Smith-Dorrien in command north of the Pongola. Here the latter, with the columns of Colonels Campbell and Allenby, held a line from Langdraai Drift, in the Lower Pongolo, by Platnek, Mahamba, Zaudbauk, and Piet Retief, to Yagd Drift, so as to prevent Boers from breaking north and north-west.

Colonel Knox now set about clearing the country to the east, between the Pivaan and Pongola Rivers, to prevent the Boers breaking back south of the Pongola, while General French, continuing his march with the columns of General Dartnell and Colonel Pulteney, moved on Vryheid, where he established his headquarters on the 25th of March. Here General Hildyard had accumulated a large reserve of supplies for the whole force, thus materially facilitating the progress of further operations.

The movement to clear the angle between the Swazi and Zulu frontiers began on the 27th of March and terminated on the 15th of April. General Dartnell, with ten days' supplies, moved east from Vryheid, with Pulteney east-south-east on his right rear, and Alderson (who started two days later from some four miles south of the Pivaan Bridge) on his left rear. Colonel Pulteney speedily came in contact with Grobelaar's commando, drove it north, where it came in collision with General Dartnell, who, after some skirmishing, killed and wounded some twenty Boers. The General was now forced to push on with mounted troops and a few guns only, for the country was impassable for wheeled transport, and therefore it had to be left behind in charge of the infantry. He formed a dépôt

The Transvaal War

some thirty miles east-south-east of Vryheid, while Colonel Alderson formed his about twenty-five miles north-east of Vryheid.

More fighting took place on the 31st between the Boers and General Dartnell some twelve miles north of his depôt, in which engagement four Boers were slain, ten taken prisoners, and waggons, cattle, and sheep were captured. Their pom-pom—previously destroyed to prevent it being of service to us—was thrown over a precipice by the flying foe. The troops moving on east through the low-lying bush veldt came on more Boers on the 2nd, engaged them, cleared the country, returned to Toovernsaarsrust on the 4th, and moved on the 5th and 6th to Vryheid, where General Dartnell for five days took a well-earned rest.

Colonel Alderson had meanwhile taken a prodigious share in the work. He had sped hot foot after a party of Boers that had broken northwards, caught them on the 3rd near the junction of the Pivaan and Pongola Rivers, and succeeded in effecting the capture of their cattle, waggons, and mules. On the following day he rested at Nooitgadacht, a place six miles east of Vryheid. He then (on the 6th) passed Vryheid, and proceeded, in three columns, to sweep the country south of that place, while General Dartnell acted as a stop on the line Vryheid-Toovernsaarsrust. By the 13th Colonel Alderson had fulfilled his mission, and “accomplished all that was feasible.” He then returned to Vryheid, and the difficult and fatiguing operations were practically concluded.

The various columns now left from this part of the theatre of war in the following order: Colonel Pulteney, being urgently needed by the Commander-in-Chief for use in the north of Middelburg, left Vryheid on the 1st, and entrained from Glencoe on the 4th. General Dartnell on the 12th, from Vryheid, marched *via* Newcastle to Volkrust, there to rest and refit. General Alderson passed through Vryheid on the 13th, reaching the rail at Glencoe on the 16th, and General Smith-Dorrien with his own, Colonel Campbell's, and Colonel Allenby's columns, marched north from Piet Retief on the 14th towards the Delagoa Railway.

The results of the prodigious energy of General French's force during the two and a half months, from the 27th of January to the 16th of April, were amazing. These zealous and untiring warriors had entirely swept the country between the Delagoa and Natal railway lines, from Johannesburg to the Swazi and Zulu frontiers, travelling across the most difficult country, rendered doubly so by tempest and flood, and living almost on starvation fare.

Nevertheless 1332 Boers had been placed *hors de combat* (369 killed and wounded, 233 taken prisoners, 730 surrendered), while an incalculable amount of supplies had been removed or destroyed, including 11 guns, 1280 rifles, 218,249 rounds of ammunition,

General French in Eastern Transvaal

2281 waggons and carts, and 272,752 head of stock (7303 horses, 377 mules, 7653 trek oxen, 42,328 cattle, and 215,089 sheep). How much farther the work might have proved successful had it not been for the negotiations between Botha and the Commander-in-Chief which took place during the movement, cannot be stated. Certain it is that General French was much hampered by the palaver which ended in air, for Botha's ruse or so-called negotiations enabled the Boers to slip northwards unmolested. As the pacific nature of the negotiations has been the subject of much comment, it is as well to append the origin and substance of them.

On February 23 a telegram was received by Sir Alfred Milner from the Commander-in-Chief, Pretoria, which stated, under date of the 22nd February, that Mrs. Botha had come back from meeting her husband, bringing from him an answer to a verbal message from the Commander-in-Chief, that if he desired it, he (General Botha) would meet him as to the means of bringing the war to an end, but on the express understanding that the question of the independence of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony should not be discussed in any way. The meeting would probably take place at Middelburg.

This telegram was sent to Mr. Chamberlain, who replied, February 23 :—

“I am glad to hear of Botha's desire to treat, and I hope that it is genuine. He will find us most anxious, in that case, to meet him on all points affecting individual position. We have already made clear the policy we intend to pursue as to future government.”

On March 1 Lord Kitchener telegraphed :—

“I have had a long interview with Botha, who showed very good feeling, and seemed anxious to bring about peace. He asked for information on a number of subjects which he said that he should submit to his Government and people, and if they agreed he should visit Orange River Colony and get them to agree. They should all then hand in their arms and finish the war. He told me that they could go on for some time, and that he was not sure of being able to bring about peace without independence. He tried very hard for some kind of independence, but I declined to discuss such a point, and said that a modified form of independence would be most dangerous and likely to lead to war in the future.”

Lord Kitchener then detailed the points upon which Botha required information. These points were noted by the Commander-in-Chief, and his suggestions were embodied in a telegram of March 3 from Sir Alfred Milner to Mr. Chamberlain. The Colonial Secretary replied on March 6, suggesting modifications which his Majesty's Government desired should be made in the letter to Botha. A telegram from Sir Alfred Milner of March 9 reported that he and Lord Kitchener were both opposed to the assistance to

The Transvaal War

burghers being limited to loans, but that the amended message was sent to the Commandant on March 7.

Lord Kitchener, in a telegram to Mr. Brodrick on March 20, detailed the terms of his letter to Commandant Botha :—

“With reference to our conversation at Middelburg on 28th February, I have the honour to inform you that in the event of a general and complete cessation of hostilities and the surrender of all rifles, ammunition, cannon, and other munitions of war in the hands of the burghers or in Government depôts or elsewhere, his Majesty’s Government is prepared to adopt the following measures :—

“His Majesty’s Government will at once grant an amnesty in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies for all *bona fide* acts of war committed during the recent hostilities. British subjects belonging to Natal and Cape Colony, while they will not be compelled to return to those colonies, will, if they do so, be liable to be dealt with by the law of those colonies, specially passed to meet the circumstances arising out of the present war. As you are doubtless aware, the special law in the Cape Colony has greatly mitigated the ordinary penalties for high treason in the present cases.

“All prisoners of war now in St. Helena, Ceylon, or elsewhere will, on the completion of the surrender, be brought back to their country as quickly as arrangements can be made for their transport.

“At the earliest practicable date military administration will cease and will be replaced by civil administration in the form of Crown Colony Government. There will therefore be, in the first instance, in each of the new Colonies a Governor and an Executive Council, consisting of a certain number of official members, to whom a nominated unofficial element will be added. But it is the desire of his Majesty’s Government, as soon as circumstances permit, to introduce a representative element, and ultimately to concede to the new Colonies the privilege of self-government. Moreover, on the cessation of hostilities a High Court will be established in each of the new Colonies to administer the law of the land, and this court will be independent of the Executive.

“Church property, public trusts, and orphans’ funds will be respected. Both the English and Dutch languages will be used and taught in public schools where parents of the children desire it, and allowed in Courts of Law.

“As regards the debts of the late Republican Governments, his Majesty’s Government cannot undertake any liability. It is, however, prepared, as an act of grace, to set aside a sum not exceeding £1,000,000 to repay inhabitants of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies for goods requisitioned from them by the late Republican Governments or, subsequent to annexation, by commandants in the field being in a position to enforce such requisitions. But such claims will have to be established to the satisfaction of a Judge or Judicial Commission appointed by the Government to investigate and assess them, and if exceeding in the aggregate £1,000,000, they will be liable to reduction *pro rata*.

“I also beg to inform your Honour that the new Government will take into immediate consideration the possibility of assisting by loan the occupants of farms who will take the oath of allegiance to repair any injury sustained by destruction of buildings or loss of stock during the war, and that no special war tax will be imposed on farmers to defray the expense of the war.

“When burghers require the protection of firearms such will be allowed to

General French in Eastern Transvaal

them by licence and on due registration, provided they take the oath of allegiance. Licences also will be issued for sporting rifles, guns, &c., but military firearms will only be allowed for means of protection.

"As regards the extension of the franchise to Kaffirs in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, it is not the intention of his Majesty's Government to give such franchise before representative government is granted to these Colonies, and if then given, it will be so limited as to secure the just predominance of the white races. The legal position of coloured persons will, however, be similar to that which they hold in Cape Colony.

"In conclusion, I must inform your Honour that if the terms now offered are not accepted after a reasonable delay for consideration, they must be regarded as cancelled."

To this Botha replied :—

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's letter stating what steps your Excellency's Government is prepared to take in the event of a general and total cessation of hostilities. I have advised my Government of your Excellency's said letter ; but, after the mutual exchange of views at our interview at Middelburg on 28th February last, it will certainly not surprise your Excellency to know that I do not feel disposed to recommend that the terms of the said letter shall have the earnest consideration of my Government. I may add, also, that my Government and my chief officers here entirely agree with my views."

Botha's private opinions are to be found in an address to the burghers, which was subsequently discovered among papers captured by Sir Bindon Blood at Roos Senekal. He said :—

"The spirit of Lord Kitchener's letter makes it very plain to you all that the British Government desires nothing else but the destruction of our Afrikaner people, and acceptance of the terms contained therein is absolutely out of the question. Virtually, the letter contains nothing more, but rather less, than what the British Government will be obliged to do should our cause go wrong. Notice that they will give us a Legislative Council consisting of their own officials and members nominated by themselves. The voice of the people is thus totally unrecognised. . . . The more we are aggrieved by the enemy the more steadfastly we ought to stand for our good and lawful rights. Let us, as Daniel in the lions' den, place our trust in God alone, for in His time and in His way He will certainly give us deliverance."

On April 19th Mr. Chamberlain telegraphed to the High Commissioner as follows :—

"As our terms have been refused by Botha, they are of course withdrawn, and his Majesty's Government do not think it advisable that you or Kitchener should reopen negotiations. Should Botha or other leaders make any further suggestions of their own accord Kitchener will, of course, forward them to us without expressing any opinion upon them to those who make them. But neither Mrs. Botha nor any one else should be led to suppose that we could consider terms more favourable to the Boers than those which have been rejected. The Secretary of State for War will send a copy of this to Kitchener."

The Transvaal War

That the negotiations were looked upon with disfavour by all parties concerned is undoubted. A letter written by one of Reuter's correspondents expresses the very general view taken by the British in the field :—

“ The Parliamentary paper giving particulars of the peace negotiations has been eagerly read by all ranks of the Army. It is impossible to shut one's eyes to the fact that the British forces now operating in South Africa are profoundly dissatisfied with them. On all hands, and from all ranks, the same complaint is heard, that they are too lenient, and are not calculated to bring permanent peace to South Africa. There is no bitterness against the Boers ; that feeling has long ago died out, but when the men came to read the terms of peace proposed by the British Government, they remembered their dead comrades whose graves mark the line of march, and asked themselves : ‘ Is it for this that they have died ? ’ The Army, which has undergone countless hardships and dangers, is less articulate than a municipal body in England, but surely it should have its say. The regular Army, perhaps, is expected not to think or to express its thought about politics, but to fight, and only to fight ; but the South Africans, the Canadians, and the Australians will give expression to their sentiments. They declare that in the terms of peace offered by the British Government there are all the elements of future rebellion and unrest. ‘ Give the Boers,’ they say, ‘ even more than we have promised them, but let it be as a free gift after surrender, and not as a condition of surrender.’ Curiously enough, these sentiments are shared entirely by the Burghers who have surrendered, and who are only waiting for the end of hostilities to take their places as British subjects, determined to do their utmost for the peaceful development of a country which, under British rule, will be as much theirs as anybody else's. One of them, speaking to me the other day, put forward his view of the case. ‘ If the British grant terms to those burghers now under arms,’ he said, ‘ they at once establish for all time a confession of weakness. We shall tell each other and our children that we have never been beaten, and, as we increase in numbers, the tales of former prowess and invincibility will perpetuate a national feeling. If you allow burghers to carry rifles after surrender you will have petty revolts for the next ten years. There is no need of a Mauser or a Lee-Metford to defend the burgher against the native. Give him a shot-gun or a revolver, and no native will molest him. The demand for the retention of arms is nothing more nor less than the result of a determination on the part of the Boers to use them against you at the very slightest provocation. To give them rifles is suicidal.’ ”

CHAPTER IV

IN THE WESTERN TRANSVAAL—JANUARY TO MAY

IN the early part of the year we find Lord Methuen busily occupied in dealing with an incursion of the enemy from the south-western part of the Transvaal into Griqualand. Operating from Vryburg and Taungs, he, with his mobile columns, performed an incalculable amount of work. He withdrew the garrison from Schweitzer Reneke, routed the Boers that were surrounding Daniel's Knil, provisioned the garrison of Kuruman, and eventually hunted De Villiers' hordes into the Transvaal. That done, he marched in the beginning of February, *viâ* Wolmaranstad, to Klerksdorp, following up and dispersing the aforesaid hordes as he went. At Hartebeestefontein he came very violently into collision with them, and though they made a stout effort to resist his advance, he forced them to give way. His captures during these proceedings amounted to forty prisoners and many thousand head of stock. Lord Methuen reached Klerksdorp on the 19th of February and went on to Potchefstroom, where he commenced co-operating with the sweeping movements of Generals Babington and Cunningham. These officers, on General French's departure from the western side of the Transvaal, held a line from Oliphant's Nek to Ventersdorp and Potchefstroom, and kept an eye on the machinations of Delarey and other malcontents in these regions. In spite of their vigilance a concentration was effected in the Gatsrand on the 31st, and a small force at Modderfontein was overwhelmed by superior numbers before General Cunningham could come to its relief. Two more small columns, the one under Colonel Shekleton, South Lancashire Regiment, the other under Colonel Benson, R.A., were now placed at the disposal of General Cunningham to help in the work of clearing the ground between the western railway line and the Vaal.

At the end of February Lord Methuen's force, together with the small column under Colonel Benson, was actively engaged in hunting bands of marauders in the triangle—Klerksdorp, Potchefstroom, Venterdorp. On the 4th of March the troops marched from Klerksdorp towards Hoopstad, thence to withdraw the garrison. *En route* they, having left their convoy under strong escort on the road to Commando Drift, made a night descent on Wolmaranstad with the

The Transvaal War

intention of liberating the British and Boer State prisoners who were known to be detained there. But at dawn when they arrived they discovered that the place was deserted! The sole, though not unimportant, result of their exertions was the capture of the Landdrost, Pearson, a person who had rendered himself notorious in connection with the cases of Messrs. M'Lachlan and Boyd, who with three burghers were shot at Wolmaranstad. The particulars of the dastardly murder of these men must be recorded, as they serve to show the innate brutality of the Boers, which in the earlier part of the war had been suppressed in hope to seduce the sympathy of the Powers. The news of the execution of five British subjects—so-called rebels—by Delarey's commando was brought to Klerksdorp by Mrs. M'Lachlan, whose husband, father, and brother-in-law had been among the victims. Most of them were burghers who had surrendered or left the country prior to the war, while the others were alleged to have taken up arms. The man Boyd, a British subject, had been detained in jail since July 1900 by the Landdrost, who induced him, with two others, to indite a message to the English praying them to come to their rescue. This was afterwards made the plea for sentencing the three to death. Among others sentenced were two burghers named Theunissen, well-known farmers of Klerksdorp, who had surrendered with General Andreas Cronje's commando in June, and had taken the oath of neutrality and refused to break it. Mrs. M'Lachlan, the daughter of the elder Theunissen, gave an account of her loss, narrating how she had taken coffins to the place of execution to bury the bodies of her father, brother, and husband, to whom she had been married only two years, while another lady made the following statement:—"The Boers have forty of our men prisoners there. Eight or ten have been condemned to be shot. They were tried by the late Landdrost of Klerksdorp, a man named Heethling, in conjunction with other members of the Court. The sentences were confirmed by Generals Smuts and Delarey, who sent men to carry them out. The four who were shot were Mr. Theunissen, his son, his son-in-law, Mr. M'Lachlan, and Mr. Boyd. From first to last they were most brutally treated. The execution was a sad spectacle. The prisoners, on being taken out of jail, grasped one another's hands. They were placed in a row and shot down one by one. Mr. Boyd received three bullets, but was still alive when put into the grave. The Boers then fired again, and all was over. It was nearly being my husband's fate, but, thank God, he escaped. Mr. George Savage was also condemned to be shot, but he has been insane since his trial. His wife has gone with Mrs. Pienaar to try to get the sentence commuted. Mrs. Pienaar being with her may possibly have some influence."

From all accounts it appeared that the man Pearson, who was



CECIL J. RHODES AT GROOTE SCHUUR.

A Memory.

From "War Impressions" by Mortimer Murphy, by arrangement with Messrs A. & C. Black.

In the Western Transvaal

captured by Lord Methuen, was prime actor in the barbarous drama, and, handcuffed, he was removed to await his trial.

The column while returning to the convoy was attacked by a commando of some 400, under Du Tot and Potgeiter, from the hills, who paid for their presumption by losing eleven killed and wounded to our seven—a price seldom paid by these bands of “artful dodgers.” Finding the river impassable at Commando Drift, the troops marched along the right bank of the Vaal in hopes to cross lower down. The drifts, Bloemhof and Christiana, were also not negotiable, and finally the force moved to Fourteen Streams and crossed by the railway bridge. Brigadier-General the Earl of Errol now assumed command of the force, as Lord Methuen was placed on the sick list.

Here it must be noted, that after the departure of Lord Methuen for Hoopstad, Colonel Benson continued to operate to the south of the railway in the Gatsrand, and along the right bank of the Vaal. His small yet active column was ever in touch with the Boers, and many of them had hair-breadth escapes, yet, in spite of all, they secured many prisoners, 1090 head of cattle, and forty-five waggons. On the 4th of April Colonel Benson left his troops to be merged into the force of General Dixon (who had succeeded General Cunningham in command of the column south of the Magaliesberg), while he assumed a more important command on the eastern line.

To return to Lord Methuen's force. As the Hoopstad garrison had yet to be withdrawn, the troops now under Lord Errol started thither on the 28th of March, a simultaneous movement being made by a mobile column from Kimberley. The object of the expedition was achieved and the garrison removed to Warrenton by the 7th of April, but not without a skirmish on the way with Badenhorst's commando at Steenbokpan. Lord Methuen soon recovered, and on the 23rd of April, resuming command, transferred his force to Mafeking in order to move early in May on Lichtenburg.

This town, at the beginning of March, had been an object of attention to Delarey, Smuts, Celliers, and Vermaas and their bands. The garrison (200 Yeomanry, 300 1st Northumberland Fusiliers, and two guns) commanded by Colonel C. G. Money, had been vigorously attacked on the 3rd, the assault beginning at 3 A.M. and continuing with unabated vigour till midnight. The enemy, numbering some 1500, with one gun, found that there were two sides in the game of annoyance, and that the defenders were ready and willing to give as much as they got. Indeed they gave considerably more, for while our casualties amounted to two officers (Major W. Fletcher and Second-Lieutenant H. D. Hall) and fourteen men killed, and twenty-six wounded, the Boers left behind them sixty killed and wounded and seven prisoners.

The Transvaal War

General Babington now marched to the rescue from the north-west of Krugersdorp *viâ* Venterdorp. Here Colonel Shekleton was to have met him with supplies, but owing to the terrific weather, and the difficulty of moving wheeled transport in an incessant deluge, the arrangements of both forces were delayed and considerable inconvenience caused, and General Babington was unable to reach Lichtenburg till the 17th. By this time the bands of Delarey had, of course, made good their escape. But they were hunted to Hartebeestefontein and deprived of many waggons and teams, while sixty-two prisoners were netted, and eight killed.

Delarey, with 500 men and three guns, on the 22nd attacked a strong patrol of the 1st Imperial Light Horse under Major Briggs at Geduld. The Boers made a sudden swoop on the party and endeavoured to cut them in two, but this gallant 200, with a solitary "pom-pom," fought doggedly for two and a half hours till reinforcements could arrive, when they defeated the Dutchmen absolutely, killing eleven and wounding thirteen. Unfortunately two gallant officers were lost. Commandant Venter was among the Boer slain, and Field-Cornet Wolmarans among the wounded. The report of an eye-witness was as follows :—

"The Imperial Light Horse made another fine performance some time ago, on two successive days, when they knocked the stuffing out of Delarey near Klerksdorp. Delarey tackled a hundred and sixty men of the 1st Light Horse and a "pom-pom" with eight hundred men. Our fellows had a warm time of it, but being well handled by Major Briggs beat off the attack. The following day, reinforcements having come up, they pushed forward, and after a stiff engagement utterly routed Delarey, taking ten guns and his convoy, besides killing and wounding a hundred and sixty-seven Boers and taking a lot of prisoners. This was done almost entirely by Volunteers and the Suffolks. The Boers in the first fight charged right through the Imperial Light Horse, whose ammunition was exhausted, but were driven back by the fire of about twenty-five men who were holding the horses."

General Babington on the 22nd commenced the task of sweeping the enemy to the north, while Colonel Shekleton operated against Delarey's right flank. With mounted troops and guns only the commander dashed after the Boers and overtook their rearguard, which was driven in near Ventersdorp. Again Colonel Grey's New Zealanders and Bushmen distinguished themselves, for on the 25th, while the enemy attempted to take up another position to cover the withdrawal of their convoy, the dashing Colonials, under Major O'Brien, closed in from both flanks and fairly "mopped it up." The result of the exciting march was the capture of 140 prisoners, two 15-pounder guns, one pom-pom, six Maxims, 160 rifles,

In the Western Transvaal

320 rounds 15-pounder ammunition, 15,000 rifle ammunition, 53 waggon, and 24 carts. Twenty-two dead and 32 wounded Boers were left on the field, while General Babington's loss was only two killed and seven wounded. These summary actions, in which the officers and men of the Imperial Light Horse, the 4th New Zealand Regiment, and the 6th Imperial Bushmen played so prominent a part, were most disconcerting to the foe, who now, owing to want of horses, guns, and supplies, had their wings clipped, and were unable to evade the pursuing columns. Much of the success of the proceedings was due to the excellent service rendered by Colonel Grey, Major Gossett (Cheshire Regiment), Major Burrows (38th Battery R.F.A.), Major O'Brien (6th Imperial Bushmen), Lieutenant Kinton (Royal Welsh Fusiliers), Captains Walker and Arthur (4th New Zealand Regiment), Lieutenants Thomas and Doyle (6th Imperial Bushmen), Captains Norman, Brierley, and Donaldson, and Lieutenants Dryden and Holbrig (Imperial Light Horse), Captains Stanton, R.A., and Logan, and Major Cookson (I.S.C.).

From the 2nd to the 6th of April there were more Boer-hunts towards Tafelkop, and many small collisions with Smuts' marauders at Rietpan and elsewhere. General Babington now returned to Ventersdorp, and from thence made for Smuts' main laager at Goedvoorzicht. Marching by night across the swampy country and over the hills, Colonel Rawlinson, with the men of Roberts' and Kitchener's Horse, prepared a little surprise for the slumbering Dutchmen. At daybreak on the 14th April the laager was rushed by the dashing British band, while the enemy in consternation took to their heels. Five or six hundred fled, leaving six killed, ten wounded, twenty-three prisoners, one 12-pounder gun, one pom-pom, two ammunition waggon, eighteen rounds 12-pounder ammunition, 500 rounds of pom-pom ammunition, 12,000 rounds of rifle ammunition, twelve waggon and carts, and a large number of cattle. Only three of the British party were wounded.

Operations still continued against Delarey, who had concentrated his commando (numbering 2000) in the hilly country around Hartebeestefontein, and from thence proceeded hungrily to pounce on a convoy passing from General Babington's camp at Syferkuil to Klerksdorp. But the escort, admirably handled, succeeded in frustrating the designs of the enemy, whose exploit cost them twelve killed and six wounded.

Lord Methuen, who had resumed command of his force, now marched from Mafeking to Lichtenberg to co-operate in the movement for surrounding the aggressive commandos that were now rendered abnormally adventurous by famine and ferocity. General Dixon moved from the Krugersdorp district to arrest the rush of them to north-east, while Colonel E. Williams, with

The Transvaal War

a fresh column of mounted Australians, stood in readiness at Klerksdorp to reinforce General Babington. On the 4th of May Generals Methuen and Babington tackled the desperadoes between Kaffir's Kraal and Brakpan, and after a brisk engagement one 12-pounder gun, seven prisoners, and five waggons were captured. The enemy were hunted, till, after their usual custom, they dispersed in ones and twos into the shadow of the hills.

An account of the interesting operations was given by a trooper of the 10th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry, which regiment had been



COLONEL BENSON

(Photo by Russell & Sons, London)

over a year on service with Lord Methuen, and was now thinking of home :—

“ Lord Methuen's advance troops left Mafeking at daybreak on May 1, and the whole column entered Lichtenberg on the 3rd, bringing along with it a huge convoy of supplies. Lichtenberg was not looking so picturesque as it did four months ago. The recent stormy times there, and in the immediate vicinity, had necessitated the removal of a great many trees ; moreover, extra trenches had been dug and other strong barricades built. Winter is now upon us, and the parched and worn herbage as well as the changing tints in the foliage seemed to harmonise, so to speak, with the melancholy surroundings. However, the cheery strains of music which greeted



CHARGE OF THE BUSHMEN AND NEW ZEALANDERS ON THE BOER GUNS DURING THE ATTACK ON

BABINGTON'S CONVOY NEAR KLERKSDORP, MARCH 24, 1901

Drawing by R. Caton Woodville

In the Western Transvaal

us as we entered the town and rode along a little avenue of weeping willows made us forget our troubles for awhile. It was the fine band of the Northumberland Fusiliers playing in a desolate orchard.

“At 3 A.M. the following morning two squadrons of Yeomanry marched out as mounted escort to the convoy. The column followed in its wake an hour or so later. It was about an hour after daylight when four men of the 37th, who were riding in advance, had the good fortune to capture two prominent Boers—Messrs. Lemmer and Viljoen. One of them was riding a ‘jibber,’ and in order to get the animal along had tied it to that of his comrade. Consequently, when the gentlemen were taken by surprise, their capture was easy. We saw several Boers scampering away from some farmhouses just before we bivouacked, but, happily, they did not molest our outposts during the day. Next morning the general had his fighting column well on the march quite an hour before daybreak. The convoy left half-an-hour earlier. Smoking was strictly prohibited as long as it was dark. As soon as it grew light the 37th Squadron were sent out in advance. Half-an-hour later the Boers attacked our rear-guard, but were repulsed after a short though severe fight, in which Paget’s Horse lost one killed and two wounded. Meanwhile the 37th had pushed forward and gained some kopjes in front. Here they came in touch with General Babington’s column. Thus the two columns practically met, and then Delarey, Smuts, and De Camp drew up the bulk of their forces on highly advantageous ground on Methuen’s right front and Babington’s left. Wheeling his mounted troops round into position, Lord Methuen began to attack the enemy without delay, but the position in front was deemed almost impregnable. I saw swarms of mounted Boers on the hillside, and several rode down to try to draw us on to the attack. The general quickly ordered Colonel Meyrick, who was in command of the Yeomanry; to execute a flank movement on the right, leaving General Babington to take the matter in hand on the other side. Hereabouts the 37th rejoined the main body after a long gallop, and again took up their original position at the head of the regiment. Colonel Meyrick led his men along at a smart pace, and as we breasted a rise in the road we viewed several Boers breaking away across the open. Soon afterwards the brigadier sent the 5th out on the right, whilst he himself led the main body to the left with the idea of driving the enemy from his positions in front. The Boers, however, did not show much inclination to fight.

“All the time Colonel Meyrick was being seconded by Colonel Lawson of the 10th, who now dismounted his men and led them to the attack. A few volleys sufficed, however, for at this moment a pom-pom made its appearance on the scene, and after waiting long enough to receive a few well-directed shells from it the Boers gave

The Transvaal War

way and galloped off in little parties as hard as they could go. In a few minutes the Yeomanry were in hot pursuit of the enemy. 'Ware hole' was a constant cry all day long, and casualties occurred from the treacherous state of the ground. Now before us lay a vast plain, beyond which was a long straggling range of kopjes. Thither the Boers had retreated in haste. The 5th were still on our right, and I saw a body of mounted men on our left. All the troops Colonel Meyrick had with him were Colonel Lawson and four broken squadrons of the 10th. But there was no drawing rein. Four men were sent forward to scout the country on the left front and four somewhere else. The remainder galloped to the left flank. Hereabouts some troops were detached from the main body in order to capture some waggons; and a few minutes later two men of the 37th—Nichols and Brown—who had been sent forward to reconnoitre, captured a gun (a twelve-pounder, O Battery, Royal Horse Artillery, lost at Colenso). Three Boers were in charge of it, but one immediately took to his heels and escaped, and the other two—two beardless boys—were too much out of breath with their efforts of whipping up and shouting at the jaded team of mules to do anything but throw up their arms. One of the youngsters burst into tears when he was disarmed.

"Notwithstanding all this, the two colonels still kept up the pursuit, and came across some more waggons four miles ahead. Here, however, the enemy were in strong numbers, and a few of our men fell foul of some Boers in a mealie field, but miraculously escaped. Soon afterwards the officer commanding received a message from the General recalling him, but it was not till then that Colonel Meyrick led back his scanty followers to escort the plunder into camp. It was a curious procession that wended its way across the veldt. Jolting along in front were several captured waggons with a slender escort. Then came Colonel Meyrick, on his good dun horse, with his injured arm still in a sling, followed by his orderlies. Next in order a pom-pom and the captured gun, which was being driven along by the two ragged Dutch boys; two waggons, a Cape cart, and an ambulance waggon, the officers and the remnant of the 10th bringing up the rear. Just before we reached camp we passed Lord Methuen, sitting on the ground, writing his despatches. The troops bivouacked near Paarde Plaats (where Methuen captured Sellers's laager a short time ago), after having been in the saddle or on foot for twelve hours.

"Next morning the mounted troops marched as far as Hartebeestefontein, and the men took advantage of a brief halt in the picturesque village to loot oranges, of which there were any quantity in the orchards and gardens, though mostly green ones. Eventually the troops bivouacked about six miles from the village. The General

In the Western Transvaal

ordered a rest on the next day; but afterwards the men did some very heavy marching in order to keep in touch with the other columns. Although Babington made another big haul and Rawlinson shelled the Boers, Methuen did not get another chance of having a smack at the enemy. The column reached Mafeking on Sunday, 12th inst.—a cold, dusty morning.

“Lord Methuen’s old yeomen entrained at Mafeking *en route* for the south at 1 P.M. yesterday, 14th inst. The General himself paid his ‘old comrades-in-arms’ the high compliment of coming down to the station in order to see them off. He met with a splendid ovation, and was carried shoulder-high and safely deposited on a temporary platform amidst rounds of applause. Then every yeoman pressed eagerly forward to shake the outstretched hand of their gallant leader. Lord Methuen seemed deeply impressed with the enthusiastic reception accorded him. But it was the only way we had of expressing our gratitude and admiration. There was no speech.”

The above letter describes not only the last operations but the last farewell of the “Old Yeomanry.” Before parting with them, some statistics regarding the brave and serviceable men who were leaving the scene of their activities may not be out of place.

According to the official record of the casualties in South Africa during the twelve months ending March 27, the Imperial Yeomanry losses had been 185 killed, 642 wounded, 388 died of disease, 49 died of wounds, 571 invalided; deaths from accidents, 20; missing, 205; prisoners, 497—total, 2557. The majority of the missing had reappeared, and the prisoners were released. At the end of July 1900, the strength of the Yeomanry in South Africa was: 536 officers, 10,195 men—total, 10,731; in February, before the reinforcements had arrived, the strength had been reduced to 495 officers, 7500 men—total, 7995; on May 1 the figures read 800 officers, 22,304 men—total, 23,104. The Imperial Yeomanry Hospitals had also done invaluable work. Both Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener eulogised the scheme, and the most eminent surgeons endorsed the opinions of the military authorities. The movement, it may be remembered, was started by Lady Georgiana Curzon (now Countess Howe), and an influential committee was appointed to carry out the work. The total record of patients treated at Deelfontein, Mackenzie’s Farm (now taken over by the Government), Pretoria, and Bloemfontein, and by the Field Hospital up to the middle of May was 17,070. During April, May, and June, the whole of the original force (together with the Australian and New Zealand contingents) was withdrawn from the country and their places, in course of time, were taken by 16,000 new yeomen and new Colonial contingents, but these, though apt and

The Transvaal War

willing, were naturally incapable of filling at once the huge gap made by the loss of these trained and seasoned men.

To resume. During April, energetic measures were set on foot in Namaqualand by Colonel Smith and Colonel Shelton. Colonel Shelton had now organised a field column to work in the arid district, Bushmanland, the first contingent of sixty men and three officers, commanded by Captain Montagu, having started to reinforce the advance post at Agenthuis, which was held by Lieutenant Rich and a small patrol. These, meanwhile, were attacked by the enemy, and fought with them for five hours. They then had to evacuate the place.

Zeerust was still in a state of siege, but the North Lancashire Regiment and some Yeomen engaged the raiders and gave them a warm day, fighting being pursued with unabated zeal from daylight till dusk. The New Zealanders next shelled the Boers' meeting-place and disturbed their little plans, and showed them that the inconvenience of the besieged might be shared by the besiegers. A party of the North Lancashires surprised the Boers and wounded three of their number, and later, on the 29th, driven desperate by want of sufficient provisions, the scouts made a grand sortie, and captured a plentiful supply of oxen.

Everywhere in the west there was unrest, owing to the damage created by the desperadoes. Belmont Station was attacked and the telegraph instruments damaged, and in the Montzani district Captain Tupper, Liverpool Regiment, and twelve men had an unpleasant time near Taaiboshpan, but gained the day after three hours' fighting. Elsewhere Lieutenant Barton (Bedfordshire Regiment) found himself surrounded in a farm. A day of tussle was spent there, but in the night the British escaped. Colonel Walford thereupon set himself to work to scour and purge the district.

APRIL. ORANGE RIVER COLONY—OPERATIONS OF GENERAL BRUCE-HAMILTON AND GENERAL RUNDLE

Now that the Boers, in small bands, were being forced northward from Cape Colony and from Kruitziuger's hunting-ground, preparations were made near Bethulie and along the Orange River for their reception. To this end General Lyttelton moved the troops of General Bruce-Hamilton and Colonel Hickman from Dewetsdorp and Wepener, and these—in conjunction with Colonel Haig's columns—were so ranged by the 5th April, as to defeat any great incursion of marauders into the Orange River Colony. But, save for the clever capture by Colonel Munro, with 150 Bethune's Mounted Infantry and a pom-pom, of a convoy and eighty-

Orange River Colony

three prisoners (including Commandant Brester and Lieutenant Lindigne of the Staats Artillery), little took place, and General Bruce-Hamilton was enabled to return to his position at Dewetsdorp. On the 13th of April he succeeded General Lyttelton in his command, as that officer was leaving for England, and Colonel Haig moved to take charge of operations in Cape Colony. On both sides of the river the sweeping up of stores and capture of Boers proceeded apace, and the total result of General Bruce-Hamilton's April activities was the capture of ninety-five prisoners, 300 horses, and an abundance of live stock.

The raiders, ragged and starving, were continually active. Kruitzyger made an ineffectual effort to cross on the 4th, but was frustrated by finding the troops of General Bruce-Hamilton in possession of the river banks. Colonel White and Colonel Munro so actively scoured round and about Springfontein that such Boers as there were quickly vanished till a more opportune period. Others tried to sneak across at Oudefontein Drift, but Major Murray's men discovered them in the act and disposed of them. From the region of Brandford came the news of the capture of a laager on the 2nd by the prowess of Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry, who, by night, had surrounded the camp of Bester and caught him napping.

On the 7th of April, Colonel Thorneycroft moved towards Winburg to deal with a minor concentration of the enemy in that neighbourhood. The rumour of his approach served to defeat the Boers' object and disperse them, and he consequently returned to Brandfort.

General Sir Leslie Rundle remained indefatigable. In March he was still firmly holding his line—Ficksburg, Harrismith, Bethlehem, and Vrede. But he was minus the mobile column under General Campbell, which had temporarily reinforced the troops under General Wynne, and was furnishing an escort under Colonel Inglefield on the Utrecht-Luneburg line, whence General French (in the important operations which have been described) drew his supplies. General Campbell, after trying experiences (fighting perpetually in marsh and morass, floating waggons across rivers, and crossing on rafts, &c.) which delayed all his undertakings, returned to Harrismith on the 10th of April. Later, General Rundle, finding the Boers had again buzzed about Fouriesburg, left Harrismith for Bethlehem, reaching there on the 24th. The enemy, some 300, dogged his footsteps and hung round his flanks till it was necessary to whisk them off, which was accomplished after four days' fighting. He was then able to move on *via* Retief's Nek, which he passed on the 29th, entering Fouriesburg

The Transvaal War

unopposed on the 2nd of May. He afterwards set about scouring the country in its remotest valleys with flying columns, while Colonel Harley from Ficksburg made similar excursions. These united activities were fraught with considerable excitement and corresponding success. On the 31st of May, Colonel Harley left Fouriesburg and seized the Slaapkrantz position without serious opposition, sending the Boers who were fleeing before him into the arms of General Campbell. This officer was moving from the direction of Bethlehem, and by a forced march managed to reach Naauwpoort Nek in time to intercept the enemy's convoy. From this date to the 8th of June, when they joined hands at Elands River Drift, Colonels Harley and Campbell traversed the rugged region north and south of the Roodebergen range, while a small column from Harrismith watched the country to the east of Elands River Drift. The results of these difficult operations and excursions against Prinsloo's, Rautenhach's, and other commandos were as follows: 7 Boers killed, 19 wounded, 101 Krupp shells, 4800 rounds of ammunition, 21 rifles, 43 vehicles, and 1450 horses. Foodstuffs, stores, and forage in great quantities were captured or destroyed. The rest of June was spent in clearing the Langeberg, the only district south of the Harrismith-Bethlehem road which remained to be dealt with in the new scheme of operations. The enemy hung mosquito-wise around the flanks of the scouring columns, but they pursued their work and accounted for 15 Boers killed or wounded, 2770 horses, 56 vehicles, 4000 rounds of ammunition, 7 rifles, and quantities of stores and stock. On the conclusion of these operations, General Rundle returned to Harrismith, where he remained till he started to co-operate with General Elliot's march from Springfield Drift to Frankfort. Of which anon.

During June, Generals Rundle and Campbell bade farewell to the "Old Yeomanry." The chief took the opportunity to express his especial satisfaction with the excellent work done by them, saying that when they joined he was without cavalry, and did not know what he should have done without them.

An interesting incident, showing that the pluck and value of the Imperial Yeomanry cannot be overrated, may here be quoted. On the 23rd of June, the Harrismith Volunteer Light Horse and a few of the Imperial Yeomanry visited a farm and captured 1500 horses, sheep, and goats. While these were being driven in, Sergeant-Major Reid (11th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry), who with two men was handling a flock, was assailed by a party of twelve Boers. Reid promptly sent on the men with the animals and lay down alone in the open and covered their retreat.

CHAPTER V

COMBINED MOVEMENT FOR THE CLEARANCE OF THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL.—MARCH AND APRIL

LORD KITCHENER now engaged himself in preparing a new and immense combined movement for the clearance of the country to the north of Pretoria. The so-called seat of government of the Boers had been removed from Pietersburg to Roos Senekal, and its presence there naturally attracted all the Boers who, in consequence of General French's clearance of the Swaziland border, had been forced into the difficult country of the Tautesberg and Bothaberg. In planning a movement against these bands from the line of Middelburg-Belfast-Lydenburg, precautions had to be taken to prevent the escape of the enemy into the Zoutpansberg and Waterberg districts. It therefore became necessary to hold Pietersburg and the drifts over Olifant's River, and to chase the Boers from their snug retreats in the vicinity.

Accordingly, General Plumer was moved from Orange River Colony and directed to hold Pietersburg, and prepare to co-operate in the combined movement just described.

At this time, 26th March, Pienaars River was the most advanced garrison on the Pietersburg line. For this place General Plumer started, there to be joined by the 2nd Battalion Gordon Highlanders and "C" Section Pom-Poms.

Beyond Pienaars River repairs to the line had to be effected, which caused delay, then the troops advanced from Warmbad, Nylstroom, to Piet Potgietersrust over a clear line. Here the enemy meant mischief, for they had blown up one of the smaller railway bridges, but this was soon repaired, and on the 8th of April the advanced troops reached Pietersburg, the average distance covered being fifteen miles a day. The town had been evacuated in the night. Here provisions, supplies, and remounts had to be collected, in order that the attack, once begun, might be carried on without a hitch, and that the Boers, chased from one quarter, might not be sent trekking into Rhodesia, but be enveloped and swept up *en masse* as they had been at Paardeberg and at Fouriesburg. The projected advance was full of difficulties and the preliminaries were endless. It was impossible to begin till men, horses, and supplies had been deposited at Pietersburg by rail from Cape Town, Port

The Transvaal War

Elizabeth, Durban, or Delagoa Bay. It must be remembered that the columns were preparing to march some 150 miles across the veldt, where the greatest of all enemies, the tsetse fly, harassed every inch of the road. In addition to this deadly foe to horses, there were now the wintry nights, following grilling days, to be encountered, and chilly shocks which bring enteric and other diseases in their train.

At Pietersburg forty-six Boers voluntarily surrendered, and the following captures were made:—one Krupp gun, thirty rifles, 1000 rounds 7-pounder ammunition, 210,000 small-arm ammunition, 8300 lbs. gunpowder, 480 lbs. dynamite. Two truck-loads of ammunition had been blown up by the Boers on their departure. The occupation of the place now made the scheme for the opening of railway communication from the Cape to Cairo (hitherto thought to be a visionary's dream) perfectly feasible. The line from Warmbaths to Pietersburg was now placed in charge of Colonel Hall, the posts being occupied by the Northamptonshire and Wiltshire Regiments, together with the 12th Battalion Mounted Infantry. This left General Plumer's mounted troops free to hold the line of the Olifant's River. Having established an adequate garrison at Pietersburg, General Plumer proceeded to post Major Colvin's column to secure the drift at Bathfontein, while to Colonel Jeffreys was assigned the task of occupying a lower drift at Blaauwbloemje's Kloof. General Plumer himself was at Commissie Drift. Schalk Burger at this time was said to have deposited himself at Tolesburg, west of Middelburg, where he still endeavoured to carry on the parody of government.

Colonel Jeffreys on the 18th, while operating with his mobile column along the Olifant, came on a party of Boers east of Druehoek. He captured eleven and seized their ammunition. Soon after, Lieutenant Reid (Imperial Bushmen) with some twenty Australians, who had been detached from General Plumer's post at Commissie Drift, performed a valiant act. While in charge of his patrol he located a Boer laager some fifteen miles east of the drift. Under cover of night he and his handful of Colonials crept towards the camp, surrounded it, and at dawn on the 24th boldly attacked it. The enemy, doubtless imagining that young Reid's hardihood was backed by a large reserve at his elbow, promptly surrendered, and the gallant British band had the honour of recording a haul of forty-one prisoners, including the commandant, Schroeder, and one excellent Maxim, together with horses, mules, waggons, and ammunition. The Boers, on their side, scored slightly elsewhere. On the day following this brilliant episode, while Major Twyford, with a small escort, was moving from Machadodorp to Lydenburg, there to join the Royal Scots, the enemy lay in ambush



DEFEAT OF A NIGHT ATTEMPT TO CROSS THE RAILWAY

Drawing by Allan Stewart

Operations North of Middelburg

near Badfontein, a valley on the Crocodile River. Their plans were successful, for it was not difficult in this shelving and dipping region to surprise a small party moving over a vast tract of difficult country. The tussle that followed was a tough one, the men fighting desperately and refusing to surrender. At last Major Twyford was killed and his band overpowered.

The results of General Plumer's operations between the 14th and 28th of April were ninety-one prisoners, twenty surrendered, one Maxim, 20,360 rounds ammunition, twenty-six waggons and carts, and forty-six mules.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR BINDON BLOOD'S OPERATIONS NORTH OF THE LINE MIDDELBURG—BELFAST—LYDENBURG

On the day (14th April) that General Plumer, having garrisoned Pietersburg, left there to seize the drifts on the Olifant River, and thus close the avenues of escape leading towards the north-west, Sir Bindon Blood disposed his force in the following manner. The columns of Colonel Park and General Kitchener occupied Lydenburg, with those of Colonel Douglas at Witklip (south of them). Colonel Pulteney was stationed at Belfast, while at Middelburg were Colonel Benson and General Beatson. The columns of Colonels Pulteney and Benson were commanded by General Fetherstonhaugh.

These columns, admirably placed for the work in hand, now began to move, so that the enemy in this difficult region might no longer plume himself on being secure from attack.

Column One, under Colonel Park, moving round into the Waterval Valley, joined hands with Column Two under General W. Kitchener near Rietfontein. In this region Colonel Park remained, so as to check any attempt on the part of the Boers to move north from Roosenekal, while General Kitchener continued his advance across the Steelpoort River to Fort Weber, which was reached on the 18th of April.

Column Three, under Colonel Douglas, moved to Dullstroom (*viâ* Zwagershoek and Palmietfontein), which was reached on the 17th of April. On the following day Colonel Pulteney, with Column Four, arrived there from Belfast, but pushed on *viâ* Witpoort to occupy Roosenekal. On his approach Mr. Schalk Burger and his Government, in hot haste, bolted to Leydsdorp, leaving papers of the South African Republic and many bank-notes behind. Some of the documents captured at Roosenekal by the forces under Sir Bindon Blood consisted of (1) a circular issued by the Boer Commandant-General as to the treatment of burghers who have surrendered; (2) a letter of representatives of the Central

The Transvaal War

Peace Committee, Pretoria, urging surrender ; and (3) a certificate of the execution of M. de Kock, a member of that committee. In the letter from the Central Peace Committee, one of the signatories of which was M. de Kock, there occurred, after a reference to the strong position of Lord Kitchener, the following words :—

“What is submitted to you is a well-meant offer from a powerful man, who is sure of his case, and a person who is willing to do everything to restore peace and prevent further bloodshed and destruction of our dear country, and to remove the sufferings of our wives and children ; and when I submit this verbally to you, you will be convinced that this is truly the act of a strong man, who knows his own strength and might, and can thus hold out the olive branch. Oh, I trust that you and your fellow-burghers will accept it as such, and not do as we Afrikanders generally do, when such representations are made to us, to consider it a sign of weakness, because the Lord knows that he (Lord Kitchener) is doing so from pure nobility of soul, and the wish of the British people to prevent further bloodshed.”

The foregoing was evidently issued after M. de Kock had met Lord Kitchener in Pretoria. Then followed a circular by Commandant C. R. de Wet denouncing Lord Kitchener's terms, and a circular issued by Commandant Botha giving his account of the negotiations. De Wet stated :—

“Finally, I wish to observe that if I and our Government were so foolish as to accept the proposals of Lord Kitchener, I am convinced that the great majority of our people, if not all, who are now fighting, would not agree, for to accept those proposals means nothing less than the complete subjection of the Afrikaner people, and the subjection of a people is more bitter to think of than the death of every single burgher.”

To Roosenekal Colonel Benson, with Column Five, also directed his steps, marching by Bankfontein and Klupspruit and Blinkwater, clearing the surrounding country as he went. He and Colonel Pulteney having come in touch with each other, they now scoured the valley around Steelpoort, unearthing Boers and capturing burghers innumerable.

General Beatson, with Column Six, was engaged in a prodigious task. Besides sweeping the country—Avontuur, Laatse Drift—through which he marched, to Brakfontein, he was instructed to hold both Wagon and Crocodile Drifts on the Olifant River, and to push out patrols to connect with General Plumer's troops on the lower reaches of the river.

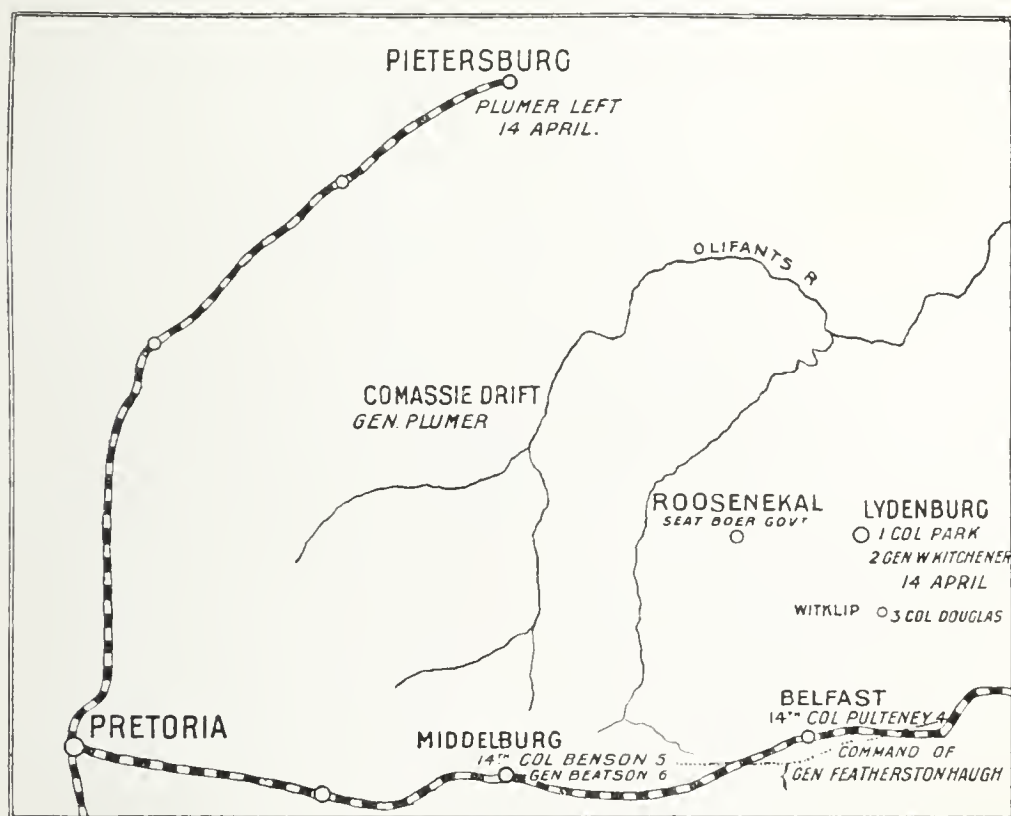
Later, General W. Kitchener, from Fort Weber, moved south to Paardeplaats, in the vicinity of which place he operated for some days making captures of prisoners and stock, and then proceeding farther south to clear the Bothaberg before going to Middelburg.

To Middelburg *via* Blinkwater also went Colonel Pulteney from

Operations North of Middelburg

Roosenekal, while Colonels Benson and Douglas (who for some time co-operated at Dullstroom) marched to Belfast.

Thus the country was completely weeded of the enemy, and though some few effected their escape through the rugged region east of the Steelpoort Valley, 1081 Boers surrendered. Other captures included a 1-pounder quick-firing Krupp gun complete, with one hundred rounds of ammunition, one pom-pom, 540 rifles, 204,450 rounds of ammunition, 247 horses, 611 waggons and carts. One Long Tom, one 4.7-inch gun (captured at Helvetia), one 15-pounder gun, one 12-pounder Krupp gun, two pom-poms, and two



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE COMBINED MOVEMENT TO CLEAR THE
NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

Maxims were blown up by the enemy to avoid capture. Unfortunately a gallant Victorian, Lieutenant Beatty, lost his life.

The combined operations thus satisfactorily concluded, General Plumer concentrated his troops and marched by the line of Elands and Kameel Rivers to Eerste Fabrieken. General Blood, still co-operating, directed General Beatson to move his force from Wagon Drift along the left bank of the Wilge River to Bronker's Spruit Station. Colonel Allenby (who had returned from assisting General French's operations) moved from Middelburg to Witbank, and thence, in conjunction with General Beatson, began to clear the angle of the Wilge and Olifant Rivers. The enemy was now dispersing in every direction. Only one party driven westward by

The Transvaal War

General Beatson was caught. This, in full flight, was overtaken by a detachment from General Plumer's force. Major Vialls and the 3rd Victorian Bushmen, after an exciting chase over the rugged wilds, brought in twenty-seven prisoners, eighteen rifles, thirty waggons, and 1000 head of cattle.

General Plumer reached his destination (Eerste Fabrieken) on the 4th of May.

COLONEL GRENFELL AT PIETERSBURG

Concurrently with the activities of General Plumer and Sir Bindon Blood, events of some importance took place near Pietersburg. No sooner had General Plumer turned his back on the place than the Boers, some fifteen miles to the north, began to collect. A reconnaissance conducted by Mounted Infantry scented out a big commando, said to be under the command of Van Rensburg, at Klipdam. Accordingly Colonel Grenfell, with his column (Kitchener's Fighting Scouts), was sent by rail to Pietersburg "to clear up the situation." The clearing up process was highly effective. Moving by night (on the 26th of April), the troops came on the laager at Klipdam a little before dawn, and with the first streak of day delivered their attack. The fight was short, sharp, and brilliant. Seven Boers were killed. Only one of our men was wounded. Forty-one Dutchmen were captured, together with their camp, twenty-six horses, ten mules, waggons multifarious, and 76,000 rounds of ammunition.

This dashing exploit was soon followed by another, less showy but decidedly practical. Report having declared that the last Long Tom of the enemy was ensconced somewhere twenty miles east of Pietersburg, Colonel Grenfell directed his energies towards its capture. He marched hot foot *via* Doornhoek—which he reached on the 30th—to Berg Plaats. But the enemy was on the *qui vive*. They determined that Long Tom should show fight till his last gasp, and opened fire at over 10,000 yards range. Still Colonel Grenfell's men pushed on and on, determined to capture their prize, while the horrible weapon snorted derisively. At last, after firing sixteen rounds, and while Kitchener's Fighting Scouts were steadily bearing down on them, the Boers blew it up and scudded to the north-east to save their skins. The great object, therefore, of the splendid rush was defeated, but ten prisoners were secured, together with thirty-five rounds of ammunition for the defunct Long Tom. Two of the British party were wounded. While proceeding to search for further spoil, 100,000 rounds of Martini-Henry ammunition were unearthed at a neighbouring farm and destroyed. Kitchener's Fighting Scouts, under Colonels Colenbrander and

Colonel Grenfell at Pietersburg

Wilson, were now ever on the move, and, working from Bergvlei as a centre, were continually bringing in wandering Boers. A detachment of the 12th Mounted Infantry under Major Thomson, too, did splendid work, and succeeded, in the midst of a dense fog, in capturing Commandant Marais and forty of his followers.

Beyers, who had fled from Pietersburg on the approach of the British, was still at large, however, and in the Waterberg district was doing his best to intercept such commandos as were on the way to surrender. Munnik, a former landdrost of Pietersburg, and somewhat of a firebrand, together with his son, an ex-state mining engineer, had been captured during General Plumer's march, by Major Kirkwood and the Wiltshire Regiment.

The total "bag" made by Colonel Grenfell, during his move from Pietersburg till his return there on the 6th of May, was 129 prisoners, fifty voluntary surrenders, and 240,000 rounds of ammunition, which were destroyed. Seven Boers were killed.

On 10th May Botha forwarded to Lord Kitchener another letter :—

"As I have already assured your Excellency, I am very desirous of terminating this war and its sad consequences. It is, however, necessary, in order to comply with the Grondwet of this Republic and otherwise, that, before any steps are taken in that direction, the condition of our country and our cause be brought to the notice of his Honour State President Kruger in Europe ; and I therefore wish to send two persons to him in order to acquaint him fully with that condition. As speed in this matter is of great consequence to both contending parties, and as such despatch without your Excellency's assistance would take a considerable time, I should like to hear from your Excellency whether your Excellency is prepared to assist me in expediting this matter by allowing such person or persons to journey there and back unhindered, if necessary by the traffic medium within your Excellency's control."

On 16th May Lord Kitchener replied to the application as follows :—

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Honour's letter of the 10th instant, and, in reply, beg to state that I can only deal with you and your superior officers in the field in regard to the cessation of hostilities, and that I do not recognise the official status of any other persons in the late Republics of the Orange River and Transvaal. If, however, your Honour desires, with the object of bringing hostilities to a close, to consult with any person in Europe I will forward any telegram your Honour desires on the subject and let you have the reply. Should, however, your Honour still desire to send messengers, and will inform me of their names and status, I will refer the matter to his Majesty's Government for decision."

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL ELLIOT'S OPERATIONS FROM KROONSTAD

IT will be remembered that during the middle of March Lord Kitchener engaged himself with a new scheme of redistribution, and that General Elliot's force was arranged to operate from Kroonstad in the northern district of the Orange River Colony. By the 10th of April this force was ready to take the field. In consequence of a seeming recrudescence of activity of the enemy in the north-west of the Colony, and certain signs of a possible junction between them and their confederates of the south-west of the Transvaal, General Elliot directed his energies to the sweeping of the district about Reitzburg and Parys. Here supplies in some quantities served as an attraction to the hungry commandos. These were satisfactorily disposed of by the 20th of April, when the force returned to Kroonstad.

But it remained not long idle. General Elliot proceeded to scour the districts beyond the Wilge River, where the Dutchmen were again beginning to hoard their goods for further activity. Lord Kitchener's plan was as follows:—A movement was to be made by parallel columns on a wide front eastward beyond Heilbron; the left or northern column, when past that point, was to halt, while the other columns wheeling to the left should clear the country, the right passing east of Frankfort. The whole division, moving north in line, was then to press the Boers and their stock back on the Vaal River.

In order to drive as many dispersed Boers as possible into General Elliot's net, General C. Knox, concurrently with General Elliot's first move, was to send a column towards Reitz. A force was also stationed on the north under Colonel Western, who had succeeded to the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Williams' column on the lower drifts of the Wilge River. At the same time the columns of Colonels E. Knox and Rimington were to move from Heidelberg and Standerton respectively towards the junction of the Vaal and Waterval Rivers.

In accordance with this scheme, General C. Knox occupied Senekal on the 25th of April, sending, as directed, Colonel Pilcher (who had been doing magnificent work at Clocolan, Mequatting's Nek, and the Korannaberg) to Reitz on the 28th. The town was found to have been evacuated on the previous evening, and

Orange River Colony (North)

report spoke to General Elliot's presence on the north of it: consequently, Colonel Pilcher's part in the scheme being accomplished, he rejoined General Knox at Senekal, and with him moved to the railway.

General Elliot's force at this time was moving east, and by the 7th of May the troops were disposed along the line Villiersdorp-Frankfort-Tafel Kop. On the 9th the General, who was at Cornelia, despatched a force to Vrede, and sent off forty prisoners, 5000 horses, and a large number of waggons and cattle to Standerton. The Boers (since Colonel Western was guarding the Wilge River Drift) were now threatened on all sides. Flying in despair to the hilly cover south of Greylingstad, they jumped into the open arms of Colonels E. Knox and Rimington, who were lying in wait for them. Those who were smart enough to escape scurried across the river, but 34 prisoners, 4000 cattle, 284 waggons and carts, and 5400 rounds of ammunition were secured, and the haul served as a successful finale to the first phase of these well-directed operations.

Colonel Western's share in the movement being completed, he went from the Wilge River Drifts to Heilbron. Here he became aware that Steenkamp's laagers were situated some seventeen miles to north of him. Quick as lightning he was off again, marching stealthily by night in the direction of the quarry, and rushing the camp at dawn on the 9th of May. It was a splendidly conceived and splendidly executed affair, and thirty-two prisoners, with horses, waggons, and carts, were the prize of the undertaking.

June opened with more dexterous swoops, and after clearing the ground from Vereeniging to Parys, and thoroughly sweeping Venterskroom and Vredefort, the force returned eastward to the rail, bringing with them nine prisoners, 16,000 rounds of ammunition, and many waggons. After refitting at Rhenoster, Colonel Western scoured the country between the junction of the Vaal and Rhenoster Rivers and Coal Mine Drift, but the enemy vanished, having now every reason to reserve their ammunition, or to spend it only on forces inferior to their own in number. They were not in all cases successful in their disappearance, for a convoy was caught on the 23rd of June, and the guerillas had to fight for dear life; six prisoners and all the waggons and stock were captured. Colonel Western then marched to Klerksdorp to replenish his supplies, after which he co-operated with General Gilbert Hamilton and Colonel Allenby—attacked the enemy in the mountain fastnesses of Hartebeestefontein, and captured more prisoners, horses, and rifles. He finished up the month by moving towards Hoopstad to meet Colonel Henry's column, on its way from Christiana, hustling Boers wherever

The Transvaal War

he found them, and then returning to Klerksdorp, plus six prisoners, thirteen rifles, seventy-one horses, fifteen waggons and carts. Two Boers were killed.

GENERAL ELLIOT'S OPERATIONS—SECOND PHASE

General Elliot, his left column following the course of the Klip River, his right extended to the south (beyond Vrede), meanwhile marched towards the Natal border. At the same time Colonel Colville's force moved up the right bank of the Klip River on General Elliot's left, searching the country around Verzammelberg. Troops from General Hildyard's force were posted to close Almond's (or Alleman's) Nek and guard Botha's and Muller's Passes. Beyond an engagement with some 300 of the foe, who were found on his right flank some twenty miles below Vrede, General Elliot met with slight opposition. He reached Botha's Pass on the 19th of May, and forwarded to Natal some 2000 horses and stock, the fruits of his labours since leaving the Vaal.

The Boers by this time had found for themselves a new and naturally strong position some twenty-five miles to the south, and from this rugged and honeycombed region it was imperative to rout them. On the 21st they were attacked and without much difficulty driven off, as their resistance was mainly intended to cause a diversion while their convoy got away in safety to the cover of the broken country along the banks of the Wilge River. General Elliot, accompanied by Colonel De Lisle's column, now marched to Harri-smith, collecting nearly 2000 horses on the way, and returning afterwards to Vrede. There, at the end of the month, he was met by Colonels Bethune and Lowe, who had remained behind to operate north and west of Witkoppies—the position south of Botha's Pass whence the Boers had been dislodged.

On the 3rd of June General Elliot, having replenished his supplies from Standerton, moved from Vrede towards Kroonstad *via* Reitz and Lindley. It was on the way to Reitz that one of the most exciting conflicts of the march took place. A night swoop on Graspan had been planned for the purpose of intercepting a Boer convoy (said to be De Wet's), which had been located in the neighbourhood. Accordingly, in the small hours of the 6th, Major Sladen, with 400 Mounted Infantry of Colonel De Lisle's force, made his way to the laager. The movement was executed with the utmost secrecy, and before they knew of the coming of the troops the Boers in their slumbers found themselves surrounded. All that could get away bolted precipitately, but forty-five prisoners were secured. Then Major Sladen, after sending some forty of his party to communicate with Colonel De Lisle, took up a defensive position and awaited



THE CAPTURE OF DE WET'S CONVOY AT REITZ, JUNE 6, 1901: THE ATTACK UPON THE BOER WAGGONS

BY COLONEL DE LISLE'S FORCE

Drawing by R. Caton Woodville

General Elliot's Operations

reinforcements. During the interval the fleeing Boers had a chance to draw breath; they calculated the smallness of the British party by which they had been attacked, and knew that, weighted with prisoners and waggons, it would be impossible for them to move on. They presently came on Fouché, who was marching in this direction with 500 men, and with him returned to the rescue of their comrades of the laager, and made a vigorous struggle to regain the convoy. The small and fatigued British party remained gallant as ever.



COLONEL DE LISLE
(Photo by J. Edwards, London)

Captain Finlay (Bedford Regiment) and Captain Langley (South African Bushmen) and their men met the attack with immense energy, but in the course of the action the Boers succeeded in getting away some of the waggons which were parked outside the position.

They nevertheless (though egged on by De Wet and Delarey, who chanced to be on their way to the Transvaal) failed to make any impression on Major Sladen's superb defence, which was doggedly sustained till 3 P.M. By this time the first reinforcement from De Lisle's force was seen to be advancing, and the enemy in hot haste tore off, taking with them such waggons as they had secured. But they were swiftly pursued. Fighting recom-

The Transvaal War

menced with ferocity—hand-to-hand combats on all sides—and the waggons, all but two, were recaptured. Among the deeds of valour which were numerous on this memorable occasion, was the dashing exploit of young Ashburner, who, at the head of a few men, plunged into the thick of the fray, and at point of bayonet effected the recapture of the leading waggons.

Poor Lieutenant Cameron of the Gordon Highlanders, who had many times before been notable for conspicuous gallantry, was killed. A gallant young officer, White of the Gordon Highlanders, escaped by a marvel. He was taken prisoner during the first fight, and stripped by the Boers; but when the second attack commenced he succeeded in escaping, and, further, managed to run six miles and bring up reinforcements.

But such hard fighting was not carried on without heavy cost—that of 3 officers and 17 men killed, and 1 officer and 24 men wounded. The enemy lost 14 dead, 6 wounded, and 45 taken prisoners, in addition to a number of injured which were carried away in carts. The captures included 10,000 rounds of ammunition, 114 waggons and carts, 4000 cattle, and a quantity of foodstuffs.

More captures were made later, near Lindley, and the force, heavily weighted, arrived at Kroonstad on the 14th and 15th of June. From thence, on the 22nd, they swept eastward, between Lindley and Senekal, towards the line of the Wilge River. On the 2nd of July, at Springfield Drift, some twenty miles north of Harrismith, they received supplies sent out by General Rundle. This officer was now preparing to co-operate with General Elliot, and to march north, on his right, through the country east of the Wilge River, while General Bullock should traverse the country from Standerton to Frankfort *via* Villiersdorp, and thus serve as a stop for any Boers who might be swept that way.

CHAPTER VII

GENERAL BRUCE-HAMILTON'S OPERATIONS, ORANGE RIVER COLONY (SOUTH)

GENERAL BRUCE-HAMILTON, as we know, succeeded General Lyttelton in his command on the 13th of April, and proceeded to spend the rest of the month in clearing the Orange River Colony, the Smithfield, Zastron, and Rouxville districts, on the east of the railway. Engaged in this work were Colonels Hickman, Monro, Maxwell, and White. Hearing that the enemy was massing in the hills round Philippolis, he directed Colonel W. Williams to move with three columns from the railway to the western border. From the 10th to the 19th of May was spent in marching through the Philippolis district, mopping up Boers, horses, and stock. Thirty-three prisoners were taken, including Commandant Bothma. About this date a brilliant little piece of work was performed by Major Gogarty and four squadrons of the South African Light Horse. A gang of raiders was known to be hovering in the region of Luckhoff, therefore this officer, with his dashing party, was ordered to surprise and, if possible, seize them. The affair was managed with consummate skill, the troops marching by night and surrounding the marauders. Of these, armed, they captured thirty-one, together with their horses.

Colonel Byng now remained behind to hold Philippolis, while Colonel Williams returned to the railway at Prior Siding. At this time a new system of blockhouses was inaugurated for the defence of the railway, which had the effect of releasing for active operations some six thousand of the troops previously required to guard it. The whole of these blockhouses were constructed of wood and iron. The walls consisted of two skins of corrugated iron (six inches apart) filled with sharp sand. On the *complete* filling of these skins the proof of the blockhouse against rifle fire entirely depended. The filling was done from the inside at the eaves and through holes in the sills of the loopholes, and was kept complete from time to time by order of the officer in charge by working new sand through the holes in the sill by means of a shovel and piece of wood. To prevent blockhouses from being seen through from one loophole to another, screens of blankets or sacking were suspended at right angles to each other crossing the centre of the blockhouse. A

The Transvaal War

barbed wire spiderwebbing and fence surrounded the blockhouse, the entrance to which was firmly closed at night. A 200-gallon bullet-proof cased tank for water (rain water or that brought by water-carts) was kept outside the house, but on emergency water could be obtained by digging a few feet deep within the wired area round most of the houses. These preparations and precautions were none too many, as the Boers were constantly at mischief, and on the 18th they managed to derail a train at America Siding—an incident which cost the life of Major Heath (3rd Battalion South Lancashire Regiment).



A TYPICAL BLOCKHOUSE

About the 19th of May, owing to the villainous activities of the guerillas in the north of Cape Colony, Colonel Monro moved to join the troops operating near Steynsburg, and subsequently Colonel Murray crossed into the Cape Colony. Colonel Maxwell (R.E.), to the deep regret of his colleagues and of all who knew of his distinguished services as leader of the Colonial Division under General Brabant, succumbed to the serious injuries received by being thrown from his horse. Early in June Colonel White proceeded to Aliwal North to act in combination with Colonel Haig, who was still chasing Kruitziuger. At this time, in accordance with General Bruce-

Orange River Colony (Centre)

Hamilton's plan of scouring the country towards Petrusburg, his force was split into seven small columns. More columns, co-operating, advanced from the line of Kaffir River, Jagersfontein Road, Luckhoff, and Koffyfontein, so as to converge on Petrusburg; while Colonel Henry's force co-operated through Wolvekop (near Luckhoff), and the Kimberley column moved near Koffyfontein. Another force, moving from Bloemfontein, operated westward from Kaffir River Station. To block retreat to the north, the South African Constabulary occupied posts along the line of country between Bloemfontein and Petrusburg; and higher up, the Modder River drifts, between Abraham's Kraal and Paardeberg, were guarded by General Knox's troops. The movement took from the 5th to the 8th of June, during which time many laagers were surprised (one by the Burgher Police under Lieutenant Bayley), and 268 prisoners with various stores and effects secured. These activities were followed by others of a similar nature against roving gangs—under the Commandants Brand, Kolbe, and Joubert—which infested the country east of the railway, between the Caledon River on the south, and the line Edenburg-Reddersburg-Dewetsdorp on the north. Fights and skirmishes and snipings continued almost daily, and the columns of Colonels Rochfort, White, and Du Moulin had no reason to complain of lack of excitement. On the west of the railway, Colonels Williams and Byng continued to sweep the districts of Fauresmith, Jacobsdal, and Philippolis.

MAJOR-GENERAL C. KNOX, ORANGE RIVER COLONY (CENTRE)

General Charles Knox, in accordance with the scheme of General Elliot's operations, remained in the Senekal district till the 10th of May, when he arrived on the railway. On the 13th his force was again on the move in the direction of Bothaville, in order to frustrate some parties of Boers who were seeking to evade the troops then operating near Klerksdorp, and to return to the Orange Colony. It was not long before the advance column under Colonel Pilcher came in touch with them. At a place called Allettasdraai, on the Valsch River, they were discovered, dealt with smartly and decisively, and driven south-west towards Zandspruit before Colonel Thorneycroft and his nimble band. After this period General Knox concentrated his force, and marched back to the railway with a view to acting in co-operation with General Bruce-Hamilton's enveloping movement before described. During this movement Colonel Pilcher was continually engaged with either Commandants Jacob or Erasmus, emerging from the various frays with waggons, stock, and prisoners.

The Transvaal War

Colonel Henry, who moved his force from Jacobsdal to Christiana at the conclusion of General Bruce-Hamilton's operations, was now placed under General Knox's orders. Together with the Kimberley column he operated in the region between Bloemhof and Hoopstad, with the result that between the 2nd and 7th of July 52 prisoners, 50 horses, 64 vehicles, and over 7000 cattle were captured, 2 Boers were killed, and 55 surrendered.

Colonel Pilcher from Boshof moved to Bultfontein on the 18th of June, Colonel Thorneycroft taking simultaneously the same direction. During the advance Colonel Pilcher came in for hot work. On the 19th, while watering his cattle, he was attacked by 400 Boers, who, under cover of the smoke of a veldt fire, attacked the rearguard. These retired in good order, firing by sections. They were then relieved by the Mounted Infantry, who sent the guerillas flying, leaving seven of their number behind. The next day from a small kopje the fugitives became aggressive, and were charged by a detachment of Yeomen, who routed them, but on the morrow they were again found in some strength near Badenhorst Farm. The East Yorkshire Mounted Infantry, therefore, charged their position and dispersed them.

While Colonel Thorneycroft escorted prisoners and stock to Brandfort, Colonel Pilcher moved on in the direction of Hoopstad. Colonel Thorneycroft then searched the bed of the Vet River (west of Smaldeel), unearthing waggons and cattle which were hidden there. Towards the end of June the columns of both Pilcher and Thorneycroft were concentrated at Brandfort in order to recuperate before fresh undertakings in the easterly direction, which began on the 1st of July.

CHAPTER VIII

LORD METHUEN, TRANSVAAL (SOUTH-WEST)

THE Boers (who had been concentrating for a month at Hartebeestefontein), before the enveloping columns of Lord Methuen and General Mildmay Willson, now left their strong positions and scattered to the west. On the 8th of May some were brought to a stand at Leeuwfontein by General Babington with his smart New Zealanders, Bushmen, and Imperial Light Horse, while others were driven into General Dixon's net at Putfontein. Thus many captures were effected. Besides the fight of the 8th there was another near Korannafontein on the 10th with a detachment of Colonel Williams' force.

Lord Methuen and Sir Henry Rawlinson, after chasing the enemy in the west, moved to Mafeking and Maribogo respectively. General Babington and Colonel Williams by a southerly route returned to Klerksdorp, and General Dixon on the 25th took up his old position at Naauwpoort (south of the Magaliesberg). Seventy prisoners, twenty-six surrenders, 102 vehicles, and much stock were the results of these combined operations.

Attention next turned to Wolmaranstad, where Delarey was reported to be, and which place was now called by the Boers their capital. Rawlinson from the west, and Williams, accompanied by General Fetherstonhaugh (who had relieved General Babington) marched thither from Klerksdorp, while Lord Methuen guarded the exits towards the north. Colonel Rawlinson entered Wolmaranstad without opposition, joined hands with General Fetherstonhaugh, and proceeded towards Klerksdorp, after having marched (since the 6th of May) 387 miles. By way of interlude he captured a small laager near Cyferkuil, thus making his haul consist of 17 prisoners, 3000 head of cattle, 29,000 sheep, and 400 horses. Forty Boers and many families were also brought in. At the same time Lord Methuen, working from Korannafontein, chased a roving commando which was trekking towards Lichtenburg. The fruit of the united activity represented 56 prisoners, 40 horses, and over 100 vehicles, besides stock in abundance. An animated fight took place on the 23rd, over a convoy moving from Potchefstroom to Ventersdorp. The Potchefstroom convoy got as far as Witpoortje, where it was met by the Ventersdorp section. This section was about to leave Witpoortje on its way to Ventersdorp when it was

The Transvaal War

attacked by 300 Boers, who fought the fight of the famished. Instantly the Potchefstroom section returned to the rescue, and reinforced the Ventersdorp force with fifty men of the Welsh Fusiliers and twenty of the Imperial Light Horse. The Boers driven off, the convoy then proceeded, but again at Rietfontein Drift the guerillas, some 400 of them under Liebenberg, made a desperate rush upon the coveted supplies, three waggons of which had broken down in the scrimmage.

The escort were hard pressed—losing four men killed and two officers and thirty-one men wounded—but their endurance and gallantry stood every test. The garrison of Ventersdorp sent out fifty men to clear the front of the convoy, and finally brought it back in safety. At one time it seemed as though the convoy was lost, but it was recaptured by dint of hard fighting. Captain Purchas (2nd Battalion South Wales Borderers) especially distinguished himself, Captain Hay (Royal Welsh Fusiliers) was wounded, and Lieutenant Wells (Loyal North Lancashire Regiment), Lieutenant Bankes (Imperial Yeomanry), and Second-Lieutenant Smith (78th Battery R.F.A.), who were in the thick of the fray, had narrow escapes, owing to the prodigious energy with which they tackled the marauders.

The work of clearing the right bank of the Vaal towards Klerksdorp was next undertaken by General Fetherstonhaugh and Colonel Williams. A successful action on the 24th against Van Rensburg's banditti enabled the force to march into Klerksdorp with twenty-four prisoners, 6200 rounds of ammunition, and thirty ox waggons. Thirty-five Burghers surrendered in course of the march.

General Dixon, veering west from Naauwpoort, made a search for guns and ammunition, which had been buried in the neighbourhood. From his camp at Vlakfontein¹ he moved on the 29th of May to Waterval, where, on a farm, he found the spot where the guns had been buried. The weapons themselves had been removed. Near here ammunition was found, but it was too late in the day to attempt to unearth it. The enemy was hovering all round the region, and it was deemed advisable to return to camp before making a lunge at them. The camp in the absence of General Dixon was well guarded, and in a good defensible position, and there was no reason to believe that the hovering Boers could quickly mass in any large number.

As the centre (with which was General Dixon) was crossing the valley towards camp, the firing which had all day been going forward in the direction of the rearguard² became louder and louder. Then

¹ For composition of force see beginning of volume.

² Two guns 28th Battery, one pom-pom, 230 Imperial Yeomanry, one Company Derby Regiment 100 strong, under Major Chance, R.A.

Transvaal (South-West)

suddenly the hilly ground on which was the rearguard became apparently enveloped in fire, the veldt blazing and smoking, and seeming to impose a flaming curtain between one portion of the force and the other. The rolls of artillery now increased, and presently a messenger from Major Chance reported that he was hard pressed. The Boers, under cover of the smoke, had come up in great numbers, rushed upon and surrounded the guns, killing the gun teams and—after a desperate struggle—most of the section in charge. According to the much-contested statement of Reuter's Correspondent: "A lieutenant and a sergeant-major were made prisoners, and on their refusing to give information as to the working of the guns they were shot. Their gallant conduct undoubtedly saved many lives, for the enemy actually turned the guns on our troops, but the shells failed to explode, as the pins had not been withdrawn." This statement could not be corroborated, as those concerned were dead, but support for it is found in the assertion of a private, who stated: "They asked the officer in charge to surrender, but he replied, 'A British soldier does not know the meaning of surrender, and if you want guns you will need to shoot me and my gunners!'" Thereupon the enemy shot the officer and gunners, and captured the two guns, and then turned them on us." At this juncture General Dixon, who had sent off Colonel Duff and his troops to the succour of Major Chance, and himself had been galloping across the valley to the scene of action, came to the rescue. On arrival at the west picket of the camp, he found the situation was critical in the extreme. The two guns and howitzer which had been with him were in action west of the picket, and these, together with the company of the Derbys which had been on picket and the details left in camp, were hotly engaged. Some of the enemy were within 800 yards of the picket, while others at 1600 yards range were shelling the British camp and guns. It now became evident that the guns of the rearguard were captured! Colonel Duff, advancing with two guns (8th Battery), 200 Scottish Horse, and two companies of the King's Own Borderers with a Maxim, now hastened across the valley, and a general advance was made. The Derbyshires were ordered to retake the guns, and this was brilliantly accomplished. By successive rushes they swept on and on, till the Boers, hearing the roar and seeing the red flash of bayonets in the fire-light, took to their steeds, mounted and galloped off as hard as legs would carry them. The guns were recaptured, but the ground was littered with wounded and dead, some of whom had met their fate at the hands of the Boers after they were stricken helpless on the veldt. A trooper of the Imperial Yeomanry, writing of this, said: "It was an awful affair; I thought every one of us was going to get

The Transvaal War

killed. There were dozens of poor fellows murdered after they were wounded. I expect the newspapers have told all about it. I hope, please God, I shall never see anything like this again. It was an awful sight. We had been on the trek all last month with General Dixon's column. . . . The night after the fight we had to saddle up in quick time and do a night flit, as the Boers were surrounding our camp. We got away quite safe without the Boers knowing it. We left all the tents standing, so as to make them believe we were still there, but we had to leave our wounded."

General Dixon marched from Vlakfontein on the night of May 30 to Naauwpoort, leaving the hospital, which contained many serious cases, to be moved by daylight on May 31 along a good road leading to Krugersdorp.

Several notable acts of gallantry were performed, among them that of Captain Field (Scottish Horse), who went back at the risk of his life to extricate two men who were unable to retire from the flames. It was a day of many heroes—McDougal, a noble fellow who gave his life; West, another splendid officer of Field Artillery; Captain Browne of the Border Regiment; young Manby, who charged with the dashing "Derbys"; and Willyams of the Imperial Yeomanry, who was among the missing—these are only some of the number who made themselves distinguished in this bloody hour. The officers killed besides Lieutenant McDougal (28th Battery R.F.A.) were Captain Armstrong, 7th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry, and Lieutenants Laing, Noke, Campbell, Campion (Imperial Yeomanry). Among the wounded were Captain Sadler, Lieutenants Gibson, Armstrong, Rimington (Derbyshire Regiment), Surgeon-Captain Welford, and Lieutenant Hern (Imperial Yeomanry). Of the men, forty-four were killed and seventeen succumbed to their injuries. The total wounded was 115.

A trooper wrote the following description of the day's fighting: "About midday the Boers fired the veldt, and we were stationed just in front and could not see. Suddenly the enemy rushed through, after giving us a volley. Dozens of our men and horses went down, and I had the worst two hours of my life. Just as we had the order to retire a chap close to me was thrown from his horse. I caught the animal with the intention of taking it back to the owner, but a bullet passed through my coat and grazed my horse, making the animal turn sharply, with the result that the other horse pulled me clean out of the saddle and knocked the wind out of me. I lay there with our men being shot down by dozens. The sights I saw were beyond description. Boers shot our fellows down in cold blood. Dozens of them were simply murdered. They threw down their arms, and the Boers walked up to them and shot them in cold blood. I lay for some time as if dead, but eventually I

Transvaal (South-West)

joined some foot soldiers and we captured our guns again. An awful thing was that many wounded were burned to death in the veldt fire. The devils used explosive bullets, and some of the wounds were dreadful."

One of the Scottish Horse said: "We rushed up the ridge and shot down any one who came in front of us, and managed to recapture the guns. It was a most bloodthirsty and murderous battle. The enemy were not content with wounding our men, but they started shooting and clubbing our wounded." On this subject Lieutenant Duff (Imperial Yeomanry) collected the evidence of various officers and privates of the Yeomanry and the Derbyshire Regiment, who were eye-witnesses to the acts of atrocity committed by the Boers. He provided Lord Kitchener with the following information. The day after the fight at Vlakfontein, on May 29, he was conversing with Lieutenant Hern, also of the Imperial Yeomanry, who had been badly wounded in that engagement and has since been invalided home to England. Lieutenant Hern told him that while he was lying wounded on the ground he noticed about twenty yards from him Lieutenant Spring and Sergeant Findlay, both of the Imperial Yeomanry. They were both slightly wounded, and were binding up each other's wounds, when a young Boer, wearing a pink puggaree round his hat, came close up to them and shot them both dead. This Lieutenant Hern saw himself. He lay quite still, and the Boers, thinking him dead, contented themselves with taking his spurs and leggings.

Lieutenant Hern also said that the same day others of our wounded were deliberately shot by the Boers.

The enemy, numbering 1500, were under the command of General Kemp.

On receipt of the news of this engagement General Fetherstonhaugh, with the columns under Colonels Sir H. Rawlinson, Williams, and Hickie, hurriedly pushed north from Klerksdorp so as to deal with Commandant Kemp's barbarians, while General Gilbert Hamilton's force moved by rail from Greylingstad to Krugersdorp, and General Methuen marched from the neighbourhood of Zeerust towards Doornkop. But on the approach of the troops the Boers began flying westward. Subsequently it was reported that Kemp and Beyers intended to join hands in the Waterberg district, consequently General Dixon proceeded through Olifants Nek to block the passes north of Rustenburg, while General Fetherstonhaugh continued to scour the rugged region west of the Magaliesberg. Near Roodeval on the 9th of June he caught them, seized seventeen prisoners, thirty-three waggons and a quantity of ammunition, and sent the rest scudding northwards. Still scouring the country he dis-

The Transvaal War

persed Boers right and left, and finally returned to Klerksdorp with Colonels Rawlinson and Hickie, while Colonel Williams was directed to Krugersdorp to refit. Curiously enough, in the course of these operations over country which had for some months been unexplored by the British, Boers in certain regions were discovered peacefully ploughing and sowing on their farms. They effected to believe the war had ended in their favour, but made no demur on being invited to surrender. Reuter's Correspondent gave the following sample of a conversation which ensued when the Magistrate announced his intention of administering the oath of allegiance to Burghers of the conquered territories desirous of taking it.

Does taking the oath render military service against our own people compulsory?—No; but British subjects are expected to defend their town in case of attack.

What difference is there between the oath of neutrality and the oath of allegiance?—The first effaces a man's nationality; the second renders him a British subject.

Will the oath prejudice any claim against Great Britain?—No.

Will the oath confer the full rights of a British subject?—Yes.

(Here the Boer could study the policy of the British *versus* that of the late South African Government. Political equality on the one side, and long years of apprenticeship as subject of the Republic on the other!) The next question was:—

Will those taking the oath now have any advantages over those taking it later?—No.

If a Burgher takes the oath now, and his property outside is destroyed by the enemy, will he receive any compensation?—Great Britain repudiates legal liability, but invites claims, which will be brought before a commission.

To resume. Colonel Allenby and General G. Hamilton had meanwhile been clearing the Hekpoort Valley and Breedts Nek in the Magaliesberg. That work successfully accomplished, they moved *viâ* Tafel Kop and Ventersdorp to Klerksdorp. The rest of June was spent in operations against Kemp's guerillas in this region, and the month ended with the breaking up of a commando which had gathered in the Hartebeestefontein Hills. Lord Methuen, after the dispersal of the enemy, employed his troops in escorting convoys to Zeerust.¹ Early in July he attacked, on the north-east of Zeerust, a gang of

¹ The siege ended about the 22nd of May, when Lord Methuen arrived with a large convoy and dispersed the Boers from the neighbourhood. As an instance of the change which was taking place may be quoted the resolutions passed by some ex-Burghers in regard to the attitude of the leaders of the Bond and of the Dutch Reformed Church towards the peace delegates. "Considering the magnitude of the suffering which has already occurred from the war, the fearful loss of life and treasure, the thousands of prisoners in exile in other lands or in bondage in South Africa, and the multitude of refugees, both British and Boer, whose homes have been broken up and who are surely being reduced to penury, and considering further the loss and ruin in ever-increasing measure falling on the country, this

Transvaal (South-West)

Boers, with stock and waggons, captured forty-three prisoners, thirty-seven rifles, and forty-six waggons. His casualties were two wounded. The Boers lost three killed, while three surrendered.

At this time, 7th July, Colonel Allenby was moved to the north of Krugersdorp for the purpose of sweeping, in co-operation with General Barton and Major C. Williams, the line of Crocodile River, which was harassed by Boers, who were doing their best to oppose the establishment of posts which were to be occupied by the South African Constabulary.

meeting thanks the Peace Committee for its benevolent efforts, and trusts that it will endeavour to continue them, expressing at the same time its deep regret and indignation at the attitude of Messrs. Andrew Murray, Theron, Sauer, and Merriman towards the peace envoys and the future of the war. Their conduct must tend powerfully in the direction of further bloodshed and increasing misery, and this meeting urges the military necessity of absolutely suppressing all sedition by all the force which martial law affords, and of using the utmost firmness to end this long protracted war, believing that peace alone can bring true prosperity."

CHAPTER IX

OPERATIONS BETWEEN THE DELAGOA AND NATAL LINES

GENERAL BULLOCK, early in May, engaged in the task of chasing Boers who had been dispersed by the operations of General Blood. Round Ermelo and Bethel the scattered commandos of Botha attempted to collect, but General Bullock, advancing through Amersfoort, attacked and drove them from Ermelo on the 9th of May. At this time General Blood's columns under General W. Kitchener and Colonel W. Pulteney were approaching Ermelo from the north, therefore General Bullock disposed his troops along the line Ermelo-Lake Chrissie, closed the road leading north-east, and connected his right with General Blood's force. Simultaneously Colonel Rimington marched to join hands with General Plumer, who was approaching Bethel from the west.

General Plumer, who had left Silverton, near Pretoria, on the 14th of May, to work in conjunction with Colonel Allenby (from Whitbank) and Colonel E. Knox (from Greylingstad) against Boer laagers near the source of the Wilge River, joined hands with both the above-named officers at Krondraai, on the 16th and 17th of May. At the rumour of British approach, the Boer laagers at once broke up, their occupants dispersing towards south and east. Colonel Allenby, on his way to Springs, encountered the Boer rabble near Leeuwkop, and drove them south-east, while General Plumer and Colonel E. Knox proceeded to join Colonel Rimington at Bethel. Considerable opposition was met with *en route*, but large numbers of prisoners were taken, together with a goodly amount of stock, and gradually the Boers, who had made this district a centre for their operations, found themselves empty and shelterless.

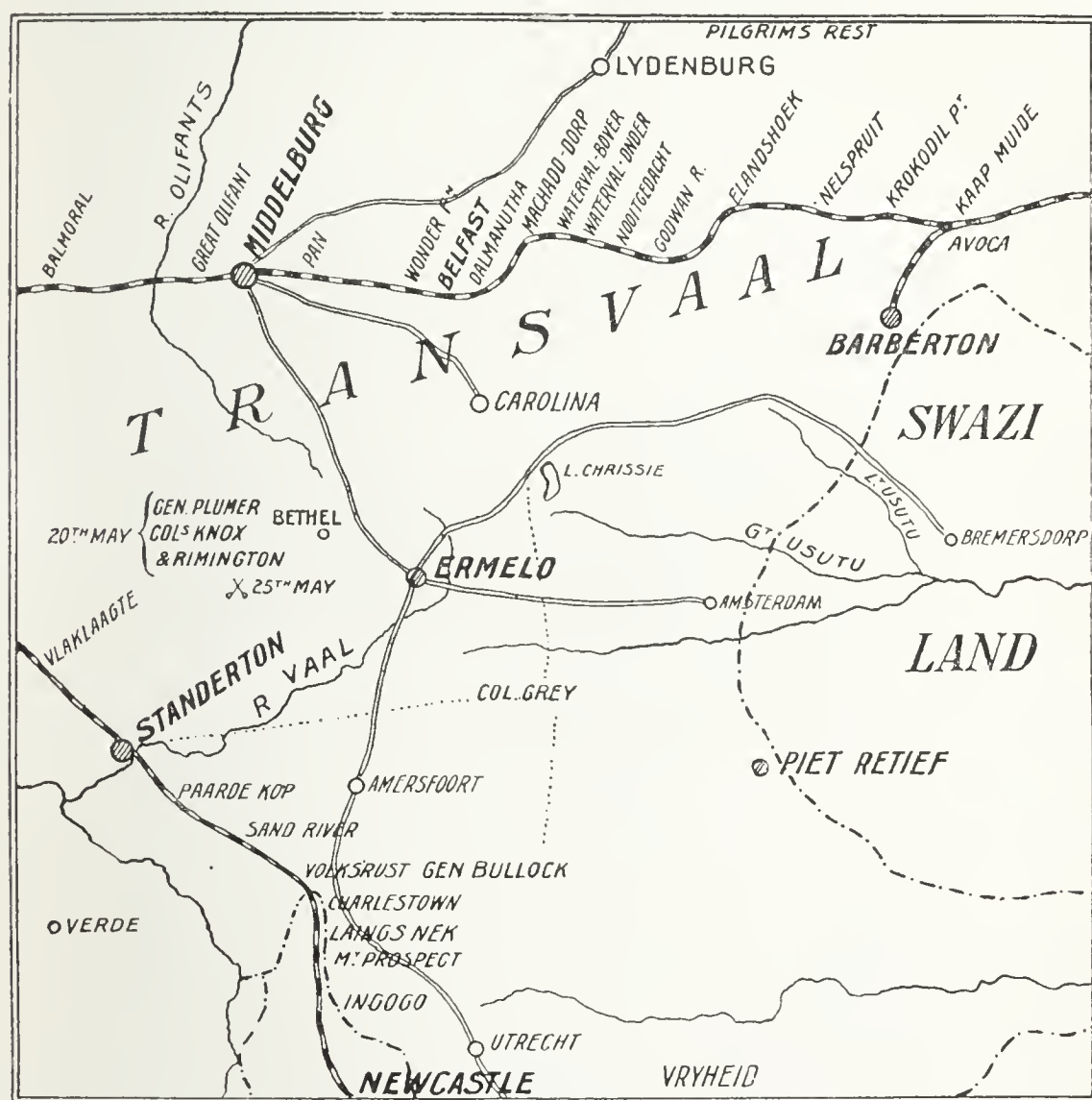
General Plumer now extended the three columns at his disposal on the line Bethel-Middelplaats, for the purpose of sweeping the country down to the Vaal, and clearing the region between Leeuwspruit and Kaffir Spruit.

The Boers at this period managed to collect in sufficient quantity to make a violent lunge at a convoy proceeding between Whitbank and Mooifontein, on its way to Standerton. The escort under Colonel Gallway, consisting of detachments of Somerset and Munster Fusiliers, 10th Hussars, and Queenslanders, suddenly found them-

Operations Between Delagoa and Natal

selves attacked by 400 desperadoes, who made violent rushes to get to close quarters. The resistance of the British band was fierce as it was valiant, and, after a running fight lasting six hours, the Boers were routed, with a loss to them of six killed and thirty wounded. One British officer lost his life, and one was wounded. Five men were killed and twenty-four wounded.

General Plumer and Colonel Knox halted near Standerton, and



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE OPERATIONS BETWEEN DELAGOA BAY AND NATAL
LINES, MAY AND JUNE, 1901

Colonel Rimington at Platrand, their columns, since leaving Bethel, having secured 37 prisoners and 650 horses.

General Bullock, who on the 25th of May was joined by Colonel Grey (from Standerton), now commenced a series of night raids on various farmhouses along the banks of the Vaal, south-east of Ermelo—excursions which were full of dash and daring, and resulted in the capture of many armed burghers.

The Transvaal War

June found both columns at Standerton. Five days later Colonel Grey started on an adventurous hunt for a Boer gun, said to be with a commando at Kaffir Spruit. On the 11th the force surprised a Boer laager at Rietvlei, and after a vigorous fight nine prisoners were secured. One Boer was killed and two wounded. Colonel Grey, having thoroughly searched the district between Ermelo and Bethel without finding a trace of the required gun, returned to Standerton. From the 10th of June to the 4th of July, General Bullock continued his clearance of the country, dispersing Boer gangs east of Elandsberg down to the valley of the Assegai River. He was then called in to the railway and returned to Standerton.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL PLUMER IN THE EASTERN TRANSVAAL

General Plumer, as soon as he had refitted his troops at Standerton, was again off to engage in further sweeping operations against Boer knots in the region between Amersfoort and Piet Retief. General Plumer, with Colonel Rimington on his right flank and Colonel Knox on his left, advanced on the 1st of June on the line Platrand - Springbokfontein - Uitkyk. By the 8th, all three columns had reached the line Driefontein-Breda-Waterval Drift, and thus, on the following day, the columns of Plumer (centre) and Knox (left) were able to swoop from the north upon Piet Retief, while that of Rimington (right), making a night *détour*, wheeled round the south of the town and blocked all southerly exits therefrom. But, warily, the Boers had made off, and the place was deserted. Colonel Rimington, however, contrived to cut off a Boer convoy which was hastily lumbering along towards the Vryheid Road, accompanied by the escaping Landdrost of Piet Retief and William Emmett, who were forthwith taken prisoners together with twenty-eight more of their compatriots. Twelve waggons and 100 horses were also secured. Colonel Rimington then stationed himself south-east of the difficult peaks of the Slangapiesberg, while they were traversed by Colonel Plumer's troops, who, having moved from Piet Retief towards Wakkerstroom to meet a convoy, were now proceeding over the dangerous heights. The whole force having cleared "as far as practicable" this gibbose and frowning region, moved to Paul Pietersburg, which was also found deserted. Near Elandsberg Nek, however, Colonel Gallway, with some 300 Bushmen, two companies of Munster Fusiliers, and some Sharpshooters, with two guns of Q Battery, were assailed by 300 Boers, who were strongly entrenched there. The enemy were speedily dispersed, but Lieutenant Rudkin, R.H.A., was wounded in both knees, and



BRIGADIER-GENERAL THE EARL OF ERROLL.

Photo Elliott & Fry, London.

Plumer in the Eastern Transvaal

narrowly escaped death, as a Boer bullet passed through the litter while the wounded man was being carried from the field of action. The columns finally converged on Utrecht. The prize of their labours after leaving Piet Retief amounted to 21 prisoners, 232 horses, and 100 waggons. Twenty-six Burghers surrendered.

Action was now taken by Colonels Rimington and Wing against the enemy to north of Utrecht, in the valley of the Pongola River. Colonel Rimington, on the night of the 26th of June, marched towards Tiverton, while Colonel Wing made a détour over the Elandsberg Pass to Schuilhoek. There, the latter attacked the wandering hordes, driving them before him up the valley, where they soon found themselves unpleasantly warmed and welcomed by Colonel Rimington's guns, which took them in the rear. Away they went helter-skelter, leaving behind them nine vehicles, 6500 rounds of ammunition, horses and cattle in plenty, and six dead Boers. Three were captured. Colonel Rimington, after immense activity around Wakkerstroom, returned independently to Platrand, while General Plumer and Colonel Knox from Utrecht marched towards Amsterdam and Carolina, reaching Bothwell, near Lake Chrissie, on the 7th of July.

In the meantime, on June 20, the Boers published the following notice, dated Waterval, Standerton District, signed S. Burger and Steyn, which showed they were still truculent :—

“As his Honour the State President Kruger and the Deputation in Europe have not heard anything direct from our Government since the conference between Commandant-General Botha and Lord Kitchener at Middelburg, and as the Government of the South African Republic deemed it advisable that they should be acquainted with the state of affairs here, therefore, at request of the Commandant-General, and with the kind compliance [?] of Lord Kitchener, a private telegram was sent to them, in which the entire state of affairs was fully described and intentionally put in the worst light, for the means of making the advice of his Honour and the Deputation the more weighty. On this his Honour informed us that he and the Deputation have still great hopes of a satisfactory end of the long struggle, that after material and personal sacrifice we should continue the struggle, and that on their part all steps are already taken and will still be taken for proper provision for the captive women and children and prisoners of war. For discussing and considering this answer of his Honour a conference of the Governments of both Republics was arranged, at which were present Chief Commandant C. R. de Wet, Commandant-General L. Botha, and Assistant-Commandant J. H. Delarey. After a full revision of the condition of military affairs represented by these chief officers,

The Transvaal War

and thorough discussion of our whole cause by both Governments, the following resolution was taken by both Governments, with the advice of the said chief officers :—

“The Governments of the South African Republic and Orange Free State, with the advice of the said chief officers, and taking into consideration the satisfactory report of his Honour State President Kruger and the Deputation in the foreign country, and considering the good progress of our cause in the Colonies, where our brothers oppose the cruel injustice done to the Republics more and more in depriving them of their independence, considering further the invaluable personal and material sacrifices they have made for our cause, which would all be worthless and vain with a peace whereby the independence of the Republics is given up, and further considering the certainty that the losing of our independence after the destruction already done and losses suffered will drag with it the national and material annihilation [?] of the entire people, and especially considering the spirit of unbending persistence with which the great majority of our men, women, and children are still possessed, and in which we see with thankful acknowledgment the hand of the Almighty Protector, resolve that no peace will be made and no peace conditions accepted by which our independence and national existence, or the interests of our colonial brothers, shall be the price paid, and that the war will be vigorously prosecuted by taking all measures necessary for maintenance of independence and interests.”

MAJOR-GENERAL BEATSON'S OPERATIONS

While General Plumer was at Bethel, General Beatson, who had been watching the Middelburg-Bronkers Spruit line, moved to Brugspruit. He then (with Colonel Allenby's column from Springs) marched south, on the 25th of May, towards the junction of Olifants River and Steenkool Spruit in order to catch such Boers as had escaped General Plumer. (Major Garratt, with a few of Allenby's men, during the advance from Springs, made good use of his time, and secured, besides rifles and ammunition, eight prisoners and waggons, a Colt gun, and forty mules.)

General Beatson, on the right bank of Olifants River, soon came in contact with Trichard's commando, which was strongly entrenched on Vaalkrans. The Boers were hard pressed, and had to run for it, leaving behind them, as usual, waggons and stock. After this Allenby's column, temporarily commanded by Colonel Hippius, searched the region of Brugspruit, found no signs of the foe, and consequently returned *via* Wilge River Station to Pretoria. General Beatson continued his operations in the

Sir Bindon Blood's Operations

direction of Bethel. A small force of the enemy was reported to be at Boschmansfontein, consequently the General, then encamped at Van Dycks Drift, detached a force to deal with them. Major Morris, with four companies of Victorian Mounted Rifles and two pom-poms, marched towards the laager and found it deserted. On the 12th of June he was instructed to combine with the General in an attack on the marauders to be made on the 13th at Elandsfontein. Therefore the detachment the night before bivouacked at Wilmansrust. No sooner had darkness fallen than the enemy, evading the outposts, crept up to the bivouac, and within very short range poured a deadly fire in on the astonished force. A scene of turmoil followed. Rifles blazed, horses stampeded, and soon the guerillas had rushed the camp and captured the pom-poms. The struggle was desperate, and two officers and sixteen men were slain, four officers and thirty-eight men wounded, while many men were made prisoners. Only two officers and fifty men escaped to General Beatson's camp, though such as had been made prisoners were afterwards released. Promptly to the rescue rushed the General, leaving his baggage under guard of his infantry, but though he arrived soon after daybreak on the 13th, the desperadoes had made off, and not a vestige of them was to be seen. He therefore concentrated his force at Koornfontein. The column later, sweeping east, came in touch with General Blood's force north of Ermelo on the 19th, and from thence proceeded, clearing the ground as they went, to Middelburg to refit. The total result of the operations were, 16 Boers killed and wounded; prisoners, 23; rifles, 160; ammunition, 10,850 rounds; 58 vehicles, and some stock.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR BINDON BLOOD. EASTERN TRANSVAAL

In the middle of May General Bullock, as we are aware, was holding a line from Lake Chrissie southwards. To co-operate with him came General Blood on the conclusion of his operations north of the Delagoa line.

By the 17th of May the columns of General W. Kitchener and Colonel Pulteney were in touch with General Bullock near Ermelo, and General Blood occupied Carolina with his cavalry. Finding the enemy had scampered, operations were set on foot to clear the country towards the East. Colonel Benson, marching south from Belfast, crossed the Komati Valley, while Colonel Douglas, moving from Machadodorp, *viâ* Uitkomst, operated between Komati River and the railway. To stop the guerillas from fleeing north, and also to check them attempting to fly south from the column of Colonel

The Transvaal War

Park (which was scouring from Lydenburg and the difficult ruggedness of the Mauchberg towards Nelspruit), General Spens kept a watchful eye at Nelspruit. General Blood at this time had accounted for four Boers killed, eighteen captured, and nine burghers surrendered, and the number was greatly augmented by the combined movement which followed.

General Spens then proceeded (on the 10th of June) to operate in the mountainous districts surrounding Machadodorp, Lydenburg, and Nelspruit. He and Colonel Park swept north-west of Nelspruit, while Colonels Benson and Douglas cleared the country north-east from Machadodorp. The reward of the combined efforts, which were quite herculean in view of the region traversed, was 17 Boers killed, 48 prisoners captured, 107 rifles, 38,700 rounds of ammunition, 266 vehicles. Large quantities of stock were seized.

In consequence of the attack before mentioned on Major Morris and the Victorians at Wilmansrust on the 12th, General Blood moved west from Carolina with all available troops. He formed two columns, composed of General Babington's cavalry and the 1st King's Royal Rifles under Colonel Campbell, and directed General W. Kitchener and Colonel Pulteney, who by this time were at Amsterdam, to follow in all haste.

General Blood made his headquarters a few miles north of Ermelo, and established signalling communication with General W. Kitchener and General Beatson. On the 19th of June General Beatson reached headquarters, and the column, accompanied by General Blood, from thence proceeded to Middelburg (which was reached on the 25th) to be reorganised. Meanwhile the column of Colonel Pulteney went to Carolina to draw supplies, following afterwards in the wake of General Babington, Colonel Campbell, and General W. Kitchener, who were moving west to the line Middelkraal-Uitgedacht, north of Bethel. These columns were soon joined by General Blood with a convoy.

On the 31st the troops moved from Middelkraal towards Springs in the following positions: Campbell on the right marched on Kleinkoppie, Babington on Roodepoort, and Kitchener on Grootpan. The last officer on the 3rd of July opened up communication with the columns of Colville and Garratt (the last had relieved Colonel Grey), which were moving up from Standerton and Greylingstad respectively.

Vigorous measures were being taken to prevent Viljoen and other Boer leaders from escaping to the east. The dispersed hordes were collecting in their numbers near Middelburg, and to be beforehand with them Colonel Benson hurried from Machadodorp to Dullstroom, Colonel Park from Lydenburg turned westwards so



THE MISHAP TO THE VICTORIANS AT WILMANSRUST, JUNE 12, 1901

Drawing by R. Caton Woodville

Around Standerton and Heidelberg

as to hem in the enemy from the north, while General Spens' column hovered at Wonderfontein ready to pounce as circumstances might suggest.

On the north-west of Machadodorp Colonel Benson soon came in touch with the foe; caught him at Vlakfontein, twelve miles out, handled him vigorously, and killed six of his band. One prisoner was taken. The British lost three men, and eight wounded. This was on the 3rd of July. On the 7th Viljoen, with the Johannesburg and Middelburg commandos, again attacked the column at Dullstroom, but got the worst of it, and had to flee, followed up hill and down dale, through ravine and bush, by the dashing little force. General Spens from Wonderfontein now took up the chase, but Viljoen, intimately acquainted with the country, contrived to become as slippery an eel as De Wet, and to make off on the now proverbial Boer principle of those who fight and run away live to fight another day.

ACTIVITIES AROUND STANDERTON AND HEIDELBERG

May in the district between Standerton and Ermelo was opened by a smart affair which resulted in the capture of eight prisoners, a Maxim Nordenfeldt machine gun, fifteen rifles, twelve waggons, and fifteen horses. The force under General Clements had for some little time been engaged in Boer-hunting in the region north-east of Standerton on the right bank of the Vaal. On the 4th May a laager was located, and while troops detached from Standerton and Platrand blocked the roads leading south from the river, Colonel Colville with his column made a night march towards it, along the Standerton-Ermelo road. The surprise was complete, and the Boers opened their eyes to dawn and desperation at one and the same moment. Those who were sufficiently nimble scattered to the four winds, the remainder were seized. Pursuit was impossible, owing to the already fatigued state of Colonel Colville's men. This column, which was composed of 2nd Division Mounted Infantry, 2nd Johannesburg Mounted Rifles, 63rd Battery R.F.A. (4 guns), "O" Section pom-poms, 2nd East Surrey, 1st Auxiliary Company A.S.C., 2nd Brigade Field Hospital, and 2nd Brigade Bearer Company, was now strengthened by four squadrons of regular cavalry. Colonel Colville, commanding this entire force, then spent the remainder of May in operations in conjunction with General Elliot, who was moving through Vrede to the Natal Border. Colonel Colville's route lay from De Lange's Drift up the right bank of the Klip River through the Verzammelberg. On nearing the junction of the Klip and Ganzvlei, Colonel Colville crossed into Orange River Colony, fought more

The Transvaal War

Boers, captured more stock, and after having made an enormous haul, retraced his steps to his starting-point, De Lange's Drift.

The early part of June was spent in sweeping down the right bank of the Vaal towards Villiersdorp, clearing farms and denuding the district of supplies. On the 22nd Colonel Colville marched north from Val Station to act on the left flank of Colonel Grey's column, which was operating against the enemy between Standerton and the west of Bethel. Towards Watervalshoek the two forces converged, and from here, on the 25th, Colonel Grey's Queenslanders and New Zealanders drove off some 400 of the enemy. After this dashing exploit Colonel Grey moved to Greylingstad to fill up with supplies, and Colonel Garratt (as has been said in the narrative of General Blood's movements) took over command from Colonel Grey. Colonel Colville remained near the scene of the fight, so as to connect with General Blood's columns which were due from the north-east. Colonel Garratt, keeping west of Colonel Colville, and in communication with him, moved north *viâ* Boschmankop to Springs. Colonel Colville at Watervalshoek got in touch with General W. Kitchener, who, as we know, reached Grootpan on the 3rd of July.

CHAPTER X

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GRENFELL'S OPERATIONS— TRANSVAAL, N.

WHILE Colonel Grenfell was occupying Pietersburg at the extreme limit of the northern line, news came in that small hordes of Boers were moving in the Zoutpansberg district. It was decided to head off this northern trek, consequently Colonel Grenfell with 600 of Kitchener's Fighting Scouts, 12th Battalion Mounted Infantry, two guns and four companies of the 2nd Battalion Wiltshire Regiment, made an expedition into the bush veldt to the north of him. His destination was a small township called Louis Trichard, some hundred miles off. Here Colonel Colenbrander, commanding the advance force (Kitchener's Fighting Scouts), arrived on the 9th of May. From this time, after disarming the Boers in the town and clearing the surrounding country, Colonel Grenfell was engaged in the pursuit of marauders who were pushing east towards the Portuguese frontier. Yzerberg was reached on the 17th. On the 19th the dashing Scouts, who had continued their way successfully, skirmishing with and dispersing Boers, performed a feat more smart even than was their wont. Colonel Colenbrander, hearing that a laager was comfortably ensconced at Klip Spruit, planned a midnight excursion to the locality, and surprised Field-Cornet Venter and seventy-two burghers who imagined they were sleeping the sleep of the just. Before they could awake from their delusion their persons, waggons, rifles, and ammunition were at the mercy of the adventurous British scouts. This same party on the 21st seized on a smaller laager and swelled their number of captured vehicles.

On the 23rd, at the request of Commandant Van Rensburg and Field-Cornet Du Preeze, Colonel Grenfell met them, accepted their surrender, and that of some 1500 of their followers, and in a short time marched them back to Pietersburg. With them came seventy waggons and quantities of forage and ammunition and stock. This was a highly satisfactory and pacific termination to the operations in this quarter, and Colonel Colenbrander was now able to turn his attention to roving gangs which were hiding in the direction of Buffels. Several of these groups were encountered, and in various skirmishes seven Boers were disposed of and a Maxim gun captured. Major Knott, with a detachment of the Scouts, pursued and fell

The Transvaal War

upon a commando under Barend Viljoen, made seventy-nine prisoners, and secured 13,000 rounds of ammunition. Thus the work of pacification in northern districts was progressing favourably, and the Boers in the vicinity were learning that resistance was useless. The grand total results of the Zoutpansberg excursion included 9 Boers killed, 150 prisoners, many hundred voluntary surrenders, 550 rifles, 200,000 rounds of ammunition, a Maxim gun, which had belonged to the Jameson raiders, 175 waggons, and much stock.

While these activities had been going forward, General Beyers, who had watched Colonel Grenfell's departure for Louis Trichard,



COLONEL COLENBRANDER

decided that "while the cat was away the mice could play." He accordingly collected his playful burghers for purposes of mischief around the Pietersburg line. To frustrate him, Colonel Wilson, commanding the 2nd Kitchener's Scouts, with two guns and two companies of the 2nd Battalion Gordon Highlanders, concentrated at Naboom Spruit, while from Pretoria Major M'Micking, with 400 Mounted Infantry and two guns, was moved to Nylstroom. The combined operations began on the 19th of May over terrible country, which in some places was without roads and in others was seamed with ruts, obstacles, and bush.

The Boers, however, were overtaken some twenty miles north-west of Nylstroom by Colonel Wilson, who succeeded in capturing Field-Cornet Oosthuisen and 79 burghers, 100 rifles, 33,500 rounds of ammunition, 66 waggons, a quantity of dynamite, and a vast amount of cattle.

Certain remnants of the Dutch gangs continued to hang about, but these were promptly pursued to westward, and caught on the 21st. While Major M'Micking's force demonstrated in front of the Boer position, that of Colonel Wilson made an ingenious détour and caught the enemy napping. The Dutchmen, however, made a stubborn effort at combat; but finally, when Kitchener's Scouts pressed home the attack, they broke and fled, leaving 18 prisoners, 48 rifles, 9000 rounds of ammunition, and 44 waggons as trophies of the fight. So much for the month of May. June began auspiciously, for a detachment of the Scouts, moving from Warm Baths towards Rooiberg, caught and sharply handled some 500 Boers under Nys and Pretorius, and pressed them into the arms of Colonel Wilson, who

Situation and Skirmishes in Cape Colony

on the following day polished them off. There was a good deal of resistance and some warm fighting creditable to both parties, but in the end 40 prisoners were captured, 70 rifles, 48 waggons, 8000 cattle, and ammunition in plenty. Thus the enemy was gradually becoming bereft of transport and supplies, their capacity for conflict becoming weaker day by day. Still Colonel Wilson and Major M'Micking relaxed not an iota of their activity and vigilance, and spent the remainder of June in scouring here and hunting there, and protecting the Pietersburg line from any forces which might congregate in the west. Meanwhile arrangements were made to collect an additional force (Colonel Grenfell's) at Potgieter's Rust, so that a combined attack on General Beyers' commando in the Zand River Valley might be begun. On the 21st of June these arrangements were complete. Colonel Grenfell marched south-west from Potgieter's Rust, menacing the enemy's rear, while Major M'Micking proceeded direct from Nylstroom. But owing to the terribly complicated nature of the country which had to be traversed by Colonel Grenfell's force, Beyers' bandits were able hurriedly to scuttle to cover in the north-west.

Colonel Grenfell, making Zandriverspoort into his advanced base, then proceeded to sweep the surrounding country with his troops. These, after numerous skirmishes and surprises, made a magnificent march of forty miles, "rushed" a Boer laager at Hope-well (at dawn on the 1st of July), and secured nearly 100 prisoners, besides 2000 cattle, 2000 rounds of ammunition, and 100 horses!

SITUATION AND SKIRMISHES IN CAPE COLONY

The exciting series of chases between rushing Boer gangs, followed or headed by small British columns, continued with undiminished animation. The Boer leaders still in the field (if field it can be called, while burrow would be the more appropriate term) were Scheepers, Malan, Fouché, Kruitinger, Lotter, Myburg, Smits, Van Reenan, Lategan (a Colesberg rebel), Maritz, and Conroy. Each of these was engaged in independent freebooting excursions—the total number of their followers being now about 1200. They were unharassed by a fixed base of operations, and lived from hand to mouth on such prizes as they could secure, or such hospitality as they could receive from sympathetic "loyalists."

Early in May Colonel Henniker attacked Scheepers, and drove him north from Daggaboers Nek with considerable loss. The remnant, however, broke back and hid in kloofs and ravines in the difficult region around the Koetzeesberg. From their burrows they were eventually dislodged, only to collect again on the 25th of

The Transvaal War

May in the Camdeboo Mountains, situated to west of Graf Reinet. Though their number was materially thinned in course of their hair-breadth escapes from Henniker's pursuing Victorians, they were soon refreshed with new blood, some seventy raiders (Commandantless, owing to the death of Swanepool) having flocked to Scheeper's banner. These now secreted themselves, offering very little fight, and remaining cabined in their warrens, choosing a policy of mischief rather than one of open aggression.

Meanwhile Colonel Scobell was tackling Malan and his followers, who had remained to impede traffic west of Cradock. These made themselves perpetually offensive, and, on the 2nd of May, coming on Lieutenant Matthews and twelve men of the Diamond Fields Horse, they attacked, and after having shot down their horses, captured nearly all the party. Colonel Scobell came quickly to their rescue, and eventually effected their release. So ingeniously had this officer applied himself to the raider's tactics that he now succeeded in giving the wily ones a surprise. On the night of the 19th he marched in the direction of their laager, and before dawn captured it, killing four marauders, and capturing the horses of forty—while those who escaped did so on shanks' pony, or rode barebacked. Malan himself fled to the west and amused himself for the rest of the month in evading the chasing columns of Major Mullins and Captain Lund. By the 25th of June he had gathered to himself a sufficient commando to make it possible to attack Richmond, but he met with stout resistance, and the next day, on the approach of Captain Lund's column, was glad to make himself scarce. On the 27th Major Mullins, with some of Brabant's Horse, caught Malan's commando between Cradock and Maraisburg, and succeeded in wounding one of the leaders (Lieutenant Cloete) who was carried into hospital at Cradock.

Colonel Haig at this time was busily engaged in directing operations against Kruitinger, Lotter, and Fouché, whose forces were now swelled by some 500 Dutchmen who had been collected by Kruitinger during a hurried rush into the Orange Colony. They occupied the neighbourhood north of Steynsburg, and so as to enmesh them, if possible, Colonel Haig arranged a converging movement of Cape Mounted Rifles, and the columns under Colonels Munro, Gorringer, Crabbe, Scobell, and Murray. But the raiders were too wily to show fight. They slowly dribbled away in the surrounding country, most of them making towards Maraisburg. But they were promptly headed off by the British troops, and took refuge in the Bamboes Mountains, where—as a trooper expressed it—they “lay doggo,” hoping to live by looting and to wear out the vigilance of their pursuers.

In June, Kruitinger, Lotter, Myburg, and Fouché succeeded

Situation and Skirmishes in Cape Colony

in dashing across the Molteno railway, and moving eastward from Cyphergat. Van Reenan broke north-west into the Steynsburg district. The main body was followed by the British troops, but they were not in time to save the strongly entrenched village of Jamestown, which was captured on the 2nd of June. This *contre-temps* to ourselves was of splendid value to the enemy, for, in addition to much-needed horses to the tune of 150, and ammunition in quantities, they secured food and clothing at a time when they were internally and externally bare, owing to the effective sweeping operations which had denuded the country.

To pit against the Boer score came a signal success on the part of Captain Lukin, who, with the brilliant Cape Mounted Rifles, had been indefatigable in the work of pursuit, surprise, and skirmish, that filled day and night during Colonel Scobell's operations.

On the evening of the 5th, Colonel Scobell's force (9th Lancers and C.M.R. with three guns) moved out from Roodenek for the purpose of hunting out a laager which was known to be somewhere in the vicinity. With numbed fingers and quaking frames—the thermometer stood below freezing-point—these gallant troopers marched and clambered. Over rugged roads and precipitous paths they went for miles and miles—on foot mainly, in order to keep themselves warm—hunting and exploring around the north-west of Barkly East, and ascending at last a mountain so high that it seemed impossible to get the guns up. Then, near the summit came the split and spurt of rifles, and the advance party knew that the object was attained, the lair of the marauders was discovered. The shots came from the picket, who, having made their protest, fled. Now came the search for the laager itself, but whether it was in the valley some 400 feet below, or whether close at hand, it was impossible to say. A squadron of Cape Mounted Rifles, under Captain Lukin, wheeled to the right, one under Captain Purcell moved to the left. In the light of the moon, brilliant, but casting deep shadows, it was impossible to detect any movement. But the shuffle of hoofs could be heard in the valley. On went the C.M.R., Captain Lukin ahead of them, when suddenly this officer found himself in the thick of a volley. The enemy, alarmed by the picket, had upsaddled and were alert. But the heroes of Wepener were "all there," as the saying is. A shout from their commanding officer was enough, and with a rush as of the wind, the C.M.R. (Captain Goldsworthy's squadron) had galloped on the foe. The Boers were off. Blankets, baggage, rifles, clothing (much of the spoil captured from Jamestown), horses, ammunition, all were left. Three wounded rebels fell into our hands, and fourteen other Dutchmen. The enemy, from a distant hill, again endeavoured to show fight, but their fire was eventually silenced by

The Transvaal War

a few shells, and the Boers in full retreat were pursued as far as was feasible by the Lancers.

A few days later, in the neighbourhood of Ladygrey, this smart column came in for further triumphs. A detachment of the C.M.R., which had been persistently sniped at by the enemy during their moonlight march, showed that two could play at the game of annoyance. They charged the hiding-place of the miscreants, and surprised them by the shouts of "Hands up!" before they were aware of their proximity. The result was that the dashing Colonials returned to camp, after a quarter of an hour's gallop, plus twenty prisoners and 13,000 rounds of ammunition.

On the 9th of June, French, the magnificent, the indefatigable, came once more to the scene of his first triumphs in the days before the great *coup* made by the relief of Kimberley. He took but a few weeks' holiday after his wholesale dispersal of Botha's hordes on the Swaziland border, and was again to the fore. Now, as Lieutenant-General Sir John French, K.C.B., he directed the operations of all the mobile columns extended over the face of Cape Colony. Widened movements were necessitated owing to the scattered state of the commandos which were now here, there, and everywhere picking up rebels, and needing each to be separately hunted by a detached column.

On the 17th, Kruitzingen and Lotter were caught in the first instance by Colonel Munro, with Lovat's Scouts and Bethune's Mounted Infantry, and later by Crabbe, some twenty-five miles south-east of Maraisburg. Four Boers fell, twelve were wounded, twenty-five horses were left on the field, and fifty captured alive. Other captures included eight prisoners and a quantity of ammunition and saddles. It was reported that Kruitzingen's mongrel force at the time consisted of 276 whites, 10 armed natives, and 18 armed Hottentots, many of whom rode barebacked colts in the last stage of emaciation. Four days later sixty of the Midland Mounted Rifles, a Colonial corps which had done good work in the district, were surrounded by Kruitzingen's band and captured, after the loss of two officers and nine men killed, and ten men wounded.

Colonel Munro spent the remainder of June harassing raiders under Myburg, north of Jamestown, and others under Erasmus, east of Rayner Station. Colonel Scobell still chased Kruitzingen, and strove to drive him into the arms of Colonel Crabbe, who was engaged in hunting Van Reenan among the Bamboes Mountains. Colonels Crewe, Doran, and Wyndham combined in operations against Scheepers and Hugo, who were still dodging among the Camdeboo Mountains, while Captain Lund flew after errant gangs which had endeavoured to take Richmond and been repulsed by the gallantry of the North Stafford Militia, under Captain Hawkshaw,



GENERAL BRUCE HAMILTON.

Photo Russell & Sons, London.

Situation and Skirmishes in Cape Colony

and by the Town Guard. More troops were also engaged in blocking the passes of the Drakensberg, through which Fouché had gone east towards Maclear in the fond hope of gathering recruits and fresh horses, and returning reinforced ; but Colonel Dalgety, with Cape Mounted Rifles and East Griqualand Rifles, frustrated him. In the Calvinia district two gangs under Maritz and Conroy had made themselves troublesome for some weeks, but eventually Conroy, after being too warmly handled, particularly in an engagement which lasted five hours, when Captain Ramsbotham and Lieutenant Beresford of the Border Scouts tackled him near Kenhardt, fled north across the Orange.

CHAPTER XI

ORANGE RIVER COLONY, S.—MAJOR-GENERALS BRUCE-HAMILTON
AND C. KNOX—JULY

GREAT success having attended the construction of the line of defensible posts extending across the Orange River Colony, from Jacobsdal to Ladybrand, a gradual development of the blockhouse system was kept up in order to maintain the security of traffic and form a barrier to the encroachment of roving bands. A continuous line of blockhouses at intervals of a mile apart, following the course of the river from Aliwal North to Bethulie, and running from thence along the railway *viâ* Stormberg, Rosmead, Naauwpoort Junction, de Aar, to Kimberley was commenced in July, and another (starting northward from Frederickstad to the source of the Mooi River, Breedt's Nek along the Magaliesberg) for the purpose of maintaining the connection with the garrison at Commando Nek was begun at the same time by two battalions under the command of Colonel Mackenzie, Suffolk Regiment. Colonel Pilkington, with the South African Constabulary, engaged in like activities to the east of the Pretoria-Vereeniging line, his line of posts extending from Eerste Fabriken, by Springs and Heidelberg, to the Vaal River. It was thus hoped that between the Vaal and Modder Rivers, by means of a converging number of columns, the Boers would be swept from all sides against the British barriers and driven to surrender. To this end the two forces of Generals Bruce-Hamilton and C. Knox were operating in the Orange River Colony during the last half of July.

The former had thus disposed his troops. At Jacobsdal and Luckkoff were Colonels Williams and Dawkins respectively, and moving on Edenburg *viâ* Wepener, were Colonels Rochfort and Du Moulin. Edenburg was reached on the 17th of July, after which all the columns were moved west of the railway, to act as a support to the barrier of police posts along the Modder from Bloemfontein to Jacobsdal, garrisoned by South African Constabulary, and also as stops to the enemy when pressed southward from the Vaal River. To Colonel Rochfort was allotted the region around Petrusburg; farther west (at Blaauwbank and Negdraai Drifts on the Riet River) came Colonel Williams, while the line of the Orange River (between Norval's Pont and Ramah) was guarded by the columns of Colonels Du Moulin and Dawkins. Colonel Roch-

Orange River Colony (South)

fort very speedily reaped the reward of many days and nights of vigilance. Rumour told of a burgher gang under Commandant Myburg which, with a view to rushing into the Cape Colony, was encamped on the Riet, and to defeat this programme he made an arrangement as smart as it was successful. On the night of the 27th of July, acting in concert with Colonel Lowry Cole (who was under his orders in the vicinity), he marched in the small hours to the spot—between Dassiespoort and Jagersfontein Drift—where the laager had been located. Dawn found the enemy surrounded. There was the usual rush, and roar, and scrimmage, in the course of which Myburg was dangerously wounded. The commandant was secured, together with his Field-Cornet, Kock, twenty-four of his men, 100 of his horses, and many carts. Not less energetic was Captain Going with a detachment of Mounted Infantry, who at the same time was engaging Van den Bergs' gang in a laager close by. A few days later (on the 30th) more prisoners and stock were secured in the regions of Fauresmith by the combined efforts of Majors Bogle Smith and Damant.

Meanwhile, from the 1st to the middle of July, General C. Knox's columns (Pilcher and Thorneycroft) scoured the country between Brandfort, Senekal, and the Basutoland border, and, finding but few of the enemy, Colonel Pilcher betook himself to Thabanchu, while Colonel Thorneycroft went to Ladybrand. After the 17th the troops, divided in four small columns and sprayed fan-like, were sweeping toward the Orange, in search of straggling marauders, Colonel Pilcher's troops, under Major Kean and Colonel Taylor, moving, *via* Reddersburg and Dewetsdorp, upon Bethulie (reached 26th July); while Colonel Thorneycroft's columns (under Major Copeman and Colonel Minchin) marched by the Smithfield Commissie Drift, and Wepener Rouxville roads, to Aliwal North, where they arrived on 28th. A not insignificant haul was the result of this sweep, for, though little opposition was encountered, some prisoners, 2300 horses, 1800 cattle, and 126 vehicles were secured. These troops, at the end of the month, extended their operations to the west of the line, into the area between the railway and the Philippolis-Fauresmith Road; and, while Colonel Thorneycroft, from Aliwal North, passed *via* Jagersfontein Road Station and Kruger's Siding towards Jagersfontein, Colonel Pilcher marched West from Bethulie along the right bank of the Orange, to Philippolis and northwards to Fauresmith. All the troops of General Knox had reached the Fauresmith-Edenburg Road by the 8th of August, Colonel Thorneycroft plus 28 prisoners, 1000 horses, 69 waggons, and much stock. They then were marched south of the Riet River to act in conjunction with General Bruce-Hamilton's columns.

The Transvaal War

These columns, in August (minus that of Major Damant detached to help in General Knox's operations of that period), continued, in various portions of the south-west of the Orange River Colony, to harass the commandos of Hertzog, Lategan, and Nieuwhoudt. A brilliant surprise was prepared by Colonel Lowry Cole for Hertzog on the night of the 24th. The enemy—his laager sheltered by a protecting kloof—was reported to be comfortably ensconced near Vaalhoek. Consequently the British band, marching in the small hours and with the utmost secrecy *viâ* Liebenberg's Pass, Slaghtkraals, and Nitkomst, came at dawn to a point which commanded the guerilla's lair. The success of the manœuvre was complete—there was the usual roar and rampage, the usual scurry and hurry, the ringing of rifles and of hoofs, and, finally, 14 prisoners, 29 rifles, 54 saddles, 43 horses, and all the goods and chattels of the foe were secured. The remainder of Hertzog's crew of eighty bolted towards Zootenberg.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY, N.—MAJOR-GENERAL ELLIOT

While the sweeping operations were taking place in the south of the Orange River Colony, General Elliot pursued his activities in the north of it. From Springfield Drift on the Wilge River, his three columns (under Brigadier-General Broadwood, Lieutenant-Colonel De Lisle, and Colonel Bethune) moved between the Wilge River and Liebenberg's Vlei, while General Rundle's force acted in co-operation to the east of the Wilge. Beyond a rush on the rearguard of the central column—De Lisle's—shortly after it had left Reitz, little opposition was met with. The troops then moved towards Heilbron, the right column (Broadwood's) passing through Frankfort. During this march some brilliant episodes made the 12th of July eventful. In the first place Colonel Harrison, who had energetically been hunting the enemy for some time past, planned a night excursion which was so successfully carried forward that his 300 Imperial Yeomanry returned with 12 prisoners, 9 carts, and 60 horses! In the second, General Broadwood, warily backing on Reitz to discover if the enemy, according to custom, had sought refuge by closing in behind the line of march of the troops, had some exciting and profitable adventures. He, indeed, almost landed the big fish, Steyn, in the net which hauled in a shoal of government officials of the late Free State. General Broadwood's plan was to surround the town of Reitz before daybreak, but owing to the necessity of making a forced march of thirty miles to rear of the other two columns and the unavoidable delay occasioned by loss of touch by a connecting file during the night, three-quarters of an hour were lost, and the troops, instead of approaching the town at their ease,

Orange River Colony (North)

were forced to gallop straight at it. The result was that, owing to the fatigue of the horses, the biggest prize, Steyn, got safely away ; but his departure was ignominious. Seizing the first pony he could find, coatless, bootless—a dilapidated picture of embarrassed somnolence—he made off, carrying with him just his skin and his beard, but leaving behind £11,500 (mostly in Orange Free State notes), 800 sovereigns, and £32 in his waistcoat pocket, his official papers (some remarkable and enlightening correspondence with the leaders of the Transvaal Boers), his guerilla government officials, together with Generals A. P. Cronje and T. B. Wessels, Commandant Davel and Field-Cornet Steyn (his brother). Pursuit on jaded horses was useless, therefore General Broadwood had to rest content with the magnificent results he had already obtained. He then returned to join his brigade—skirmishing by the way, but suffering only two casualties—and took his place in General Elliot's line after having, during the short period of absence, covered sixty miles of country. General Elliot, with only three of his force wounded, reached the railway *via* Heilbron on the 16th of July without further adventure, his total haul being 8 Boers killed and wounded, 61 prisoners, 4000 horses, 3600 cattle, 5400 rounds of ammunition, and many vehicles!

Before proceeding further, it is interesting to inspect the following letters found in Steyn's baggage, as they serve to throw light on the situation at this time from the Boer point of view :—

FROM STATE SECRETARY REITZ, DATED MAY 10, 1901, TO STEYN

“Meeting held of Transvaal Government with Commandant Botha, Commandant Viljoen, and General J. C. Smuts, considered condition of our country and following facts :—

“First.—Numbers of our Burghers are continually surrendering. This means more and more to unsuccessful termination, as Government and officials left without Burghers entails heavy responsibility on Government.

“Secondly.—Supply of ammunition so nearly exhausted that we shall be unable to engage enemy in another big fight, we shall be brought to a state of helpless flight unable to protect stock. In immediate future we shall be unable to feed our commandos.

“Thirdly.—On account of above, Government becoming weaker, losing support, becoming disorganised.

“Fourthly.—Not only our nation will be destroyed, but it will also be considered that leaders have erred, and all hope of continuation of national sentiment will be lost.

“Fifthly.—Hitherto nation and Government awaited result European complications and mission of our deputation. Government feel most strongly their duty obtain definite assurances.

“Having considered above points Government has determined—

“1. To obtain permission to send messenger to President Kruger point out terrible condition country.

“2. If request refused we will ask for armistice to obtain opinion both nations of future policy to put an end to present state of affairs. We leave it to you to suggest other solutions, but you must carefully consider that this Government is convinced that the time has passed for us to let matters drift on as at present, and that the time has come to take the final step.” Usual ending. (Signed) “REITZ.”

Presidents Steyn's reply (dated 15th May) acknowledges receipt of letter ; continues letter :—

The Transvaal War

"Great blow to me. Month ago discussed matters with your Government, agreed not to ask for armistice until things reached utmost extremity. Shall we obtain armistice? I think nothing has happened entitle us to armistice to obtain opinion of our nations. It is true Boksburg commando lost laager; General Viljoen was obliged to burn his, and blow up his Long Tom; but in spite of this we have not come to last extremity.

"Free State been four months without cannon. I also know of men laying down their arms, officers becoming cowardly. Our ammunition has long been scarce enough, still [some] left to continue. You ask what prospect of successful termination. I ask what chance was there for two small Republics when they declared war against mighty power of England? You will answer, 'We have trusted in God's help and foreign intervention. What reason have we for refusing to place further reliance on God?' I have seen last European papers; I firmly believe complications will take place in Europe within next few months, which will gain our good fortune. Knowing leaders of our deputation, I cannot believe they would sit here without hope of intervention, knowing how we struggle and strive, for I know they love their Fatherland sufficiently to frankly ask the British to end the war if in their opinion intervention is hopeless. The fact that these men remain in Europe convinces me that our case is not hopeless. When armistice comes I shall ask opinion of my nation. If they refuse to give in their determination will be mine also. I do not approve of sending messenger to Europe, it shows our hand. I am deeply hurt you having taken this determination without asking my advice and have acted so hurriedly. If you have not despatched messenger do not do so until I can call my advisers. I have sent for General De Wet; he will be here next week. I will then send you opinion.

"In your letter you say you are afraid your officers will be left alone on commando.

"Here officers may surrender, but Burghers will remain steadfast. I must point out that the Orange Free State has not only spent blood and money, but will have lost its freedom by trying to help the sister Republic, and all reliance of one Afrikaner on another will be destroyed for ever. It is ridiculous to think that when flooded with scum of Europe, Afrikaner spirit will remain. If we wish to remain a nation now is the time to struggle. Hope you received Natal newspaper, stating Milner going nominally on leave; truth being he not allowed a free hand. In later English paper I have seen Kitchener and he cannot pull together.

"I enclose cutting *Natal Witness*—'Public mind in England getting very uneasy about South Africa. There are possibilities which we are not at liberty to mention, and would, if we were, we could not (*sic*).'

"All these things convince me we shall be destroying all hope for our nation if we now surrender. Brothers, stand fast—take courage to your disheartened Burghers. I have received verbal information that Commandant Hausbrock had engagement with English, drove them back three times. As soon as I can call a council I will send a reply; do not take any further steps till you have heard from me." Usual ending follows. (Signed) "STEYN."

Further activities were pursued between the 16th and 24th of the month, when the troops were concentrated at Klerksdorp, activities which had the twofold object of intercepting Boers who might be fleeing before General Fetherstonhaugh's force (which was sweeping the area between Lichtenburg and Klerksdorp), and of taking up assigned positions for the contemplated drive southward from the line of the Vaal to the Modder. Here again the force marched not empty-handed, 15 prisoners, 120 horses, 25 cases of dynamite, stock, vehicles, and ammunition being the prizes of numerous smartly-executed surprise visits by patrols. Viewing the number of captures in the way of horses, it seemed difficult to comprehend why more mobility could not be secured to the troops, but in reality only 20 per cent. of the prizes were fit for remount purposes, the remainder being brood mares, foals, &c.

While General Elliot was placing his force in the position above

Orange River Colony (North)

described, precautionary measures had to be taken against a recrudescence of mischief in the direction of Kimberley. Report spoke of a contemplated reinforcement of the guerillas in the Cape Colony by recruits from the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal. General Smuts was associated with the movement, and the swelling hordes were to join and pass through Hoopstad on their career of devastation. Accordingly Colonel Henry, who was moving between Bloemhof and Christiana, was appointed to keep an eye on the Hoopstad district. On the 16th of July he crossed the Vaal at a point some twenty-three miles south-west of Hoopstad, and promptly secured some prisoners, waggons, and horses that were doubtless about to form part of the reinforced commando. On the 24th, in this district, he was joined by Major Paris, R.M.A., with the Kimberley column, which he had summoned from Warrenton. This officer on the way had come in collision with some 150 of the enemy, and had succeeded, through the gallantry of Dennison's Scouts, in routing them from a strong position. The day after, effecting a junction with Colonel Henry's force, he again came on the enemy under Commandants Badenhorst and Erasmus, and Field-Cornet Van Aswegan. The Boers were in some strength, but Major Paris's little force (consisting of 230 mounted men, 2 guns, a pom-pom, and 30 infantry, carried in carts) was equal to the occasion. The Boers were surrounded and attacked from three sides, and after a running fight, in which the 74th Squadron Imperial Yeomanry, the Kimberley Light Horse, and Dennison's Scouts distinguished themselves, the enemy dispersed with amazing celerity, leaving seven burghers on the field and their field-cornet a prisoner. One of the British party was killed and three were wounded.

Brigadier-General Gilbert Hamilton's column was also on the track of the raiders, he having moved from Klerksdorp to Wolmaranstad (on the 21st) in order to fulfil his share of the hunt. At Wolmaranstad he remained not long inactive, for the news of slinking Boers in the neighbouring kopjes came to his ears, and he quickly determined on a surprise visit to their haunts. The dawn of the 26th found Commandant Potgieter and his hardy crew surrounded in their laager at Blinklip, and General Hamilton, at the cost of only two men wounded, succeeded in putting eleven Boers out of action and securing ten more, together with waggons, horses, and supplies.

Farther to the east on the line of the Vaal, Colonel Western—who also had been at Klerksdorp—spent his time in reconnoitring along both banks of the river to Venterskroom and back to Coalmine Drift, where he was in a position to join the columns of Colonel Henry and General Elliot, which were ranging themselves in readiness for the main sweep south from the Vaal, on the west of the main line.

The Transvaal War

General Elliot's force was now swelled by the column—from Klerksdorp—of Colonel Sir H. Rawlinson, and that—from Reitzburg—of Colonel Garratt. From these three columns he organised a fourth, consisting of 1st Dragoon Guards and two guns under Colonel Owen.

Of Colonel Garratt's movements prior to his operations in connection with General Elliot at the end of July, a word must be said. On the 9th of July he moved to the junction of the Wilge and Vaal Rivers, in order to demonstrate to the west of General Bullock, upon the right flank of General Elliot's troops as they marched through Frankfort and Heilbron to the railway. Here, on the right bank of the Vaal, he came on a Boer laager, captured it, and made several prisoners. Later on, on the 21st, having filled up with supplies, his mounted troops chased two Boer convoys which were trekking on either bank of the Vaal near Lindique Drift, and succeeded in securing twenty-five Dutchmen, together with their waggons, carts, and cattle. Eleven of the enemy were killed and wounded in the fray. Smuts was engaged on the following day, but he and his gang fled to the hills, whence it was impossible to dislodge them. Finally, with the assistance of Colonel Rawlinson from the north and General Cunningham from Vereening, the Boers were routed from their snug positions and forced to take to the plains. Eighteen, however, were captured, and more waggons, horses, and cattle. Colonel Garratt then took up his assigned position on General Elliot's left.

To better understand the comprehensive nature of the general sweep which followed, reference to a map is now desirable. In General Elliot's position on the 29th of July we have the Vaal River at our back, the main railway line on our left, the Kimberley-Mafeking line on our right. The various columns were disposed so that the right rested on the Vaal south of Wolmaranstad, and the left (Rawlinson) at Vredefort. On the extreme right came Colonel Henry at Hoopstad; in rear of the left on a wide front came Colonel Garratt, for the purpose of netting fugitives who might break north. In due time, as stops on the east (simultaneously with the advance of Colonel Rawlinson), issued Major Pine Coffin and Colonel Barker (from Kroonstad and Vet River Stations respectively), and as stop on the west (to carry on and lengthen, as it were, Colonel Henry's right arm) came General Plumer, in the region between Boshof and Modder River Station.

All the bristles being prepared, the great military broom commenced operations on the 29th of July. The events of the end of the month would make a volume of adventure of themselves. A night march by General Broadwood to Bothaville—which was found deserted—caused the fleeing Boers to rush helter-skelter into the



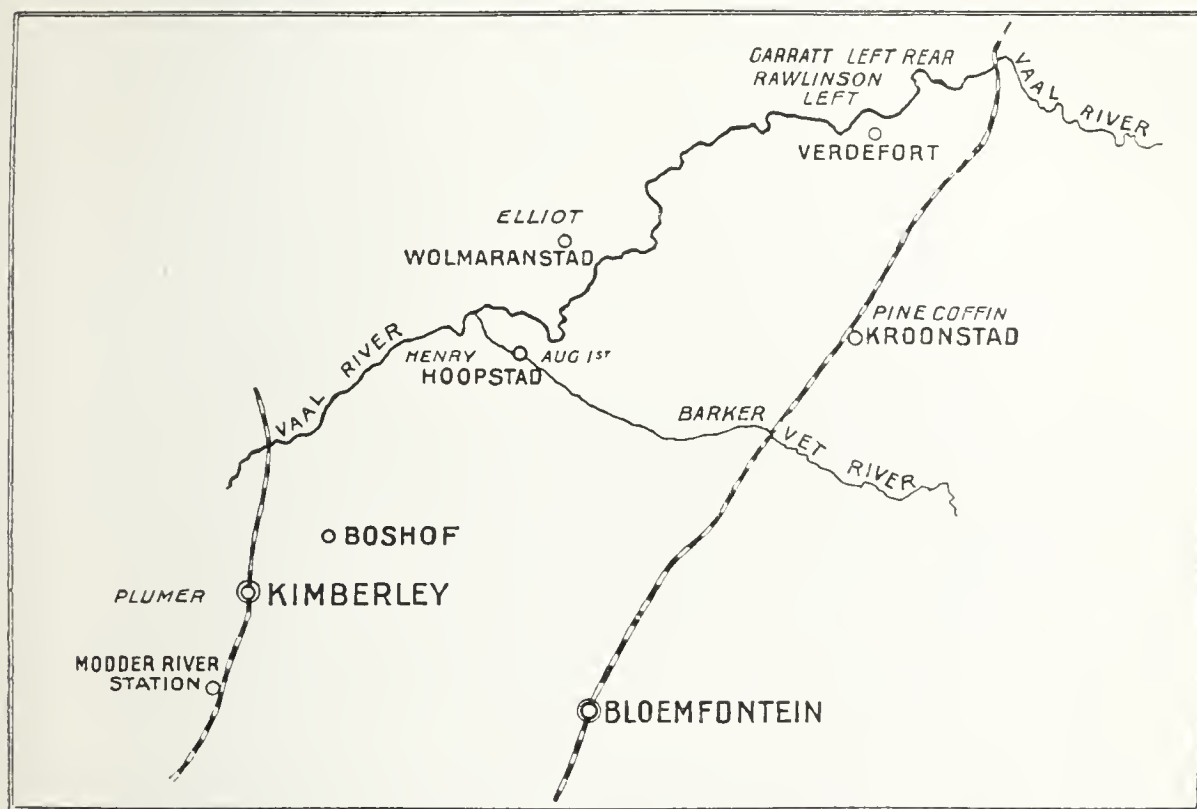
MAJOR-GENERAL WALTER KITCHENER.

Photo London Stereoscopic Co.

Orange River Colony (North)

net spread for them by Colonel de Lisle, who, with his smart South Australians, had the satisfaction of taking possession of eighteen prisoners and twelve waggons. A grand raid on a farmhouse on the 30th of July was accomplished by Colonel Lowe and the 7th Dragoon Guards, who, as reward of their enterprise, secured eleven armed prisoners, together with their rifles, bandoliers, and horses.

Then, on the 2nd of August, followed a smart capture of a laager near Graspan by some of Colonel Owen's men (King's Dragoon Guards) under Captain Quicke. This distinguished and now



JULY 29, 1901.—GENERAL ELLIOT'S SWEEP S. OF THE VAAL

deeply lamented officer pursued the convoy for fourteen miles, and though he had but seven men with him succeeded in capturing it, though a large force of the enemy was at hand! His "bag" consisted of 4000 cattle and 65 waggons. A dashing affray also took place between 200 South Australians (under Major Shea, 15th Bengal Lancers) and Smuts' commando near Vet River. The Colonials, splendidly led by Major Shea, Captain Watt, and Lieutenant M'Farlane, surrounded the farm in the dead of night, and pressing forward on foot, with fixed bayonets, made a rush on the commando. But the Boers had enmeshed their stronghold with a wire network which served to delay the troops, during which period most of the hostile gang were able to escape. But five fell, and eleven were secured, including Field-Cornet Wolmarans of

The Transvaal War

Potchefstroom, who was taken by gallant Shea himself. On the following day (3rd) General Broadwood swept up 7 waggons and 2000 cattle, while Colonel Lowe, after undertaking an eighteen-mile march, surprised a laager, secured 13 of its inhabitants, 86 waggons, and 56 horses. Tremendous hauls on the 6th and 7th of August put Colonel Lisle in possession of 40 prisoners, 147 waggons, 600 horses, and 2000 cattle; and on the 8th Colonel Henry and Lieutenant-Colonel Carr-Ellison (commanding 250 of the 4th Imperial Yeomanry) succeeded in capturing two laagers and a goodly knot of prisoners.

Meanwhile General Plumer, moving from the Modder River Station on the 4th, had proceeded to effect a junction with Colonel Henry. (How General Plumer came to be at Modder River at this period must be explained. After his return from Carolina to Bloemfontein in the second week of July, he had moved *via* Bains Vlei, Kruger's Drift, Poplar Grove, Koodoosrand, and Pandamfontein, skirmishing often by the way, and reaching Modder River plus 11 prisoners, 200 cattle, and 62 horses.) Here his troops, divided in two columns under Colonels Colvin and Sir John Jarvis, completed the encircling cordon to the west. During the movement, Sir John Jarvis, be it noted, after a twenty-five mile march, succeeded in securing, near Botha's Hoek, 15 Boers.

The details of General Elliot's march are full of savour, of heroism, and of activity; but the story of swoops, surprises, and surrenders of raiders would outrun the limits of a volume. It is only possible therefore to record the results, which, early in August, showed that 17 Boers had been killed and wounded and 326 captured; 2600 horses, 20,000 cattle, 377 waggons, 371 other vehicles, and 12,500 rounds of ammunition had also been secured.

General Elliot, on the conclusion of his operations between the Vaal and the Modder, withdrew his columns to east and west to the railway to refit. He himself reached Truter's Drift on the 9th of August. General Plumer returned to Modder River Station; Colonel Henry moved back to Boshof, and from thence to Luckhoff, where he operated during August; and Colonels Rawlinson and Western betook themselves to Glen and Bloemfontein respectively. General Elliot's programme was now to prepare at Glen for a fresh advance to the north-east, of a line Ladybrand, Sannah's Post, Glen. But of this anon.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY, E.—LIEUTENANT-GENERAL
SIR L. RUNDLE

General Rundle, as we know, had marched north from Harrismith simultaneously with General Elliot's advance from Springfield Drift

Orange River Colony (East)

on the 4th of July. Till the 12th, the force, marching in three columns, moved uneventfully to the line Tafel Kop-Maidstone-Driespruit. But, on the 12th, the very day that Colonel Harrison in one place and General Broadwood in another were trouncing the enemy and putting them to flight, the Imperial Yeomanry came in for some exciting experiences. It so happened that forty men of the Yeomanry under Lieutenant Edgell left Colonel Harley's (centre) column to communicate with that of General Campbell (right). Promptly Commandant Charles Botha got wind of the movement of the small party and attacked them. But the plucky band, though young Edgell, the sergeant, and four men were wounded at the first volley, held their own, and finally the enemy was routed, leaving their leader dead on the field.

The following account of a yeoman's experiences serves to show how Charles Botha met his death: it fails, however, to describe the gallantry and resource of Corporal F. M. Grove, 53rd Company Imperial Yeomanry, who, when the officer and sergeant were wounded, took command, fortified a post, and kept off the Boers till relief came:—

“The 12th of July I shall never forget. It was the worst day I have ever had. We had reached camp and had done a good day's work, having captured tons of mealies. It was found that we could not heliograph to Rundle, who was sixteen miles on our right; so they had to send a despatch, and our lieutenant with forty men had to take it. As we were rounding Bothasberg we came face to face with fifty or sixty Boers. There was absolutely no cover, and as it was too late to dismount there was only one thing to do—to charge. That we did, splitting them in all directions. Had we been a cavalry regiment with swords and known how to use them, we could have cut them to pieces. Our lieutenant, the Hon. Wyatt Edgell, led us, whip in hand, and was the first to go down with a bullet in his leg just above the knee. Shots were coming like hail. Charles Botha, who was at the head of the commando, kept shouting, ‘Surrender! surrender!’ but he was shot dead with one bullet behind the ear and another in the shoulder. Six of his men stuck to him like glue, but he was too big for them to get away, being about six feet one inch in height and weighing seventeen stone. It is a marvel to me that we were not annihilated. We built a breast-work of stones, being fired on all the time. When it was dark the guide made his way back to camp for help, but the groans of the wounded throughout the night were horrible. In the morning we were relieved, and the Boers came out under a flag of truce for half-an-hour to bury their dead. We went to Vrede next, and after a day's rest left that place in a shocking state. We killed thousands of sheep and put them in every house. The stench in a week will be horrible; it is to prevent the Boers from returning.”

The following day, in order to clear the line of advance from Boers who were scurrying eastwards, General Rundle directed Colonel Harley to close towards General Campbell in order to strengthen the right flank, and on the 14th the hills south-east of Vrede were occupied, and communication with Colonel Rimington (who had marched to the latter place to catch the scattered hordes that might be pushed towards him) was established. General Rundle, with his own and Colonel Rimington's prizes, proceeded over the Klip River to Standerton and was joined by Colonel Reay (left), who had crossed the Vaal at Robert's Drift.

The Transvaal War

His total haul, irrespective of the prisoners handed over by Colonel Rimington, amounted to 13 prisoners, 7000 horses, 35 vehicles, and 1000 tons of forage. Twelve Boers were killed and wounded. The British force lost four men, while one officer and fifteen men were wounded. From Standerton, having refilled with supplies, General Rundle marched south on the 20th. Starting from Bothaberg, south-west of Vrede, he moved to Witkoppies, some thirty miles south-west of that town, and finally scoured the hilly country lying between the Natal border and the Vrede-Harrismith Road. The Boers, gnome-like, popped and "potted" from their hiding-places, but cautiously kept from open battle; nevertheless, General Rundle returned to Harrismith with 6 prisoners, 3590 horses, 679 trek oxen, and 4760 cattle. Twelve Boers during the march had been killed and wounded.

On the 8th of August General Campbell marched with a column (Grenadier Guards, Leinster Regiment, 1st Battalion Imperial Yeomanry, and four guns and a pom-pom) through Retief's Nek in connection with a movement of General Elliot's, which should have driven the enemy into the Brandwater Basin, where General Campbell would have secured them; but the Boers knowingly made for the north, and thus General Campbell's captures were limited to waggons, carts, and horses. Colonel Harley meanwhile was employed in escorting supplies from Harrismith to Bethlehem, which at this date became the centre for a new column under Brigadier-General Sir John Dartnell. This force consisted of two regiments of Imperial Light Horse, specially equipped to ensure increased mobility.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY, N.—COLONEL RIMINGTON—BRIGADIER-GENERAL BULLOCK—BRIGADIER-GENERAL SPENS

Of Colonel Rimington's activities prior to his meeting with General Rundle we barely know the outline. On the 13th of July his troops displayed an immense amount of dash in a smart set-to with some Boers who, with their convoy, were on the north-east of Gambokshoekberg. The enemy's rearguard covering the march was forced from its position by the rapid rush of the mounted troops, who scattered the band, killed six of the foe, took ten prisoners, and 2000 head of cattle, which prizes were handed over to General Rundle on the occasion of the meeting near Vrede, of which we know. His hands free, Colonel Rimington then proceeded from Vrede to Heilbron, skirmishing by the way. From this time till August he operated in the triangle between Heilbron, Lindley, and Kroonstad, engaging in the same energetic system of night marching and surprise which was being everywhere vigorously

Transvaal (South-West)

carried forward, with first-rate results. Fourteen Boers killed, 36 prisoners, 24 voluntary surrenders, 68 ox-waggons, 52 vehicles, 5300 cattle was an excellent sum-total to bear witness to the work accomplished at that time.

General Bullock meanwhile, in July, had been sweeping the neighbourhood of Villiersdorp and Cornelia for the purpose of brushing Boers into the arms of General Elliot during the move of that officer from Springfield to Heilbron. But these wary Dutchmen were wide-awake and not to be entrapped. He therefore returned to Heidelberg, where General Spens took over command. Flying columns under Colonel Jenner and Major Gough now went to work with a will, and each column had the satisfaction of arriving at Heilbron in August, having captured a convoy apiece with the total loss of one man killed and four wounded. In the course of General Spens' sweep from Heidelberg to Heilbron his troops brought in 42 prisoners, 110 carts, 5600 cattle, and the supplies before named. In August he left Heilbron and renewed his activities in the direction of Kroonstad.

TRANSVAAL, S.W.—OPERATIONS OF GENERAL FETHERSTONHAUGH—CLEARING THE MAGALIESBERG—JULY

In July Major-General Fetherstonhaugh's force (in four columns, under Brigadier-General Dixon and Colonels Sir H. Rawlinson, E. Williams, and Hickie) operated from the Magaliesberg to Zeerust (reached on the 10th), and from thence back to Klerksdorp. The early part of the march was highly eventful, particularly for Colonels Williams and Hickie, who were repeatedly assailed by the enemy from almost inaccessible hiding-places. They nevertheless assisted in producing excellent results, and Roberts' and Kitchener's Horse highly distinguished themselves. In the end 13 Boers were killed and wounded, 26 were taken prisoners, 47 voluntarily surrendered, and 13 burghers, who had been imprisoned by their own men, were released. Waggons and cattle in plenty were secured. Nearer Zeerust all seemed placid; farmsteads and agriculture showed little sign of a state of war. On the return movement (begun on the 12th) General Fetherstonhaugh marched his right centre column through Lichtenburg, his own three columns being on the right, and that of General Dixon on the left. Thus the enemy, fighting continually, was driven day by day before him towards the region shortly to be swept by General Elliot's fan of troops. Large quantities of stores (unearthed from caves in the hills or discovered bricked up in the houses) were destroyed, 10 Boers were killed or wounded, and 22 prisoners taken. Klerksdorp was reached on the 21st of July after a particularly

The Transvaal War

hard march, in which Colonel Hickie's column especially suffered from the scarcity of water in the district. General Dixon ere this had returned to Krugersdorp. General Fetherstonhaugh, after a brief rest, set out on the 27th along the Taung-Vryburg line, where the enemy was reported to be active. On his right now moved Lord Methuen (from Lichtenburg), while Colonel Von Donop of Lord Methuen's force swept from Kraaipan and Geysdorp on the west of the hills, and Colonel Scott with a small column co-operated from Vryburg. The area was soon denuded of foodstuffs, and 58 prisoners of war were taken. Six of the enemy were killed.

While these energetic movements were going forward General Gilbert Hamilton was scouring the Klerksdorp Ventersdorp district, and Colonel Allenby was searching some almost unassailable positions round the Magaliesberg. His columns nevertheless scored some successes. On the daybreak of the 9th of July they surprised some Boers who were laagered at Zeekoehoek, and though many of them made good their escape to the hills, their field-cornet and twelve comrades were seized. On the 11th the enemy was again discovered in an almost inaccessible position on the Magaliesberg, but what the mounted men failed to accomplish the artillery achieved, and soon the mountain heights were ablaze with the flames of the burning laager and two waggons of dynamite and ammunition which had been blown up.

Later, in conjunction with Colonel Kekewich (who at Krugersdorp had taken over command of General Dixon's column), Colonel Allenby set about a further clearance of the Magaliesberg passes; but by the 7th of August the whole region had become too hot for the Boers' liking, and they evacuated it, enabling the British to occupy Breedt's Nek and establish a post on the summit. To thoroughly protect this favourite haunt of the Boers from their future visits two other columns were also engaged. Major-General Barton moved with a force from Pretoria to west of Commando Nek, clearing the country of supplies and establishing the network of posts to be occupied by the South African Constabulary, while Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Basing (with the Royal Dragoons, two guns and a pom-pom) covered the construction of the Frederikstad-Breedt Nek line of blockhouses, and kept up communication from thence to General Barton's column.

TRANSVAAL, E.—LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR BINDON BLOOD

General Viljoen's commando being still to the fore, north of the Delagoa line, the operations of July were mainly directed against him. General Blood, taking command of General Babington's column, and followed by General W. Kitchener, moved on the

Transvaal (East)

10th of July from Springs to Middelburg. Here, later, he was joined by Colonel Campbell, who had been engaged in conducting a reconnaissance north of the line from Elands River Station towards Wagen Drift. Though the utmost energy and activity prevailed on all sides, the results were disappointing. Owing to the vast expanse of country and the Boers' intimate acquaintance with all its nooks and crannies, they were able to play the game of hide-and-seek with impunity, taking care never to be caught in the open, and to avoid every chance of a collision.

Colonel Benson in his operations, however, had better luck. Moving from Dullstroom on the 9th of July, with Colonel Park on his right, he soon managed to discover the whereabouts of Viljoen's commando. Promptly the Dutchman was routed from his position at Middlekraal by the 2nd Scottish Horse, a glorious set of "irregulars," many of them hailing from Australia, who were first and foremost in every "ticklish" exploit. Indeed there was no end of their pluck; and on this occasion a mere handful of them, under their smart leaders Major Murray and Captain Lindley, contrived to keep at bay the hostile herd till the arrival of supports. Having dispersed the guerillas, Colonel Benson dealt in an equally effective manner with Muller's men on the west, a party of raiders who were now driven north from the neighbourhood of Witpoort. Reports presently said that Viljoen was still lingering somewhere in the west, consequently the 18th Mounted Infantry pushed off in pursuit, and succeeded in catching and capturing the tail of his convoy and some fifteen waggons. While the Colonel moved his main body—on the 11th—in the direction of Paardekloof, the 2nd Scottish Horse circled around towards the Tantesberg, unearthing and capturing prisoners and horses by the way and discovering vehicles hidden in the kloofs, which Viljoen had evidently deposited there for a "rainy day." This notable leader was discovered on the 15th of July at Laatstedrift, on the right bank of the Olifant River, whither Colonel Benson had moved after the arrival of a convoy brought by General Spens from the railway to Brinkwater. An inspiring feature of this discovery was the wonderful tenacity of Lieutenant Kelly of the Scottish Horse, who, though wounded in the stomach at the onset, had no sooner located the enemy than he crawled under heavy fire to inform the officer commanding! A smart engagement followed—an engagement creditable to both sides—and after some close fighting both the enemy's flanks were turned, and they were sent scuttling across the river into the thick bush country on the west. In the course of these varied operations 20 Boers were captured and 17 killed or wounded; 110 horses, 64 waggons, and a large quantity of ammunition were secured. More prisoners had also been seized by General Spens

The Transvaal War

in the course of his move with the convoy to Brinkwater and back to Middelburg, where he arrived on the 20th. Soon after this date he proceeded to take command of another column.

General Beatson meanwhile, on the night of the 7th of July, had done some highly effective work. His surprise visit to the laager of Commandant Trichard, which was located some twenty-five miles north of Middelburg, resulted in the breaking up of the marauding gang and the dispersal of them into the rugged country round Olifant River. The commandant himself merely escaped by "the skin of his teeth." Further pursuit being useless, the General returned to Middelburg and assisted in the hunt for Viljoen, who was not to be caught, however, for he had warily doubled back to his friendly kopjes on the right bank of the Olifant. Returning to Bronkerspruit Station along the Wilge River General Beatson, while searching in all the adjacent kloofs, came on twenty-five waggons containing ammunition and clothing. As the duties of most clearing columns were very much alike, some quotations from an officer's letter may serve to show the nature of the work and of the country to be cleared of Boers and supplies:—

"The usual proceeding is as follows: On the first day we occupy the high ridges on each side of one of the huge valleys, or kloofs, as they are called. This the Boers, with the exception of a few 'snipers,' who wound or kill one or two of our advanced scouts, do not attempt to oppose. Then begins the difficulty. From each side the ground slopes down very steeply—in many places it means recourse to hands and knees—for about a mile; then comes a sheer precipice about 100 feet deep, and at the bottom a valley about 100 to 500 yards broad, with a stream in the middle and very thickly wooded. On each side of the main valley the cliffs are broken by smaller kloofs running up them, and they contain any number of caves and huge boulders. On the whole, one of these valleys makes about as difficult a bit of country to clear as any you could imagine. The Boers lie hidden among the rocks and in caves, and 'snipe' from them heavily at any man attempting to climb down the precipitous sides. We generally spend a day or two in shelling and advancing as far as the edges of the precipices, and then on the night before we send our infantry down into the valley most of the Boers escape. They dispute every inch of the way until they see that the position is untenable for them. Then off they go."

The writer of the letter mentioned a particular instance of this kind of work, in which the Boer women hung white flags all over their laager, and some Boers took advantage of the fact that the British gunners duly respected the flags to hide among the rocks round the laager, and to "snipe" the troops as they advanced. He continued:—

"We slept out at night; it was fearfully cold; we had no blankets, and only half rations. We were ordered on the next morning to get the guns down a long spur jutting out into the valley. This appeared to be impossible, as the ground was fearfully steep and stony, and there was no road. However, with the aid of 50 Highlanders and a lot of rope, we managed to get down after two hours' hard work. The position was a beautiful one, being only 1700 yards from the place occupied by the Boers on the previous day. We would probably have had some casualties from rifle fire, being on exposed ground, but the Boers appeared to have left during the night. Our infantry entered the kloof from both sides, and spent two days in collecting cattle and in blowing up 50,000 rounds of Boer rifle ammunition. The Boer families were brought in, and made more comfortable than they had ever been before. The Boers all say that they do not mind deserting their wives, as they know that we look after them, and make them more comfortable at Middelburg than they were when living on the veldt."



BOERS CAUGHT IN THE ACT OF CUTTING THE TELEGRAPH WIRES

Drawing by Wal Paget

Standerton-Heidelberg

In the course of General Beatson's operations on the 11th of July he had the misfortune to lose his intelligence officer, Lieutenant Anderson, R.E., a brilliant and zealous soldier, who was shot while galloping ahead with an advance party of Victorians and Mounted Infantry in hot chase after a gang of Boers.

With troops refitted, General Kitchener and Colonel Campbell now sped north from Middelburg, bent on getting in touch with the quarry. General Kitchener was successful. At Blaauwbank, on the 29th, a brisk engagement—a brilliant chase by the 19th Hussars, followed by the 18th in support, and a rush with fixed bayonets—resulted in the recapture of the two pom-poms taken from the Victorians on the 11th of June, and the seizure of 32 prisoners and 20 waggons of Viljoen's commando. The commandant himself made haste to withdraw to north and north-west of the Olifant.

On this day (29th) General Sir Bindon Blood, with Colonel Benson's column, moved from Wonderfontein to Carolina. The march was not without incident, for by night, at Mooitley, the troops of Colonel Benson made a smart swoop upon a Boer laager, and possessed themselves of 17 prisoners, 50 horses, and 10 waggons. A few days later another descent on the marauders in the same neighbourhood swelled the list of captures by 29 prisoners (five of whom were Botha's despatch riders), 70 horses, and 5 carts.

August opened with more surprises, skirmishes, and surrenders in other directions. At Diepkloof, on the Kruis River, General Kitchener, on the 3rd, dispersed a small commando, leaving two dead Boers on the field, and taking 13 prisoners. Colonel Park, between Lydenburg and Dullstroom, had also some exciting tussles, after which he proceeded to scour the country between Roos Senekal and the Tautesberg.

STANDERTON-HEIDELBERG—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL COLVILLE

Lieutenant-Colonel Colville, from Greylingstad, spent the end of July in scouring the district north of the railway line between the Waterval River and Leeuwspruit, and defeating the mischievous activities of gangs under Alberts, Mears, and Pretorius. It must be remembered that these guerilla chiefs were paid £25 a month by the Boer Government for their services, and that they had this to gain and nothing to lose by adhering to their policy of resistance. The Boer Government, according to rumour, had now formed a new seat (its seats were so many and so portable that it is difficult to remember them!) at Watervalshoek, about twenty-six miles north of Greylingstad, consequently it was decided that this hot-bed of

The Transvaal War

disorder must be assailed without delay. Thereupon, on the 4th of August, three forces were moved out—Colonel Colville's and Colonel Stewart's (Johannesburg Mounted Rifles) to Rooipoort (ten miles west of Bethel), while Colonel Bewicke-Copley marched from Springs towards Watervalshoek. From Rooipoort Colonel Stewart searched the northern road through Drefontein and Saltpeter Krantz, while Colonel Colville exerted his vigilance along the southern route to Watervalshoek. He reaped his reward. At the junction of the Waterval River and Klipspruit he suddenly spied a Boer convoy—the convoy of General Alberts—on the march. Immediately all was excitement. Away went his gallant men, racing and galloping over a good seven miles, never ceasing their rush till the convoy was hounded down, till the whole bunch of guerillas, with 28 loaded waggons, 12 carts, 55 horses, 1400 cattle, and 2000 rounds of ammunition were seized.

Meanwhile, the Boer Government had again vanished into thin air!

Colonels Colville and Stewart moved to Standerton, while Colonel Bewicke-Copley hustled bands of flying Dutchmen, who disappeared into the valley of the Wilge.

CAPE COLONY—JULY

General French, in the middle of July, organised a big combined movement to dislodge the raiders from the Camdeboo Mountains near Graaf Reinet. The activities of the troops, brilliant as they had been, had not entirely purged the Cape Colony of the offensive element, and gangs of guerillas were still popping out here and there, in their mischief assisted by traitors, whose Janus faces it took some time to unmask. General French's efforts were now directed against rebels and raiders, and in a particularly successful series of hunts several Boers were killed and wounded, and 31 prisoners, mostly Cape rebels, were captured.

The combined commandos of Fouché and Myburg made an unusual demonstration on the 14th of July, and actually attacked the Connaught Rangers, under Major Moore, who, while escorting a convoy, were camped in a position between Aliwal North and Jamestown. It took some hours of determined fighting to beat off the ferocious enemy, who were splendidly posted on high hills, and were only defeated by dusk. Three officers and 17 of our wounded were left to tell the tale of stubborn resistance. The enemy were pursued by Colonel Munro, and caught after a wearing chase south-west of Jamestown. Some of their number were killed and some were forced to retreat upon the "Connaughts," who, as may be imagined, received them in passing with considerable warmth.

Cape Colony—July

By the end of the month, Fouché, owing to the incessant vigilance of Colonel Munro and Major Moore, found the Colony too hot to hold him. He therefore betook himself across the Orange near Aliwal North. But Kruitziuger kept up the excitement by dodging in the mountains south of Cradock. From thence he pounced, on the 21st of July, upon Colonel Crabbe and his column. The sudden outburst of musketry at close quarters, as it were from the bowels of the hills, caused the horses to stampede, and the loss of 200 horses at a critical moment was found to be no trifling matter. A horrible tussle ensued, but luckily at the end of the



CONCENTRATION CAMP AT NORVAL'S PONT

day Colonel Crabbe was able to withdraw to Mortimer Station with his force, five of whom were wounded.

Colonel Scobell's encounter with the enemy on the 23rd was more happy in its results. He formed part of the cordon which was pushing the enemy towards the Orange, and during the operation the indefatigable Colonel Lukin and 90 Cape Mounted Rifles under Captain Cosgrove made a grand swoop upon Lategan's laager, fought and defeated 150 of the foe, captured 10 prisoners (including a field-cornet, Buys by name) and 105 saddles and horses. But it was what may be called a "touch-and-go" affair, for at one

The Transvaal War

time Lieutenant Welby with only twelve men was surrounded by forty Boers, whom he withstood for an hour till rescued. Not less successful were the columns of Colonels Doran and Wyndham and the energetic Captain Lund. (This officer, on the 19th, secured a waggon containing the rifles of Smits' commando.) But such of the enemy as got away now dispersed under cover of darkness into the remote bridle-paths, and bided their time in their well-chosen coigns of vantage, where in ones and twos they were unassailable. General French was therefore obliged to arrange a backward and southward movement of the fan of columns from a line Vlakfontein, Richmond, Middle Mount, Middelburg, Schombie, Steynsburg, Stormberg, so as to force the scattered bands northwards again. From the 29th of July to the 3rd of August was passed in this manœuvre, wearing but remunerative, for by the end of this time the raiders slipped through the loopholes intentionally made by the columns, which had been ordered to contract their fronts for this purpose, and once more the troops (extended laterally on a line Beaufort West, Pearston, Drennan Station, Cameron's Glen, Cathcart) had the satisfaction of pressing the enemy north towards the line of blockhouses on the Steynsburg-De Aar line. The only big commando that remained south was Scheepers', which a detached force of 10th Hussars, 12th Lancers, and two guns proceeded to chase.

The process of attrition was going forward slowly and surely. The numbers of captures were monthly increasing, but the organised system of intimidation pursued by the Boer leaders against both burghers, who, if left to themselves, would have surrendered, and natives, who went in fear of their lives, and became informants, made the work of settlement exceedingly harassing. In these circumstances, Lord Kitchener "considered it advisable to form some specially mobile columns for independent and rapid action in different parts of the country, generally at some distance from the operations of other troops." These columns were given a free hand in respect to their movements, and acted at any time on intelligence gained by themselves in addition to such as might be received from headquarters.

THE SITUATION—AUGUST

In May Sir Alfred Milner paid a visit to England, and his reception in Great Britain left no doubt in the mind of people at home and abroad regarding the determination of the Government to adhere to their South African policy. The King conferred on him the dignity of a Baron, and both in the City of London and in that of Cape Town there were rejoicings at the honour done to one who had served the cause of Great Britain with such skill and unswerv-



DELAGOA BAY.

Drawing by Donald E. M'Cracken.

The Situation

ing devotion. In August Lord Milner returned to his duties as High Commissioner for South Africa and Administrator of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, much benefited by the brief rest from his labours.

As it was found necessary to adopt sterner measures to crush the lingering guerilla warfare, Lord Kitchener issued, on the 7th of August, the following Proclamation:—

“Whereas the late Orange Free State and the late South African Republic have been annexed to his Majesty’s dominions ;

“And whereas his Majesty’s forces are and have for some considerable time been in complete possession of the seats of Government of both the aforesaid territories, with their public offices, and the whole machinery of administration, as well as of all the principal towns and the whole of the railway lines ;

“And whereas the great majority of the Burghers of the two late Republics, to the number of thirty-five thousand, exclusive of those who have fallen in the war, are now either prisoners or have submitted to his Majesty’s Government, and are living peaceably in towns or camps under the control of his Majesty’s forces ;

“And whereas the Burghers of the late Republics still in arms against his Majesty are not only few in numbers, but have lost almost all their guns and munitions of war, and are devoid of regular military organisation, and are therefore unable to carry on regular warfare or to offer any organised resistance to his Majesty’s forces in any part of the country ;

“And whereas those Burghers who are still in arms, though unable to carry on regular warfare, continue to make isolated attacks upon small posts and detachments of his Majesty’s forces, to plunder or destroy property, and to damage the railway and telegraph lines, both in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal and in other portions of his Majesty’s South African Dominions ;

“And whereas the country is thus kept in a state of disturbance, checking the resumption of agricultural and industrial pursuits ;

“And whereas his Majesty’s Government is determined to put an end to a state of things which is aimlessly prolonging bloodshed and destruction and inflicting ruin upon the great majority of the inhabitants, who are anxious to live in peace and to earn a livelihood for themselves and their families ;

“And whereas it is just to proceed against those still resisting, and especially against those persons who, being in a position of authority, are responsible for the continuance of the present state of lawlessness, and are instigating their fellow-Burghers to continue their hopeless resistance to his Majesty’s Government ;

“Now therefore I, Lord Kitchener, &c., under instructions from his Majesty’s Government, proclaim and make known as follows :

“All commandants, field cornets, and leaders of armed bands, being Burghers of the late Republics, still engaged in resisting his Majesty’s forces, whether in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal or in any other portion of his Majesty’s South African Dominions, and all members of the Governments of the late Orange Free State and the late South African Republic, shall, unless they surrender before the 15th of September next, be permanently banished from South Africa ; the cost of the maintenance of the families of all Burghers in the field who shall not have surrendered by 15th September shall be recoverable from such Burghers, and shall be a charge upon their property movable and immovable in the two Colonies.”

The Proclamation was the result of correspondence which had taken place between Sir H. E. M’Callum, Governor of Natal, and Mr. Chamberlain. The Governor’s telegram, dated 24th July, ran thus :—

“I sent you by last mail long minute submitted to Ministers containing following suggestions :

“Protracted continuance of hostilities vitally affecting interests of Natal is viewed with grave concern. Raids into the Colony frequently render it impossible for loyalists to return to farms and avocations. Feeling of unrest among natives created by raids, revenue suffering, trade paralysed, railways monopolised by military, towns overcrowded with refugees and persons awaiting return to Transvaal, stock being affected with disease

The Transvaal War

due to introduction of captured stock from the new Colonies, famine prices prevailing, Colony still subject to censorship and martial law.

"Under these circumstances Ministers advocate sterner measures to crush present guerilla warfare. They point out that Boers still fighting have little to lose, that their women and children are protected and well treated, and that their farms are safe from confiscation, therefore Boers free from anxiety and encouraged to continue in the field, growing accustomed to life of pillaging and looting, and communicate frequently with refugee camps which thus are source of danger. Those who are not rebels know that if captured they will be treated as prisoners of war and released at the conclusion of hostilities.

"Ministers believe that excellent effect would be produced if it were made generally known that if Burghers now in the field do not surrender by given date, say, within one month, cost of maintenance of all women and children will be chargeable against immovable property of Burghers in the field; also that Boer generals and leaders in the field should be informed that unless they and their commandos surrender by date specified they will be banished from South Africa for life when captured.

"In making these observations and recommendations Ministers disclaim intention of appearing to reflect on military operations, of which they realise the immense difficulties. They will continue to render the Imperial Government every assistance to secure settlement and pacification."

A telegram followed from Mr. Chamberlain to Lord Kitchener containing the draft of the Proclamation, which was to be issued with the least possible delay. Lord Kitchener was desired before issuing it, however, to communicate its terms to the Governors of Cape Colony and Natal, and ascertain whether their governments agreed to them. The proposal was approved by the Colonial governors, the document received a few emendations, and was issued as above.

There was, naturally, an outcry at all sterner measures that were proposed, by what may be called the "Prolong-the-War Party"—the pro-Boer orators who were daily, by their excited utterances, betraying the Boers into the belief that their showy sympathy would bring about practical results. But in reality the stern measure was intended as a merciful measure to save desperate men from a suicidal policy of resistance to the inevitable, the country from devastation, and women and children from suffering. Their territories were annexed, their leaders, most of them, were exiles or prisoners, hostilities had developed from guerilla warfare to simple brigandage and outrage, and the British were keeping up the supply of troops with the determination of "fighting to a finish." Indeed, by the middle of 1901, there were 138,000 regulars, 58,000 Colonials, 23,000 yeomen, 20,000 militia, and 10,000 volunteers—a total of 250,000 men under arms in South Africa. With this ever-increasing multitude bearing down upon them, the days of the belligerents were numbered, but this they doggedly refused to believe, or, even if they believed the worst, they decided—like the wasp who parts with his sting only to die—on leaving behind them the largest legacy of pain and trouble the circumstances would admit.

The South African Constabulary by the middle of the year had grown into an effective force, and were operating from the vicinity of the railways and occupying fortified posts, and thus rendering themselves exceedingly valuable in checking the efforts of the enemy

The Situation

to pass through the cordon around the cleared districts. The Boers, by the loss of their ox-waggon, were seriously impeded in regard to their supply arrangements, and the series of captures which took place in all parts of the country made a considerable drain on their numbers in the field. Still, small gangs of three to four hundred men roving loosely over the country could, in cases of emergency, concentrate and cause vast trouble and annoyance and even danger to the small mobile columns, broken up as they were, in order to operate over vast areas in search of the scattered hordes.

Viewing the intense labour and increasing strain suffered by the Commander-in-Chief at this time, it is pleasing to quote the letter of an officer competent to speak regarding the magnificence of the steady if slow work that was being accomplished :—

“We are eleven hours a day in the saddle on patrol duty, and good solid work is being done by mobile columns. You will not get much of our movements through the Press, as the policy of secrecy is really the only safe one with the Cape Colony now undermined by rebels from north to south. It would be difficult to over-praise Lord Kitchener for his remarkable power of self-control and ability to keep his own counsel. His ceaseless efforts to get the right men into the higher and brigade commands are recognised by all of us who have suffered in the past from incompetent leaders. In spite of the clap-trap that is being talked in Parliament by ignorant and vain knights of the shires, I can assure you that a more humane and pacific general never directed a force on active service, and this testimony is from Boer and British alike.”

Considerable stir was created in England among the so-called humanitarians regarding the mortality of children in the concentration camps, where the Boer families had of necessity to be housed and cared for. The mortality was certainly high, but on strict inquiry it was found that mainly through the ignorance, listlessness, and idleness of the Boer mothers the sick infants were treated wrongly or neglected. Dr. Jane Waterston, late President of the Women's Rand Relief Committee, in a letter to the *Cape Times*, with level-headed brevity discussed some points which the Boer sympathisers had carefully ignored. She pointed out that—

“Ordinary colonial women who have been through the stress and strain of the last two years are not very favourably impressed by the present stir in England over the assumed privations of the Boer women and children. If looting, flogging, ruining, and train-wrecking can be dignified by such a name as war, they hold ‘that in all matters of supply our fighting men, who, as well as fighting our battles, guard our women-folk or our sick men, injured by wounds or disease in our service, come first and foremost ; after them come our own civilian population ; and lastly come our prisoners, or those Boers who have surrendered or been brought in.’”

Again she said :—

“Large as was the sum collected in Great Britain by voluntary subscriptions, at no time did the women and children of the loyal colonial refugees of the poorer classes receive more than mere sustenance. Judging, however, by some of the hysterical whining going on in England at the present time it would seem as if we might neglect or half starve our faithful soldiers, and keep our civilian population eating their hearts out here as long as we fed and pampered people who have not even the grace to say ‘thank you’ for the care bestowed on them.

The Transvaal War

“As we see it, the problem before our military men is, how to manage, feed, and care for large numbers of women and children, and yet not feed the enemy and so prolong the war, or rather existing brigandage. If the women are left on the farms with food, that food will be promptly handed over to the commandos, who would lightly take it all, and trust to British soft-heartedness not to let their women and children die of starvation, but to replenish all the empty larders by means of scattered convoys, which would give them at the same time grand chances of loot and first-rate practice in sniping. To obviate this the military have had to make up their minds either to let the women and children starve on their farms or else gather them into large concentration camps. This war has been remarkable for two things : first, the small regard that the Boers, from the highest to the lowest, have had for their womankind ; and secondly, the great care and consideration the victors have had for the same, very often ungrateful, women.

“It is the fault of the Boer men, not ours, that their women and children are in concentration camps. The task of our *pro tem.* rulers is not made easier by the fact that no consideration of the stuff on a supply train being partly meant for their own wives and children would hinder Boer husbands and fathers from wrecking the train and destroying the food. They comfort themselves with the thought that the soldiers may have to go on half rations and tighten their belts, but ‘these fools of English will serve out as usual the daily ration to the refugee camps.’ At present there is the danger that the Boers will waken up to have a care for their womenfolk, and will go on fighting for some time so as to keep them in comfortable winter quarters at our expense, and thus our women and children will lose a few more of their husbands and fathers.”

In corroboration of Dr. Waterston's statements it may also be noted that the Government, while spending hundreds of thousands of pounds monthly on the Boer refugees, had devoted only £50,000 towards the Imperial Relief fund for helping the loyalists.

Naturally, among the British sufferers, the continual attempts to propitiate an irreconcilable enemy were looked upon with disgust and even suspicion, and very rejoiced were they to find that steps were taken to arrest and remove Boer sympathisers in Johannesburg and elsewhere, who were known to be assisting in a widening conspiracy to get surrendered burghers to return to their commandos, and so reproduce a recrudescence of hostilities. On all sides the lying tongues of the Boer party, who had declared war and quitted the field, strove to urge the remnants towards further resistance by declaring that Great Britain was divided against itself, and that it had not sufficient endurance to see the matter through.



CHURCH SQUARE, PRETORIA.
Drawing by Donald E. M'Cracken.

CHAPTER XII

ORANGE RIVER COLONY—AUGUST

AT this time, as we know, the troops of Generals Bruce-Hamilton and C. Knox were engaged in clearing operations to the south of the Riet River, but, in consequence of a recrudescence of activity in the south-eastern districts of the Orange Colony, the operations were somewhat curtailed, and attention was directed to the offending quarter. The activity showed itself firstly on the 12th of August, when some 250 Boers under Boshoff, fleeing from the trap that Elliot had prepared for them, burst through the line of blockhouses near Sanna's Post. Secondly, another marauding gang of the same size, under Kruitzinger, in evading French's hunters, east of Norval's Pont, had penetrated the Springfontein-Bethulie line near Providence Siding, on their way to Boesmans Kop—an old and favourite haunt. Finally, a similar party under Smuts and Dreyer, on the 15th, had succeeded in squeezing past the line of police posts on the Modder, to the north of Petrusburg. These three movements suggested the possible concentration of the raiders in the now clear area between Wepener, Rouxville, and Smithfield, and consequently General Knox at once directed his attention to this quarter, in order to prevent any fresh junction of forces, and the entry of swelled commandos into Cape Colony. He therefore moved his troops from west to east of the railway, so as to interpose them between the enemy and the river line. Major Damant's column was detached from General Bruce-Hamilton's command, and the Royal Dragoons, under Lord Basing, were brought by rail from the Transvaal to Springfontein, while Colonel Western moved from Bloemfontein to Bethulie to join General Hart, who with Col. the Hon. H. D. Murray's column, the Connaught Rangers, was guarding the river west and east of Aliwal North.

Nor was this all. Colonel Sir Henry Rawlinson was ordered to pursue Boshoff's guerillas, who were scurrying through the Bloemfontein-Ladybrand line, but these nimble ones, bent rather on flight than fight, knowingly avoided contact with the pursuers. Kruitzinger, gathering the bedraggled remnants of commandos as he went, veered towards the Basuto border, hugged it gingerly, and stealthily crept towards the river, so that, on the morning of the 4th of September, he succeeded with 300 men,

The Transvaal War

despite the vigilance of our troops, in effecting a crossing into Cape Colony at Kiba Drift. The Boers did not, however, escape Major Damant, who was hunting for them in the neighbourhood of Spitzkop. He scented them out at Oudam, to the west of Boesmanskop, and was off with 300 mounted men, 2 guns, and a pom-pom to attack them. The marauders were on the alert, and they, on the 14th, galloped off as fast as their mounts would carry them. For a good ten miles galloped hunters and hunted, till at last the quarry, dispersing, sought almost inaccessible refuge in the Marsfontein Hills. But 4 prisoners, 20 horses, 6 mules, 5 rifles, a heliograph, and the Commandant's despatch-box fell into Major Damant's hands. From the prisoners it was discovered that they formed part of Delarey's gang, who were moving under Dreyer to reinforce Kruitzyger at the Cape. Meanwhile, Lord Basing was hunting around Boesmanskop, and Colonel Thorneycroft's two columns, under Colonel Minchin and Major Copeman, were working their way (from Reddersburg and Smithfield respectively) towards Zandfontein, twelve miles east of Rouxville, where they met at the end of August. The enemy, ensconced in the kloofs, crannies, and kopjes between Zastron and the Orange River, succeeded in evading them, not a very marvellous feat considering their intimate acquaintanceship with the geographical features of this locality.

Colonel Pilcher's two columns of General Knox's force, under Colonel Taylor and Major Lean, now marched from the west into Bloemfontein and Edenburg, and from thence south to Bethulie, while Colonel Pilcher pushed up the valley of the Caledon towards Smithfield, thus freeing the troops of Colonel Thorneycroft and Lord Basing, who were able to scour further east. About this time, 25th of August, Colonel Sir Henry Rawlinson, marching south from Dewetsdorp, encountered a detached bunch of Smuts' men scuttling east of Reddersburg. A brilliant chase to the north-east followed, the mounted troops under Major Gosset pursuing with such dash that 25 prisoners out of the party of 120 were secured, and 30 of their horses captured. In September, after the column had obtained supplies at Edenburg, further activities all along the Basuto border were engaged in, and, on the 8th the mischievous hordes were driven north from a position they had taken up in the vicinity of Elandsberg. But Smuts and his following, despite the close proximity of Colonel Thorneycroft, were successful in finding a loophole at Kiba Drift, and escaped into Cape Colony on the 4th. There he was quickly "spotted" by General Hart, who pursued him towards Ladygrey. Both General Hart and General French had now their hands full. Kruitzyger's and Smuts' men, who had effected a crossing, required to be dealt with, so, in order to reinforce General French,

Orange River Colony (South)

Colonel Pilcher moved from the Caledon Valley to Burghersdorp on the 7th of September.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY, S.—BRIGADIER-GENERAL PLUMER

We left General Plumer, on the 11th of August, surrounded by the prizes won during his expedition to block the exits to the west during General Elliot's sweep from the Vaal to the Modder River (see Map, p. 89). These prizes included 32 prisoners, 346 horses, 566 cattle, 28 waggons, and 39 carts. Four days later he was off again on fresh Boer-hunting adventures. On his right moved Colonel Colvin, *viâ* Doornhoek and Roodepan to Zoutpans Drift on the Orange River; on his left marched Colonel Sir J. Jarvis through Koffyfontein and Luckhoff. The place between the Kimberley-Luckhoff line was a desert. Not a Boer showed his nose. Only some cattle, which were captured, betrayed his recent haunts. General Plumer concentrated his force at Zoutpans Drift on the 21st, and on the 23rd began a new move. The Orange River Valley to the east and all its mysterious kloofs were thoroughly searched, and the loopholes, whence the hunted might evade the vigilance of General French's troops on the other side, were watched with lynx eyes. But the Boers were not to be caught napping in this way. At last, however, a commando under Lategan, which had been forced to run from the Cape Colony before Colonel Byng's men, came plump upon Plumer, who was then on the look-out, south of Philippolis. A spirited chase ensued, and the fugitive band was relieved of 8 comrades, 4 rifles, 46 horses, and 11 vehicles. General Plumer's force reached Prior's Siding and Springfontein on the night of the 30th of August, and, one may almost say, without waiting to draw breath, was off again to join in the hunt for Kruitziuger.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY, E.—MAJOR-GENERAL ELLIOT—AUGUST

After a brief rest at Glen, General Elliot, on the 18th, spread his troops on the line Glen, Sanna's Post, Ladybrand, with the intention of making a sweep to the north-east and a final wheel towards the Wittebergen Mountains. The object of this wheel was to drive such Boers as might be lurking about into the arms of General Campbell, who, it may be remembered, was waiting at the Brandwater Basin to mop them up. On General Elliot's left were Colonel Barker and Major Pine Coffin, working from Winburg to co-operate towards the Tabaksberg and Doornberg; while in the Senekal district was an outstretched net—composed of the troops of General Spens, Colonel Rimington, and Colonel Wilson—ready to haul in any interlopers that might be driven north by General Elliot's activities.

The Transvaal War

Haasbroek, whose laager was reported to be somewhere in the vicinity, was now the main object of the hunt. Report said that he, with 300 men, was on the Korannaberg ; consequently this eminence was surrounded on three sides by the Mounted Infantry from Thabanchu and Ladybrand working one way, while Colonel Baker and Major Pine Coffin so disposed themselves that the enemy, retreating toward Doornberg, would meet with a warm welcome. But Haasbroek had bolted. When, after a long and weary night march, Colonel Lowe's doughty men scaled the ridges, they found on the summit only some twenty Boers, two of whom were killed and one wounded. This was especially disappointing, as on the 22nd a commando, said to be under De Wet, cropped up most unexpectedly, and pounced upon a small party of the Black Watch Mounted Infantry, which had been detached from Ladybrand to Modderpoort for the purpose of driving such Boers as they might find towards General Elliot's right front. And this commando—their superiors in numbers and in point of position—was not to be overpowered, and eventually, after a fierce tussle, in which five of the enemy were killed, including the field cornet, the party was captured. Hearing of the disaster, General Broadwood, who was on General Elliot's right at Maquatlings Nek, rushed at once to the rescue, making a forced march throughout the night of the 22nd, but without avail. The enemy and their British prize had disappeared. The prisoners were afterwards released—the Boers having already too many mouths to feed and no means of securing their haul. From this time to the 26th the Division halted in the region of the Korannaberg, and the time spent in awaiting supplies was occupied in completely scouring the surrounding country. On the 26th the march towards Wittebergen was resumed. Of course, Haasbroek and his friends Froneman, Koen, and Hermanns Steyn were soon aware of the direction taken by the troops, and were not slow in vacating the position that they had taken up at Wonderkop, and moving north. By the 30th the columns were spreading out on a line—Retief's Nek, Commando Nek—hunting as they went in valley and kloof, in ridge and ravine, for signs of the marauders. Tiring and fatiguing were the explorations, and often unremunerative ; indeed, as a total, the results of so much energy were disappointing. Horses, cattle, and waggons were found in good quantities, but only 13 Boers were killed, 11 wounded, and 21 prisoners taken after numerous exciting expeditions. The rest of the guerillas were driven either in the direction of General Campbell's troops or towards the north. General Elliot moved to Winburg on the 6th, where he was joined later by Colonel Barker and Major Pine Coffin, who pursued their investigations of the country some days longer.

Sweeping the Kroonstad District

SWEEPING THE KROONSTAD DISTRICT—BRIGADIER-GENERAL SPENS—AUGUST

The columns of General Spens, moving from Heilbron to Kroonstad between the 6th and the 12th of August, performed a prodigious amount of work, Major Gough and his Mounted Infantry alone securing 12 prisoners, 900 cattle, 30 carts, 2 waggon, and 186 horses.

On the 16th the General again made a grand effort, which, however, was not crowned with brilliant results such as those just chronicled. The mounted troops of Colonel Jenner and Major Gough, with four R.H.A. guns, made a laborious night march of 35 miles from a farm north of Welvert, in order to surround Lindley before dawn. The thing was splendidly managed, but to no purpose. The town was vacated. The "slim" ones had slunk off in a manner as disappointing to us as it was commendable in them. So, on the 18th, General Spens was joined six miles north-west of Lindley by his worn and disgusted band. Little rest did they get. On the 20th they were again on the move, for it was necessary that the rolling stone of the Boers should not be allowed anywhere to pause and gather moss in the form of recruits and roving raiders. The country north of the Lindley-Reitz road, as far as Lovedale, was diligently searched. From Stryfontein on the 21st Colonel Jenner and Major Gough were despatched in the direction of two farms on the Lindley-Bethlehem road, which were known to be hotbeds of hostility. A brilliant night march brought the troops to their destination, but the Boers were on the alert, and in the grey of the morning put spurs to their horses, and fled wildly in the direction of the valley of the Valsch River, followed by salvoes from the pursuing force. General Spens continued his sweep, and at last at Olievenfontein (on the Lindley-Kroonstad road) came in touch with the enemy. Here, his left flank guard had 200 to tackle—a desperate band who came, for a wonder, to close quarters, and fought with dogged valour.

It was with no little difficulty that the foe were eventually driven off, and that with the loss of gallant young Wallis (Royal Irish Fusiliers) and 2 men, while 13 of the men were wounded. The force neared Kroonstad by the 29th August, about which time a splendid officer, Captain Dick (Royal Irish Fusiliers), succumbed to wounds incurred while gallantly leading his men.

Colonel Rimington meanwhile had relaxed none of his efforts. A smart little affair on the 15th, in which he caught a Boer convoy trailing along near Doornkloof, some seventeen miles north-west of Lindley, helped to swell his "bag." Then on the 17th, at Vechtkop, he dashed into a knot of 200 Boers under Waude, Mentz, and Boshoff, and sent them spinning, following hot foot for full eight miles till they dispersed in the mists of the south-east. That done he turned

The Transvaal War

his attention to Trommel, near Reitz. Here he pounced on a small laager—secured 16 prisoners and some fat cart-loads of provisions, beside waggons and horses. He was back again at Kroonstad by the 28th. But two days later, he was to the fore taking his place in the scheme of General Elliot's operations, which have been described, and, later, co-operating with General Spens and Colonel Wilson in their endeavours to intercept the roving bands. His activities were unending. On the 31st of August he "spotted" the commandos of De Vos and Lategan, chased and dispersed them, and secured the best part of their belongings; later, near Senekal, he made a dash on another convoy,



GENERAL ELLIOT

chased it, and, after a good ten miles' rush and a smart fight, killed 4 Boers and took 10 whole, together with 61 loaded waggons, 25 carts, horses, mules, and 2000 cattle. This with the loss of only 4 men wounded. On the 6th of September, after reconnoitring towards Blitzberg, Colonel Rimington returned, heavy with the spoils of war, to Kroonstad.

Here he was followed two days later by Colonel Wilson, who had been following an identical plan of pounce and pursuit on the right. He too had skirmished with good effort, first engaging some of De Vos' men and sending them to the

right-about, and secondly attacking Haasbroek's commando, midway between Senekal and Ventersburg, and handling it somewhat roughly. Seven Boers were killed, 3 prisoners were taken, together with carts innumerable, full and empty, and cattle to the tune of 2000. The central column under General Spens, which all this time was moving direct on Senekal, worked brilliantly and scored some success, the total result being 5 Boers killed, 3 voluntarily surrendered, 11 prisoners, 34 Cape carts, and 1800 cattle captured.

OPERATIONS NEAR HONING SPRUIT AND THE LOSBERG— LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GARRATT

In August, Colonel Garratt, who was following in rear of General Elliot's movement on the Modder (see p. 89), marched from the junction of the Vet and Zand Rivers to Bultfontein. Here, on the 12th, he encountered a band of guerillas, took two

Honing Spruit and the Losberg

and killed two, and pursued the rest as far as the banks of the Zand River. Here he lost them, for horse flesh could do no more. Turning, he veered north towards Honing Spruit. In this direction, near the junction of the Rhenoster and Honing Spruit, was said to be the laager of Spanneberg, and consequently a force under Colonel the Hon. H. White (300 mounted men and 30 Burgher Police) was detached to deal with him. Through the night of the 18th the troops marched warily yet rapidly towards their prey, fearing that at any moment rumour of their approach might render the expedition—as these expeditions were so likely to be—futile. But no; by dawn the sleeping gang was surrounded; they opened their eyes to the consciousness that a small forest of British rifles had grown up around them, and that efforts of defence were useless. They had to deal with men who were more than their match—Simpson of the New Zealand Regiment, Quintal of the New South Wales Bushmen, and other splendid fellows before whom they were only too glad to run! One Boer lost his life in the scrimmage, twenty-five were made prisoners, and Steyn, late Landdrost of Vredefort, was among them. Carts, waggons, horses, cattle too, were taken possession of, and the smart little force, after having covered 56 miles in 36 hours, returned to headquarters, duly elated with their prize. It was now necessary to search in the region of the Losberg for fugitive bands, and to this end Colonel Garratt on the 21st crossed the Vaal at Lindique Drift. The mounted troops were eternally spying and scouring hither and thither, and their activity was not in vain. In the distance on the morning of the 24th loomed what appeared to be a convoy—a convoy moving towards Buffelshoek. In an instant the trackers were after it, and before long the hostile gang was caught, dispersed, their precious freight taken, and with it eight prisoners, carts, oxen, cattle, and horses. With this extra burden on their hands, the party, fatigued after the chase, were, as may be imagined, almost at the mercy of fate. Fate, as it happened, was capricious. Such of the Boers as had contrived to escape gave warning of the perilous position of the British force, and at noon returned with a party of 300 of their fellows, who had been collected from the skirts of the Gatsrand. A vigorous fight ensued. The Boers, doughty always, were now grown dashing, the spur of famine driving them to the valour of despair. Between both was the prize—the prize to be held by those who had won it; by now, infinitely more precious than in the winning—the prize to be recaptured by those who had all the calls of the flesh to prompt the spirit to battle and retaliation. This was indeed a tug of war. Till five of the afternoon—from noon till five—fought those men. The Boers, fresh

The Transvaal War

from the hills, hungering with a mighty hunger for their precious convoy—the British, worn with the long rush since daylight and the previous fight, but holding on, like the never-say-die fellows they are, till the desperadoes were at length driven off in the direction of the Vaal. But this engagement was costly, for one officer and one man were killed, and two men were wounded.

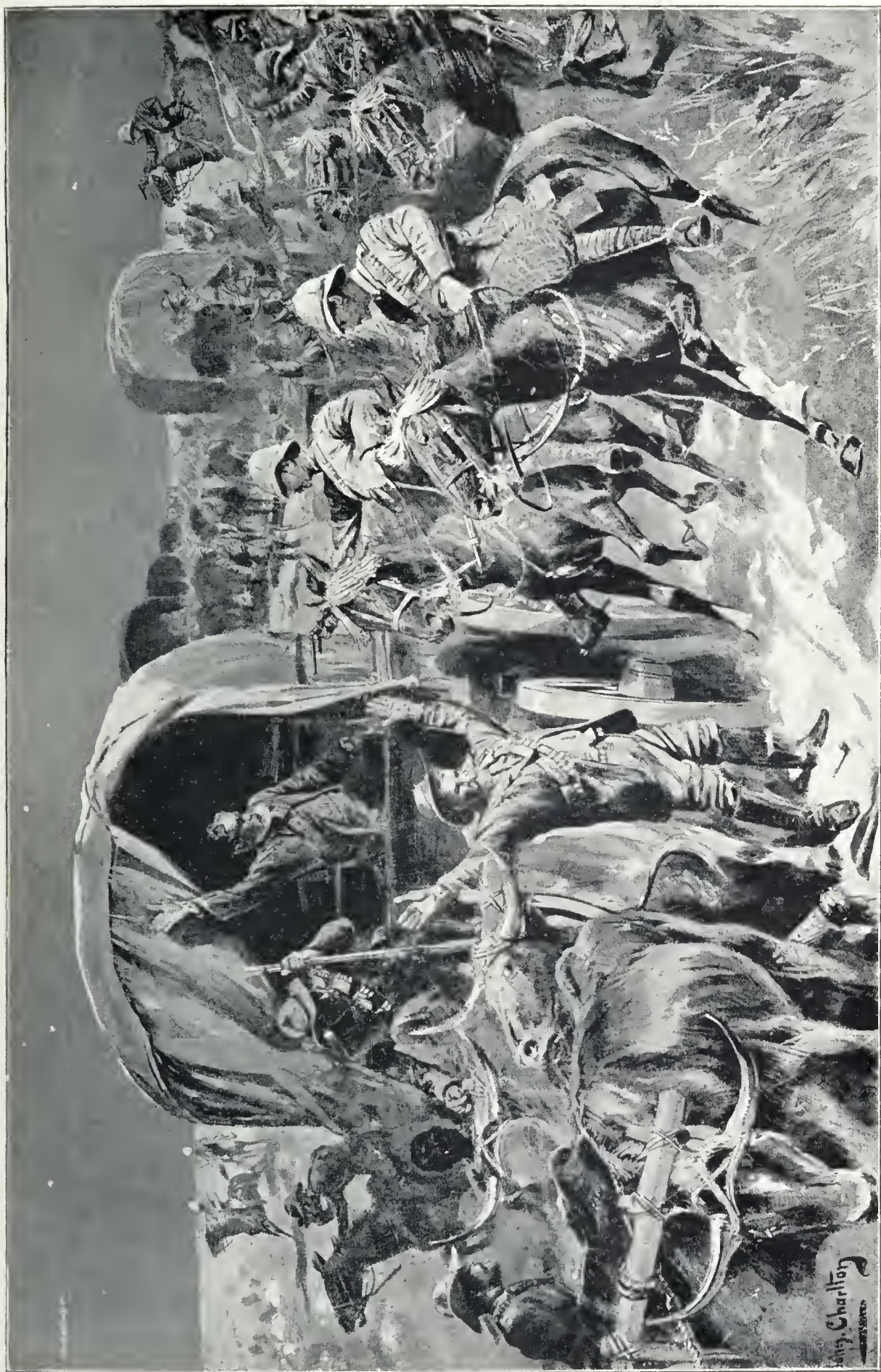
This brilliant little force, which was covering the establishment of posts by the South African Constabulary, two days later made another successful night march from the Losberg to Leeuwpoot. More prizes of horses, mules, cattle, and prisoners—numbering thirteen—were the fruit of their pluck and perseverance, and in the net they had the satisfaction of discovering a nephew of General Delarey, a person who counted for considerably more than the poor tramps who had joined the guerilla proceedings for reasons of mere bellicose vagrancy.

On the 2nd of September Colonel Garratt marched to Meyerton and Vereening, and from thence moved by rail to Paardekop Station on the Standerton line. This was a precautionary measure, for rumour now pointed to possible raids on the Natal border, and to frustrate any concentration of hostile bodies Colonel Garratt was to commence working from Paardekop towards Wakkerstroom.

SCOURING THE MAGALIESBERG—COLONELS ALLENBY AND KEKEWICH

We left Colonel Allenby in the occupation of Breedt's Nek, which the Boers had evacuated.

On the 7th of August a movement was made to obtain possession of the Damhoek and Pampoen Kraal Passes. At the latter place a gang of forty Boers was effectively tackled by the Volunteer Service Company and the King's Own Scottish Borderers under Major Mayne. The whole bunch was most skilfully surrounded and secured, and with them Mr. F. Wolmarans, chairman of the late Volksraad. The passes were occupied, and from the 10th to the 12th of August stray Boers were unearthed by Colonel Allenby in the southern slopes of the Magaliesberg, between Nooitgedacht and Grobelaar's Pass. Nine Boers were brought in, fourteen rifles, some waggons, carts, and dynamite. About this time Major Butler (in command of the Carabineers) was detached from Colonel Allenby's column to co-operate with General Gilbert Hamilton, who had been engaging in the incessant harrying of Liebenberg's commando and other raiders east of Lichtenburg. Marching by night and by day, he had hunted and tracked, worried and pursued, but had



NIGHT ATTACK ON A BOER CONVOY BY MOUNTED INFANTRY UNDER COLONEL WILLIAMS

Drawing by John Charlton from a Sketch by a British Officer

Scouring the Magaliesberg

never succeeded in bringing the enemy to open fight. Now, on his return to Venterdorp on the 11th, he arranged, with the assistance of Major Butler's men from the north, for a simultaneous attack upon Koperfontein and Basfontein. The attack was splendidly managed, and on the morning of the 14th, after some vigorous fighting, in which Lieutenant Till (6th Dragoon Guards) and one man lost their lives and 5 men were wounded, 10 prisoners, 27 waggons, and 100 cattle were captured. Three Boers were killed.

Major Butler and the Carabineers rejoined Colonel Allenby at Damhoek, while General Hamilton reconnoitred towards Tafel Kop and made more prisoners.

General Barton now watched the establishment of posts eastwards over the hill from Breedts Nek, while Colonels Kekewich and Allenby, having completely effected their sweeping operations, moved to Commando Nek for supplies. But of course the dispersed Boers were forced to hide somewhere, so, going north, they chose Zwartkopies, whence after some skirmishing they were driven by Colonel Allenby. Meanwhile Colonel Kekewich, moving at the same date (19th) from Commando Nek, ferreted along the bed of the Crocodile River and effected the capture of fourteen of the enemy together with their horses. So vigorous were the operations of both these officers that the Boers in the district began to feel that their days were numbered, and that they had better surrender with a good grace. This twenty-nine of them did at Beestekraal, where Colonel Allenby was operating, on the 23rd, while on the 25th sixteen more (including T. Kruger, a nephew of the ex-President) surrendered to Colonel Kekewich, who was then at the junction of the Crocodile and Elands Rivers. As most of the remaining raiders had now betaken themselves to the rugged and almost inaccessible country on the north, where pursuit would have been useless, Colonel Kekewich veered south, while Colonel Allenby moved west, with a view to watching the west of Magaliesberg in the direction of Rustenburg. September found them posted at points where they might work in combination against Kemp's commando—Colonel Allenby at Bashoek (a northern fringe of the Magaliesberg) and Colonel Kekewich near Magato Pass.

At this date, owing to the unceasing exertions of General Barton, Colonels Kekewich and Allenby, and Lord Basing, together with the extension of the system of Constabulary posts, excellent results had been obtained in the area bounded on the north by the Magaliesberg, on the south by the Vaal, on the east by the Pretoria line, and on the west by the Frederikstad-Breedts Nek line of blockhouses. Scarcely a Boer was to be seen. The raiders were forced to the extreme limits, east and west, north and south, and against their safety in these outskirts, further operations were soon to be directed.

The Transvaal War

TRANSVAAL, S.W.

Their work over in the Marokani range and the valley of the Harts River, Lord Methuen and General Fetherstonhaugh by parallel routes moved to Klerksdorp. General Fetherstonhaugh marched (on the 9th) his two columns along the right bank of the Vaal, searching in every hole and cranny for nests of marauders and destroying such supplies as he found. Colonel Hickie unearthed few Boers; but Colonel Williams, by a knowing dodge worthy of De Wet himself, set a trap which enclosed a whole convoy plus eighteen prisoners, cattle, and vehicles. His manoeuvre was this. Report spoke to the fact that the convoy of Commandant Vermaas on the 19th was trekking towards Katdoornplaats, north of Wolmaranstad. Accordingly, he sent off his convoy under escort towards Leeuwfontein, thus giving the effect that he was on the march in that direction. Meanwhile he reserved his alert Colonials (the New South Wales Mounted Rifles and Bushmen) for an enterprise after their own heart. In the dead of night they were ordered to proceed towards their goal, and at early dawn when they reached Katdoornplaats they traced the tale of Boer departure and the direction of it by the wheel-tracks in the soil. Not a moment did they lose. Off on a gallop of twelve miles they went, lessening, as they plunged onward, the distance between themselves and the lumbering convoy. At last they were even with it; the ping of bullets told the Boers that their flight was a failure and that they had met their match. And so it came to pass that this mettlesome force, after an expedition during which they covered sixty miles in twenty-seven hours, returned to headquarters with the spoil before named, every one of the captured vehicles being brought away with them. Among the prisoners was the late Landdrost of Bloemhof and a telegraphist with complete tapping apparatus.

While these columns were moving on Klerksdorp, which they reached on 22nd and 23rd of August, Lord Methuen, on the left, had been skirmishing his way along, fighting both with the gang of Delarey and with that of Vermaas, fights of no limp nature, for he came into Klerksdorp on the 22nd with 13 prisoners, 23 voluntarily surrendered Boers, 400 trek oxen, 1848 cattle, 43 waggons, 19 carts, 76 horses, and 8 mules. He had lost one man, and one officer and eight men had been wounded in the various frays. In addition to these commandos which were trounced on the journey, report said that General Kemp with some 800 followers was flitting between the kopjes and crevices on the south-west of Olifant's Nek. An effort therefore had to be made to meet this hostile multitude, and to this end the various troops moved by the 1st of September to situations which were supposed to enclose the marauders and afford them no loopholes of escape. Unfortunately, Lord Methuen's men

Transvaal (South-West)

were covering a wide expanse of ground, and were forced to move to block a reported attempt to escape towards Lindley Poort ; and through the gap thus created between the columns of Lord Methuen and those of Colonel Hickie, the Dutch leader contrived to bolt. But in his dashing feat only his mounted men could follow him, and consequently a large body of Boers with waggons, carts, ammunition, indeed all his effects, were left behind, and by degrees were unearthed from their burial-places in the kloofs and taken possession of.

Lord Methuen, on the 2nd of September, marched from Brakfontein to Roodival (on his return journey to Zeerust), and while proceeding to the north-west he suddenly espied a convoy in the distance. A mad chase ensued, followed by a brisk fight, in which 6 Boers were left dead on the field. Of prisoners 22 were taken, together with waggons, carts, cattle, and ammunition in enormous quantities. Passing on, Lord Methuen spent the following days in capturing more vagrants ; but on the 5th his troops came in for stiff work. They were now in the country of scrub and jungle in the Marico Valley, and round them on their right were Delarey and Field-Cornet Van Tonder, whose convoy had been captured, while on the left were Commandants Botha and Liebenberg. In addition to these was the Marico commando under Commandant Lemmer and Field-Cornet Louw, who attacked the rearguard. A stirring action followed, the brunt of which was sustained by the 5th Imperial Yeomanry and the Welsh Squadrons. Eleven Boers were killed, 8 wounded, and 11 prisoners, while 10 waggons and 5 carts were captured. This haul was somewhat increased by the contributions of Colonel Von Donop, who with his detached column had taken a more southerly route through Quaggashoek and the lead mines, where he collected 3 Boers, 39 vehicles, and some cattle. The total British casualties on the march between Brakfontein and Zeerust were 1 officer and 12 men killed, and 2 officers and 28 men wounded.

While Lord Methuen returned to Zeerust and General Hamilton marched to Kaffir's Kraal (fifteen miles north-west of Klerksdorp), General Fetherstonhaugh remained for a few days trapping the stragglers from Kemp's force, in which operation he was assisted by Colonel Kekewich, who afterwards (on the 7th) retraced his steps *viâ* Middelfontein towards Naauwpoort. Colonel Allenby on the 9th got back *viâ* Rustenburg to Commando Nek, having indulged, as he went, in various exciting exploits. At Schaapkraal he scented out a Boer laager and by night surrounded it so cautiously and so cleverly that the Boers, though they made an effort at fight, had not the ghost of a chance. Unfortunately in the skirmish two men of the Scots Greys fell. Of the enemy, 22 were made prisoners and 2 were killed. Rifles, carts, loaded waggons, and ammunition swelled the total.

The Transvaal War

THE PIETERSBURG LINE—LIEUT.-COLONEL GRENFELL

Colonel Grenfell spent July and the better part of August in operating against General Beycr's gang, which still hovered around the west of the Pietersburg line. These marauders in small numbers were captured occasionally, but they were more inclined for manslaughter than for war, and seldom came out into the open, contenting themselves merely with train-wrecking. On the 4th of July, taking advantage of the thick cover that surrounded the line north of Naboom Spruit Station, Commandant Lys and his party lay in wait for a train for which a mine had been previously prepared. The mine exploded to time and the train with its escort of Gordon Highlanders was brought to a standstill. Then from their comfortable ambush the enemy proceeded to fire, killing Lieutenant Best and 9 Gordon Highlanders, an artilleryman, 2 Engineers, the driver, fireman, guard, and 4 natives. The success of this scheme so delighted the ruffians that they tried the same game again and again, and on the 31st of August a still more tragic affair took place. The train was travelling between Waterval and Hamanskraal Stations, and had descended a deep cutting when an explosion occurred. Before the victims could recover the shock of derailment the Boers hiding on the banks rained bullets among their number, killing and wounding at their pleasure. Colonel Vandeleur (Irish Guards), a valuable young officer of great promise, fell; with him among the dead lay 13 men, 1 traveller, and 2 natives. Four officers were wounded, besides 20 men and a woman. The mail-bags were seized by the marauders, who were well pleased with their murderous success.

To effect their chastisement and secure the line in future from further assaults, General Barton quickly despatched from the Hekpoort Valley, by Zilikat's Nek, to Waterval, a flying column. The force (250 men and two R.H.A. guns), under Colonel Hacket Thompson, pursued the enemy, and near Wagon Drift caught them. A brisk fight ensued, four of the gang were killed and a portion of the captured mails was recovered, after which the column moved back to Eerste Fabriken, and from thence to Waterval by the 8th of September.

THE TRANSVAAL (NORTH-EAST)—GENERAL BLOOD'S OPERATIONS

The first exploit of General Walter Kitchener in August was the surprise of a convoy near Diepkloof, some thirty-five miles north of

The Transvaal (North-East)

Middelburg, where he was encamped. Colonel Park meanwhile searched for the remnants of Viljoen raiders in the rugged region of the Tautesberg, and that done, marched to Paardekloof. A week later, as a larger and more rapid swoop upon the enemy was contemplated, General Kitchener from his own, Colonel Campbell's, and Colonel Park's columns organised a flying column consisting of the 18th and 19th Hussars, 4th Mounted Infantry Battalion, two guns of the 81st Battery R.F.A., a pom-pom, and sixty "Devons," who were to be carried in carts. With this column he left Diepkloof at 4 A.M. on the 10th for Krokodil Drift on the Olifants River, while Colonels Campbell and Park, with the remainder of the infantry (in waggons), proceeded to Rooikraal and Holnek.

General Kitchener now scoured the valley of the Blood River, and finding it clear of guerillas, and hearing that Viljoen's horde had betaken itself to the banks of the Moos stream, he pushed thither with his cavalry, over the stream and on towards the valley of Elands River, leaving the Mounted Infantry with the pom-pom to guard Krokodil Drift. Up to this time no vestige of the quarry had been sighted. But now from the low banks fringing Elands River, dust in the distance, some seven miles off, seemed to hint of a moving convoy. The vision was tantalising. But an almost impregnable jungle stretched between the dust-cloud and the British troops, and the General decided that a cut across country would be futile. From his observations he calculated that this convoy moving down the left bank of the river towards Commissie Drift might be headed off at that point; therefore the column was soon pushing along the right bank towards the drift in expectation of a fight. But the Boers were wary. By the time the British force gained the drift, they discovered to their dismay that the enemy had retraced their steps and were off to the south-west. After this disappointment the column moved to Uyskraal, and from thence on the 16th they pushed up the Elands Valley to Vrieskrall. The 19th Hussars, who were in advance, soon found to their cost that the dense jungle in that region was populated with Boers, and at midday the officer commanding sent back word that he was being hard pressed. The Boers, indeed, were on all sides, and as fast as the officers advanced, they found themselves surrounded. The predicament threatened to be disastrous, for four of the officers and nineteen of the troopers had been seized when the 18th Hussars and guns, which had been pushed forward in support, turned the scale of events. Fighting, fast and furious, in the thick of a dense mass of scrub and tangle was carried on, the enemy sticking to the bush with fierce tenacity, the Hussars steadily pushing them back and back to the region of some kopjes where, in the shadow of the night, they sought refuge. Fortunately, during the

The Transvaal War

scrimmage the foe were forced to let loose the officers and men whom they had captured, but five gallant troopers were lost. The Boers made use of the darkness to effect their escape, and by the morning the whole of their position was evacuated. General Kitchener now rejoined Colonel Campbell at Roorikraal, the flying column was broken up, and the 4th Mounted Infantry returned to Colonel Park.

From this date till the end of the month the columns moved slowly down to the railway, those of General Kitchener and Campbell by Blinkwater to Wonderfontein (which was reached on the 4th September), and that of Colonel Park by Roosenekal and Wel-poort to Bankfontein (five miles north-east of Middelburg), which was reached on the 8th. The combined "bag" contained 53 prisoners, 22 voluntarily surrendered burghers, 2072 cattle, 76 horses, 60 waggons, and 24 carts. Sixteen Boers were killed. A 15-pounder gun and three Maxims were found by Colonel Park, the enemy having first taken care to destroy them.

Colonel Benson meanwhile had been untiringly sweeping the district between Carolina and Ermelo, causing the Boers to live in a state of sleepless anxiety lest he, in one of his midnight swoops, should catch them snoring. On the 15th he arranged another of these expeditions, the direction being Warmbaths, some thirty-four miles north-east of Carolina, where he then was. He moved first to Nooitgedacht. Here he dropped his encumbrance in the form of waggons, &c. ; and thus lightened, he stole with his brilliant little band, Colonel Wools-Sampson leading them, across the pitch-black veldt towards the enemy's camp. For thirty-four miles they crept on their errand of surprise. The stratagem was successful. A good number of Boers escaped, but they went horseless and cattleless. Fifty-two prisoners were taken, the majority of whom were captured in a dashing rush by the Eastern Transvaal Scouts under Major Young. Among the captives was a captain of scouts for the Carolina districts, and also the father-in-law of Mr. Schalk Burger. Colonel Benson now returned to Carolina, where he remained till the 21st of August.

Of the activities of Colonel Benson's force the correspondent of the *Morning Post* reported enthusiastically. He said :—

"The intelligence officers of the column, for some time under Colonel Wools Sampson, did their work in a most efficient manner. By various clever tactics they would locate bodies of the enemy, perhaps twenty and sometimes even fifty miles away from the camp. On their information a sudden swoop would be planned, and carried out, as a rule, successfully. On occasion the whole column would march several miles in the opposite direction to that of the object of attack. Then after the camp was formed, the horses fed, and the men about to turn in for the night, sudden orders would be given for the mounted men to march. The plans were not known generally, even by the officers, till within an hour of marching. Then the camp would be left in charge of the infantry, and the mounted men

The Transvaal (North-East)

would proceed as silently as possible on their night march of from twenty to fifty miles. If guns were taken the wheels would be muffled, and every possible precaution would be taken to keep the movement secret. Through the intelligence officers knowing the roads thoroughly very few mishaps have occurred. The march was usually done in column of fours until the point was reached whence the attack was to be made. Even on the darkest nights, when it was difficult for a trooper to see his horse's head, only very rarely has a man got off the road and lost the column. After a couple of months' practice the men became adepts at the work.

"When the point was reached from which the attack was to be made the force would be divided into several independent squadrons and sent round the position occupied by the enemy, each squadron leader being carefully instructed about what he had to do, whether his part in the plan was to hold a neck over which the enemy would probably attempt to escape, or whether it was to rush the position at a given time. The usual plan was to make the attack just as daylight began to appear. The leading squadrons detailed for the work, as a rule with Colonel Benson at their head, would gallop for the farmhouse or laager and be right among the Boers before they were properly awake. Latterly the Boers have been taking greater precautions, and some of the commandants have made it a rule to be saddled up by three o'clock every morning. The districts operated in—Carolina, Ermelo, Middelburg, and Lydenburg—have become noted during the war for the stubborn resistance they have made. In these districts there are still considerable numbers of the enemy about, mostly split up into small lots of ten, twenty, or perhaps fifty men. There are many farms which have not been visited by any column. These are situated away from the main roads, and hidden in kloofs and valleys among the hill ranges. These contain stores of food and serve as resting-places for the enemy. The work of destroying these food depôts is steadily prosecuted, but is necessarily a slow process. The Boers, however, obtain abundant supplies from the Kaffir kraals, mealies, meat, and salt being the principal food, and, judging from the condition of the prisoners taken, the Boers thrive on it."

While the Eastern Transvaal Scouts, under Major Young, were making their reputation for dash in this district, the South African Constabulary and Morley's Scouts, under Captain Wood, had been doing splendid service patrolling the region of Bronkers Spruit. Boers were known to be in the valley, and the Constabulary posts were threatened by the dangerous contiguity of snipers sheltered in networks of dongas beyond them, but the strength of the Boers was not determined till the 17th, when the small British force came suddenly upon a gang of some 800 marauders which had halted at Middelburg. There was nothing to be done but to attack, and that with rapidity, and before the sudden and really splendid rush of Constabulary and Scouts the great Boer mass gave way—their horses stampeded—and many were wounded, while 11 were taken prisoners. But alas for the tide in the affairs of men! It turned at the most critical moment. The Boers, becoming suddenly aware of the small number of their assailants, made haste to rally their forces and boldly lunged back on the British party. Hand-to-hand fighting, ferocious and sustained, followed, during which Captain Morley of the Scouts was dangerously wounded. Back and back went the Constabulary, on and on came the Boers, till they had recovered the 11 prisoners that had been taken from them and secured 14 of the British to boot. In the fierce fray five of our men were wounded and one killed. On the following day an effort was made by Colonel Bewicke Copley to catch the guerillas and punish them, but without avail. He made a forced march from

The Transvaal War

Springs towards Middelburg, but the commando which had wrought such havoc among Captain Wood's men was nowhere to be seen. Report said it had disappeared towards the south-east, so after dispersing such stragglers as were found hanging about the line of march preparing to locate themselves in the comfortable sniping-places of spruit and donga, he proceeded to Olifantsfontein, whence he sent for further supplies from Springs. At Olifantsfontein he stayed a week, then went to Springs for the purpose of co-operating with Colonel Benson. This officer, owing to some misunderstanding regarding the urgency of the orders calling him west, and being ignorant of the Boer concentration that had been effected on the 17th, moved from Carolina only on the 21st of August. He marched by Vaalbank to Middlekraal; from thence he veered northwards; drew supplies from Middelburg, and again proceeded on his course towards Brakfontein, near the sources of the Wilge River. Here Colonel Bewicke Copley, after a twenty-mile march, had arrived, and here at dawn on the 31st he came in collision with 450 Boers; fought them; wounded Lieutenant Roos of the Staats Artillery and some others; took 7 prisoners, some horses, cattle, and waggons, and sent the rest scattering to the south.

Colonel Benson, too, was doing his share of the Boer-hunting. Hearing that the enemy had gone south towards the upper part of the Waterval Valley, he decided on another of his night marches for the surprise of the foe. Leaving his waggons in charge of the infantry, he led his mounted troops towards the laager at Kroomdraai (west of Ermelo). The pickets were "rushed," and before the startled Boers could reach their horses, the gallant Scottish Horse plunged in among them. Fourteen prisoners were taken. The late Landdrost of Heidelberg, and Brink, a member of the Special Government Court for the trial of prisoners, were of the number.

At the conclusion of the adventure—in which he captured 12 waggons, 17 Cape carts, 80 horses, 514 cattle, 11 mules, and some supplies—and in consequence of the Boers having escaped beyond pursuit to the south-east, Colonel Benson proceeded early in September to the Delagoa line (Witbank Station), while Colonel Bewicke Copley returned to Springs.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL COLVILLE'S OPERATIONS

In August Colonels Colville and Stewart, who had been operating north of Greylingstad, moved to Standerton. On the 10th the last officer entrained for Dundee to reinforce the troops on the north-east frontier of Natal, while Colonel Colville crossed the Klip and established an entrenched camp at Brakpan. He



BULLOCK WAGON CROSSING A DRIFT ON THE UMBELOSI RIVER, SWAZILAND.

Drawing by Donald E. M'Cracken.

Lieut.-Colonel Colville's Operations

now, with mounted troops and guns, scoured the Upper Klip Valley, penetrated Natal by Muller's Pass in the Drakensberg, and deposited at Newcastle his stock and prisoners captured during the march. This march was by no means a triumphal progress, for the district was fringed with Boers who sniped by day and brewed mischief by night. The dongas, spruits, and hills afforded them excellent cover, and the men needed nerves of iron to play a livelong game of hide-and-seek with death, which peeped cunningly from every nook and cranny.

Colonel Colville returned *via* Botha's Pass to De Lange Drift minus many of his gallant men who were wounded in the course of the ordeal, and proceeded to Standerton on the 6th of September.

NATAL—LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR H. HILDYARD

On the Natal frontier affairs had become somewhat unsettled. The Boers who had been swept off from the Standerton line were dribbling across the frontier, and others round about Vryheid and Utrecht seemed to be waiting an opportunity to effect a concentration. At the end of July it became certain that the foe was gathering in good numbers to the east of Nqutu, and that many more might be creeping through the long grass to other parts of the country which had become more or less settled. On the 28th of July things came to a climax. Major F. A. Henderson (8th Hussars), who with 200 mounted men (8th Hussars and Natal Volunteer Composite Regiment) was scouring the locality around Nqutu, came on the foe and engaged them. The marauders were more than usually strong and more than usually tenacious. They launched themselves, in a mass of 400, with great dash against the small British force, in the hope to intercept the troops if possible during their retirement to Nondweni; but through the skill of the commanding officer and the dash of 20 men of the Natal Volunteers, who raced them for a kopje and won, the Boers were frustrated. The fighting lasted the whole day, and the Boers made frantic efforts to capture a gun of the 67th Battery R.F.A., but with great energy the piece of contention was galloped off under a brisk fusillade from the foe till it was safely out of their range.

Doggedly both parties battled together, with the result that Major Jervis-Edwards, a gallant officer whose loss was much deplored, and three men were killed, and five were wounded. Soon after this, the Boers becoming still more obstreperous, it was arranged that Lieut.-General Sir H. Hildyard's command should be strengthened by the addition of the column of Colonel Stewart, whose departure for Dundee we may remember, and

The Transvaal War

another under Colonel Pulteney. This column consisted of the Victorian Mounted Rifles (moved from the Delagoa line), a squadron of the 8th Hussars, the Dublin Fusiliers Mounted Infantry, and two guns. While this mobile column was sweeping from Utrecht to Kambuladraai, Colonel Stewart was marching from Dundee through Vryheid towards the same destination. A junction was effected on the 23rd of August, on which date a brisk encounter took place between Colonel Pulteney's men and the Boers who were sneaking in the west of the Schurveberg. In the engagement two of the Victorians were killed and five wounded.

On the following days both columns retraced their steps to Vryheid and then, united under the command of Colonel Blomfield, moved to the junction of the Pivaan and Manzaan Rivers. The march over rugged and tormenting ground was one trying to the patience of man and beast, particularly as gangs of Boers under Scholtz at intervals prevented any chance of monotony by variations in the art of sniping and "potting." The force returned to Vryheid on the 31st, little having been accomplished owing to the impracticable nature of the country. But two Boers were killed. Early in September Colonel Blomfield began a new scouring expedition, moving down the valley of the Umvalosi on to Bethel and Brakfontein. Here again, on the 4th September, he had a smart tussle with the enemy, and having dispersed them, moved to Nondweni and thence to Dundee.

CAPE COLONY—LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR J. FRENCH

Early in August the troops of General French were found on the line Beaufort West, Pearston, Drennan Station-Cameron Glen-Cathcart. They now began pushing steadily northwards, sweeping the enemy before them. Kruitlinger, thus pressed, was forced to retire in the direction of Middelburg and Steynsburg. His gang—dispersed by various frays with the British columns, and divided in desultory knots which succeeded in passing through the line of British blockhouses—reassembled north of the Zuursberg at Langedrift (fifteen miles north-west of Steynsburg). Here their number was swelled by bands under Erasmus, Wessels, and Pypers. There was now a somewhat formidable army of guerillas, and these on the 13th were encountered by Colonel Gorringe at Rooifontein. The gang were attacked, driven back past Venterstad into the Orange River, and in their retreat were so effectively hustled by Captains Nickalls and Sandeman, that they lost many of their number, among them Commandant Cachet, while the redoubtable Erasmus, together with Kruitlinger's secretary, were captured. Colonel Hunter Weston about

Cape Colony

this time had also been engaged with Theron and had driven him and his to the right-about with characteristic despatch. While these frays were going forward, Lategan's raiders, who had been pressed into the Orange River Colony, were there being forcibly tackled by Colonel Byng and General Plumer. So far so good. But there were other gangs that buzzed mosquito-like in a circle; and these, under Lotter and Botha, after being flicked northward from the Rhenosterberg (south-west of Middelburg), veered round and contrived to break through the pursuing columns and re-establish themselves in the hilly region of Spitzkop (thirty miles south of Middelburg). Smit's gang, after being routed from the Rhenosterberg, scurried across the rail towards the north-west of Deelfontein, afterwards infesting the country between Carnarvon and Fraserburg; Lotter and Botha shifted to the Cradock district, while another troop of marauders under Theron created havoc and consternation between Aberdeen and Willowmore. Still, though the mosquitos continued to draw good British blood occasionally, they paid a fair price for it, and in the series of attacks which whisked them north 19 of the number were killed, 43 wounded, and 17 captured.

It must here be noted that on the 17th of August, at Graaff Reinet, three of the rebel leaders, Van Rensburg, Fourie, and Pfeifer, who were captured at Camdeboo in July, were executed. Ten others were sentenced to penal servitude for life in the Bermudas. It was impossible to feel commiseration for these men, in view of the numbers of British homes they had robbed by the insane folly of resistance after the annexation of the Boer territories, and it was felt that unless some severe measures were adopted the system of lawlessness would continue for ever in the Colony.

It was now necessary to make new dispositions in order to



LIEUT.-COL. GORRINGE

The Transvaal War

guard against the return of the raiders who had been driven north, and to pursue those who had succeeded in scuttling to the south. Accordingly Colonel Wyndham followed the tracks of Smit to the west, and Colonels Crabbe and Hunter-Weston and Captain Lund converted themselves into a three-headed Cerberus to guard the Zand Drift (west of Colesberg) against the re-appearance of Lategan. Colonel Gorrings's column, with the 17th Lancers, kept a vigilant watch on the Orange between Norval's Pont and Bethulie, while Colonels Doran, Scobel, and Kavanagh, working to the south, followed the spoor of Lotter, Botha, and Theron. So stood affairs towards the end of August. Then a rumour came to the effect that Smit and Scheepers were brewing mischief, the first at Fraserburg, the latter near Laingsburg. Therefore, most promptly, the column of Colonel Crabbe was shifted to Matjesfontein.

Two days later, on the 5th of September, Colonel Scobell, who was chasing Lotter, scored the biggest success of the guerilla campaign. At Petersburg, some forty miles west of Cradock, he succeeded in surrounding his man and in capturing not only him and his whole commando, but an additional gang under Breedt! The whole affair was most brilliantly conceived, and reflected credit on so many for their pluck and gallantry, that some of the names of the heroes who contributed to the success of the affair are scarcely known. Firstly, much of the kudos is due to a party of Midland Mounted Rifles, who, on the 2nd of September, held with such tenacity a pass that Lotter hoped to push through, that the career of the Boer leader was arrested and it became possible for Colonel Scobell to effect his checkmate!

Among the splendid supporters of the Colonel who were notable for exceptional gallantry were Captain Lord Douglas Compton, 2nd Lieutenants Wynn and Neilson, Captain Purcell (9th Lancers), and Lieutenant Bowers, Cape Mounted Rifles; while all the men of the 9th Lancers so distinguished themselves that it is impossible to cite the names and the deeds done by those glorious fellows without devoting pages to the task. Unfortunately Lieutenant Theobald, who had been killed earlier in the month, lost the finale, to which he, with his comrades, had so perseveringly and so gallantly contributed.

The list of prisoners included Commandant Lotter and Field-Cornets J. Kruger, W. Kruger, and Schoeman, and among the dead were two notorious rebels named Voster. The booty consisted of 200 horses, 29,000 rounds of ammunition, and all the vehicles and supplies of the commandos. Our casualties included Lieutenant Burgess, Cape Mounted Rifles.

In other parts of the Colony the columns were almost equally

Cape Colony

active, if not equally successful. The remnant of Fouché's party, after his departure across the Orange, gathered themselves under the banner of Myburg and took up positions in the triangle Ladygrey, Dordrecht, and Burghersdorp. Colonel Munro spent his time in hustling them, and on the 29th of August had a spirited engagement some twenty miles north-east of Dordrecht, which resulted in the defeat of the hordes, who were driven over the Drakensberg into Transkei territory. His columns, together with the local troops, then took up positions in the defiles and passes, so as to block them effectually and prevent a chance of the return of the marauders.

General Beatson, who was now assisting in General French's operations, was actively chasing Scheepers in the south—first below Willowmore, then to Avenour, then to the west in the direction of Klip Drift; thence to Oudtshoorn and Ladysmith. Here the young Boer leader was set on by the local troops, whereupon he shifted his course to Barrydale. This rush took him till the 31st of August, during which time the hunt was vigorously carried on by Colonel Alexander and the 10th Hussars. Scheepers made an attempt on Montague, and was baulked by a detachment of the Berkshire Regiment. He then made various plucky but futile efforts to get across the rail, his object being to effect a junction with Smit, who was on the other side of Matjesfontein. He came in collision several times with the troops of Colonel Alexander, who, in the course of their gallant efforts to frustrate the Boer designs, had 2 officers and 10 men wounded, and lost 4 men. In the south-west, Maritz was meanwhile being hunted by Colonel Capper, who kept the raiders perpetually on the move, and forced them to break into an aimless, rudderless gang, glad of hiding-places in the Roggeveld Mountains.

While all this ferreting and hunting was going forward in the south, some brilliant deeds were taking place in the Kimberley district. De Villiers and Conroy, with a strong force, made a lunge upon Griquatown, the garrison of the place being only 100 in number. The force, though small, was determined, and the aggressors were sent to the right-about. This was on the 12th of August. On the 24th the hostile hordes made a vigorous dash on a convoy, for which they doubtless hungered with a hunger that lent heroism to their attack. Certain it is that they came to very close quarters, and that fighting between them and the escort (74th (Irish) Squadron, Imperial Yeomanry), under Captain Humby, was carried on more stubbornly and fiercely than usual. The Boers—400 of them—surrounded the convoy, and it seemed at one moment as though they must inevitably annihilate the little British force; but the men stood their ground like rocks, or, rather, like fervid volcanoes

The Transvaal War

spouting fire, and fighting with such daring and determination that eventually, at nightfall, the enemy were forced to withdraw. The gallantry of the officers and men of the Yeomanry was superb—Lieutenant Despard and Lieutenant Kidd (Diamond Fields Artillery) performed splendid work, and the magnificent manner in which Captain Humby extricated his convoy from the hellish vortex and succeeded in getting to his destination without the loss of a waggon is a tale that needs pages to tell. Nine men of the escort, however, paid with their lives for their grand tenacity, and 2 officers and 21 men were wounded.

The captures from and losses of the enemy during August were 186 killed, 75 wounded, 1384 prisoners, 529 voluntary surrenders, 930 rifles, 90,958 rounds of ammunition, 1332 waggons, 13,570 horses, and 65,879 cattle—a sum-total which makes a really wonderful and practical testimonial to the ceaseless energy and zeal of the British troops.

Before closing the record of the events of August 1901, reference must be made to the visit paid by the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York to the Cape. Their Royal Highnesses, who had been on a tour round the world, landed at Simonstown on the 19th of August, and thence proceeded to Capetown. The demonstration made by the Cape loyalists was enthusiastic beyond words, the weather was superb, and the scene—the brilliant decorations, the British cheers, the massed bands, the Kaffir war-dances and whoops—was one never to be forgotten by those who took part in it. The Prince, in his reply to the loyal addresses, made this memorable allusion to the heartiness of the Colony's reception:—

“We are glad to have this opportunity to give public and grateful expression to our feelings of profound satisfaction at the very enthusiastic and hearty welcome accorded us on our arrival here to-day. The fact that during the last two years you have been passing through such troublous times, and that in addition to your other trials the Colony has suffered from an outbreak of plague, from which it is not yet entirely free, might well have detracted from the warmth of your greeting, but, in despite of all your trials and sufferings, you have offered us a welcome the warmth and cordiality of which we shall never forget. I should also like to express our admiration of the appearance the city of Capetown presents to-day. Apart from their tasteful decoration, the principal streets through which we have passed offer an aspect very different from that which they possessed twenty years ago when I visited your Colony. I congratulate you on the abundant evidence of the progress achieved during that time, and notably on your trade and commerce and the development of your harbours and railways. I greatly deplore the continuance of the lamentable struggle which has so long prevailed within South Africa, and for the speedy termination of which the whole community fervently prays. During this time you have had to make grievous sacrifices. Numbers have personally suffered trials and privations, while many of the flower of your manhood have fallen in the service of their King and country. To all who have been bereaved of their dear ones by the war we offer our heartfelt sympathy and condolence. May time, the great healer, bring consolation. That South Africa may soon be delivered from the troubles which beset her is our earnest prayer, and that ere long the only struggle she knows will be eager rivalry in the arts of peace and in striving to promote good government and the well-being of the community.”

CHAPTER XIII

NATAL AND THE EASTERN TRANSVAAL—SEPTEMBER 1901

AT this time the war entered on a new phase. The Boer generals felt the necessity of tiding over the 15th of the month, the date fixed by the Proclamation of the 7th August as the limit of time within which, by voluntarily surrendering, the leaders might avoid certain penalties threatened by that proclamation. And by dint of unusual activity they succeeded. There were few surrenders, it is true, but the tactics adopted by the enemy cost them, in the end, more heavily than their previous evasive methods. They broke out in the Ermelo and Vryheid districts about the middle of the month. Their harassing rushes and their escape into the Ermelo district had been difficult to arrest owing to the unfinished state of the blockhouse line then being built from Wakkerstroom to Piet Retief by the 2nd Battalion Scots Guards and 2nd Battalion West Yorkshire Regiment under General Bullock. At Belfast, on the 16th, the garrison was attacked by Grobelaar and 100 men evidently in need of supplies. They were handsomely repulsed, and only one of the garrison was wounded; but bullets that fell in the refuge camp caused the death of a woman.

General Lyttelton had now assumed command in Natal in place of General Hildyard, who, after a long spell of brilliant service, had gone home on leave. The new chief at once turned his attention to the rumour of assembling commandos, and to frustrate concentration Major Gough's Mounted Infantry with Colonel Stewart and the Johannesburg Mounted Rifles moved from Dundee to De Jager's Drift. Meanwhile Pulteney's troops were at Volksrust, and those of Garratt moving, *viâ* Wakkerstroom, on Utrecht.

The enemy were reported to be near Scheepers Nek. Colonel Stewart and Major Gough, on the 17th, decided to push on towards Blood River to get in touch with them, the last marching about an hour in advance of the first. Major Gough, as he neared the river, sent a message requesting Colonel Stewart to remain at Rooi Kop, in readiness to support him should he hear the sound of guns in action. Half-an-hour later, seeing Gough's men galloping towards Blood River Poort, the Colonel pressed forward his mounted men in support. It was then he heard that the Major had met with a reverse—a serious reverse. Quickly appreciating the ticklish position in which he himself was placed—it being imperative to protect not only his own guns but Major Gough's baggage at Rooi Kop—he decided to retire to De Jager's Drift and thus cover Dundee, which, as it turned out, was menaced by a gang of great strength. The tale of the misfortune to so magnificent an officer as Major Gough is hard to write, for a series of services more gallant and brilliant than his it is scarcely possible to find. The circumstances were these. With characteristic dash he no sooner "spotted" the enemy than he pressed forward to seize a ridge which appeared to command their position. He had galloped into a well-arranged ambush. Instead of 300 as he supposed, there

The Transvaal War

were 1000 Boers in front of him, and these speedily overwhelmed his right flank and assailed his guns from the rear. There was fighting of the hottest description at very close quarters, in which Lieutenant Lambton, 1st Durham Light Infantry, and Lieutenant Blewett, 1st Rifle Brigade, with great bravery sacrificed their lives; but the gallant little force (consisting of two guns 69th Battery R.F.A. and three companies of mounted infantry), terribly outnumbered, was eventually captured. The breech-blocks and the sights of the guns were destroyed before they fell into the enemy's hands. The circumstances of the capture of Second Lieutenant Stormonth-Darling (2nd Scottish Rifles) serve to show the manner of the British repulse. He commanded the escort to the guns, and in spite of the Boers being upon him continued to fire and encourage his men till he was overpowered and the rifle snatched from his hands. Major Gough and Captain Cracroft, Royal Irish Rifles, escaped during the night and joined Colonel Stewart at De Jager's Drift.

Captain Mildmay, 3rd Battalion King's Royal Rifle Corps, and 14 men were killed in action. Captain Dick, 2nd Battalion Royal Irish Fusiliers, was severely wounded.

Lieutenant Furnell, 2nd Battalion Royal Irish Fusiliers, Lieutenant Lambton, Durham Light Infantry, Lieutenant Price-Davis, King's Royal Rifle Corps, and about 25 men were wounded, and 5 officers and 150 men made prisoners.

Troops were at once concentrated on the threatened point, and the Boers—said to be commanded by the Bothas, Opperman, Britz, and Henderson—finding the line of the Buffalo bristling with British, were forced to seek access to Natal by a wider détour to the south. This led them to the fortified posts of Itala and Fort Prospect, north-west of Melmoth, on the Zululand frontier. At Itala the garrison consisted of two guns of the 69th Battery R.F.A. and 300 men of the 5th Division Mounted Infantry under Colonel A. J. Chapman, Royal Dublin Fusiliers. At midnight of the 26th, Botha, Scholtz, Opperman, Potgieter, and their following of some 1500 men, in groups, began an attack on this post from west, south-east, and north.

The advance post of 80 men was first rushed, and many of the party were killed or forced to surrender, while others succeeded in escaping down the hill to assist in the fighting that was to come. For nineteen hours without intermission the enemy continued to assail the camp, though doggedly kept at bay by the defenders. The whole area was swept by blasts of bullets, and the British force at last, foodless and waterless, were confronted with the fear that even the ammunition might not hold out. The guns, under Lieutenant Herbert, R.F.A., which had been valuable during the night while the moon gave light and the shadows shelter, became in the daytime targets for the foe, and consequently when Lieutenant Herbert and four gunners were wounded the rest were ordered to take cover. But fortunately young Trousdale, after both his men were killed, pluckily stuck to his Maxim and worked like a Trojan. At last under cover of dusk the enemy, repulsed on all sides, withdrew in a north-easterly direction, taking with them, assisted by natives, their wounded and dead in great numbers. Many deeds of gallantry were performed, and Lieutenant Lefroy, 1st Battalion Dublin Fusiliers, who with Lieutenant Kane at first rumour of assault was sent to occupy the highest point of the Itala a mile from the camp, distinguished himself by shooting with his revolver Commandant H. J. Potgieter. Commandant Scholtz and about 270 Boers were also killed during the vigorous repulse. The British lost a smart officer, Lieutenant Kane (South Lancashire Regiment), and 21 men killed: 5 officers and 54 men



"NO SURRENDER!" THE DEFENCE OF FORT ITALIA ON SEPTEMBER 26, 1901

Drawing by R. Caton Woodville

Natal and the Eastern Transvaal

wounded. Colonel Chapman, owing to the complete exhaustion of his force and lack of ammunition, then decided to evacuate Itala, leaving Lieutenant Hislop and twenty unarmed men and Chief Veterinary Surgeon Probyn to look after the wounded. Lieutenant Fielding (R.A.M.C.), who early in the day had valiantly gone up hill to attend the wounded in the advance post, had been captured, but was subsequently released and came into camp after the column had marched off to M'Kandhla. This place was reached without molestation.

At Fort Prospect the British post was equally tenaciously held by thirty-five men of the 5th Division Mounted Infantry and fifty-one men of the Durham Artillery Militia under the command of Captain C. A. Rowley, 2nd Battalion Dorsetshire Regiment, who contrived with the small force at his disposal to send the 500 attacking Boers to the right-about with considerable aplomb.

He, fortunately, was warned as to the coming commandos, and made haste to prepare for them a warm welcome; providing also extra food, water, and ammunition for his men in the trenches. At 4.30 A.M. the Boers made a violent lunge on the west and north of the position, directing the main fury of their attack at the two laagers held by the Durham Company of Artillery. They penetrated the wire around the laagers and got to within twenty yards of the defenders, but Lieutenant R. G. M. Johnson and his splendid companions were too much for them, and finally the Boers were driven off. They then fought wildly in the rear of the camp, but again met with the same dogged resistance. The defence lasted about thirteen hours and reflected credit on all concerned, especially on Captain Rowley, whose foresight had averted great loss of life. In addition to the splendid work done by the Militia Artillery and the Dorsetshire Regiment, the Zululand Native Police distinguished themselves. Gallantly led by Sergeant Gambi, thirteen of them came four miles from their own post to reinforce the garrison. The British loss was only 1 killed and 8 wounded, a small total considering the thirteen hours' risk run by the little party.

The necessity of combing this difficult and at times almost impenetrable country of Boers caused General Lyttelton to direct a movement which occupied the tempestuous close of September and the early days of October, in which Generals Bruce-Hamilton, Clements, and Walter Kitchener vigorously engaged. Despite the unfavourable elements they succeeded, if not in striking them when concentrated, at least in forcing the Boers gradually to retreat north to Boschoek, Kromellenbog, and Leeuwnek. Here they were held for a time by General Kitchener, but on the night of the 5th of October, at the cost of their baggage and waggons, they succeeded in rushing round the left flank and retreating in the direction of Piet Retief. General Kitchener followed and had a smart engagement with the rearguard, which—in a strong position—covered the flight of the main body.

On the 11th the enemy was moving through Swaziland by Mahamba, and this news caused Colonel Colville adroitly to arrange a plan which resulted in the intercepting of a convoy belonging to the Ermelo and Amsterdam commandos. The Colonel's column at the time was covering the construction, by General Bullock's troops, of the blockhouse line from Wakkerstroom. He pushed on hurriedly from Piet Retief and pounced on the Boers' much needed convoy, harassing Botha and his burghers, who scurried to escape before the British advance. By now the blockhouse line was sufficiently advanced to be a serious impediment to the enemy's movements: it not only forced him to abandon his waggons but also the two guns of 69th Battery which were lost during Gough's reverse at Blood River Poort.

The Transvaal War

Brigadier-General Reeves (temporarily commanding in the absence of General Blood, who had left for India), with Colonels Park and Benson, continued to operate north and south of the Delagoa Railway. Colonel Benson, on the 10th, made a splendid march on an extremely dark night and surprised a party of Boers at Pullen's Hope (south of Middelburg), where he took 33 prisoners, 73 horses, together with cattle-carts and ammunition. On the 15th he, with two squadrons of the 2nd Scottish Horse and 19th Battalion Mounted Infantry, repeated his adventurous tactics, again surrounded and surprised the enemy at Tweefontein, and, though some made good their escape, added 10 Boers to his roll of prisoners and 250 oxen to his herd of cattle. Still indefatigable, he and his doughty band on the 17th, after a forty miles' march from Carolina, fell on the foe. The early mist was lifting round two laagers full of slumbering Boers at Middeldrift and Busby, when with a rush and a yell the British troops covered the scene. The usual rout, the usual stampede, and finally 54 prisoners—among them P. Botha, late Landdrost of Pretoria, and Commandant Nieuwhondt were captured, together with vehicles, horses, and cattle. Colonel Benson then pushed on and on—a triumphal progress—for he gleaned Boers wherever he went; 12 on the 28th near Bethel, and 7 early in October at Driefontein, in addition to horses, mules, and cattle, thus compelling those who evaded him to scuttle north denuded and demoralised. In the course of their chasing, this intrepid British band covered over fifty miles in nineteen hours. The Boers seldom spent a night in one place, and saddled up regularly at 3 A.M. in readiness for flight, therefore the captures made were the result not only of alertness and dash, but of indomitable perseverance.

Colonel Park had been engaging in like adventures, and had taken many prisoners. With six companies of Mounted Infantry and two companies of the Manchester Regiment, he began October by a search between Kruger's Post and Ohrigstad. He secured some armed burghers, and destroyed such ammunition and forage as could not be removed. On his return journey he came in collision with Viljoen at Rustplaats, and after an engagement covering hours the Boers withdrew. On the 7th of October he attacked a party of Boers at a farm at Rosenkrans, captured their ammunition, mealies, and waggons, but not their persons.

The Constabulary posts running from Eerste Fabriken, *viâ* Springs and Heidelberg, to the Vaal River were pushed forward by Colonel Pilkington (S.A. Constabulary) to the line Wilge River Station, Greylingstad, and the junction of Kalk Spruit with the Vaal, thus enabling a more vast tract of country to be cleared. Sir Henry Rawlinson cleared the front of the Constabulary between Standerton and the Vaal River with increasing vigour, chasing Boers westward and southward before him. On the 3rd of October, at Greylingstad, he organised a night patrol to Barnard's Kop, which resulted in the capture of three armed burghers, and subsequently, on the 5th, he surprised Field-Cornet Botha at Kaffir Spruit, captured 7 of his men, 20 of his carts, and 250 cattle. Pretorius, whose laager was near by, though followed with zest, made good his escape. Colonels Hacket Thompson and Bewicke Copley also engaged in the work of protecting the Constabulary, but came in collision with few of the enemy, who were now moving south.

Transvaal (West)

TRANSVAAL (WEST)

Lord Methuen may be said to have carried on existence to a rippling accompaniment of Boer bullets. All along the Marico valley to Zeerust his rearguard was followed and engagements were frequent. September was spent in passing convoys from Lichtenburg and Zeerust and preparing for an advance to cover the collection of ripening corn in the Marico district, the establishment of a line of blockhouses between Zeerust and the lead mines, and the clearance of the country of scattered bands. On the 4th of October an affair of patrols at Witgeboom Spruit resulted in five burghers being killed.

General Fetherstonhaugh and Colonel Kekewich continued to hunt dismounted stragglers of Kemp's force south-west of Olifant's Nek. Kemp had escaped the British cordon towards the north-east, and was said to be about to work his way south. Colonel Kekewich, after depositing his prisoners at Naauwpoort, left there on the 13th of September to clear the northern slopes of the Magaliesberg. He operated for some days in conjunction with Colonel Mackenzie (1st Battalion Suffolk Regiment), who was employed in the construction of blockhouses south of the Magaliesberg, and removed from the creeks and crannies of the hills various impediments, in the form of Field-Cornet Kloppe and thirty-six of his countrymen. After this haul of prisoners, Colonel Kekewich returned to Magato Nek to co-operate with General Fetherstonhaugh against Kemp's party, who were reported to be hanging about the Toelani River. On the 24th, by the way, he surrounded the laager of one Van Rooijan at Crocodile Drift (Elands River), and secured the commandant and thirty-five of his gang. Kemp, as yet, was not to be found. But he was not long inactive. At dawn on 29th, he and Delarey (who had evidently followed Colonel Kekewich from the Valley of the Toelani) made a lunge at the British camp near Moedwill. From three sides they, some 1200 of them, turned a blizzard of lead on Colonel Kekewich's force.

The Derbyshire Regiment, with 1½ companies, held the drift to left of the camp. The mounted troops (Imperial Yeomanry and Scottish Horse) extended round the right and front of the camp, and joined up with the Infantry outpost on the drift. Firing was heard at 4.40 A.M. on the north-west, and subsequently it was found that a patrol going out from the southerly piquet, furnished by the Devonshire Imperial Yeomanry, had been attacked. Then closer and closer came the enemy upon the Yeomanry piquet. Every gallant fellow dropped. Soon the Boers were established to east of the river and commenced an attack on another Imperial Yeomanry piquet. The officer in command fell, and nearly all his men around him. The enemy, ensconced in the broken and bushy ground near the bed of the river, continued the aggressive, while all in camp rushed to reinforce the piquets except a small party of the Derbyshire Regiment, which remained to guard ammunition, &c., the Boers having annihilated two piquets. The Boers now pushed up the river, outflanking the Derbyshire piquet holding the main drift, and, in spite of really superb resistance, occupied the position. For this reason: but one man of the gallant number remained whole! The camp now was flooded with bullets, and all ranks under various officers made for the open, while the guns strove to keep the enemy, indistinguishable from British in the dusk of the morning, at a distance. Captain Watson, Adjutant Scottish Horse, who was mortally wounded, announced the arrival towards the east of the enemy, whereupon Major Watts with a strong body of the Derbyshire Regiment moved out to confront

The Transvaal War

them, while Major Browne (Border Regiment) with a number of men—servants, cooks, orderlies, and any one who came to hand—prepared with fixed bayonets to charge the enemy in the bushes. The Boers had given up the east, however, and continued to file from the north till the Imperial Yeomanry and Scottish Horse, under Captains Rattray, Dick Cunyngham, and Mackenzie, joined in the general advance and threatened to outflank them; then, seeing their danger, they fled to their horses and galloped madly to the north, under fire of the British guns. Colonel Duff, with two squadrons, had been prepared for pursuit, but owing to the heavy losses sustained, especially among the horses, the project was impossible.

This fierce, determined, carefully-planned attack lasted two hours, and the success of the repulse was mainly due to the amazing gallantry of all ranks, especially of the 1st Battalion Derbyshire Regiment. Some brilliant deeds were done, notably by 2nd Lieutenant Mills, whose splendid disregard of danger cost him his life; Lieutenant Persse (7th Imperial Yeomanry), who fought persistently at his post though wounded in three places; and by Captains Dick Cunyngham and Rattray, and Lieutenants Symonds, Rattray, Cameron, Loring, and Stuart-Wortley, of the Scottish Horse. A fine officer, Captain Laird, R.F.A., was among the killed, and Lieutenant Duval was wounded, and Captain Wheeler escaped merely by a miracle. The medical officers, Major Lavie (R.A.M.C.) and Mr. Kidd, Civil Surgeon, pursued their deeds of mercy, utterly regardless of their lives and of their own wounds. The Colonel, himself wounded, paid dearly for his triumph. Of his force 1 officer and 31 men were killed; 127 men were wounded and 26 officers, among whom were:—

Scottish Horse.—Major Blair, Captain Field, Lieutenant Loring, Lieutenant Stuart-Wortley, Surgeon-Captain Kidd, Lieutenant Jardine, Lieutenant Edwards, Lieutenant Prior, Lieutenant Cameron, Lieutenant Flower.

Royal Artillery.—Captain Baldwin.

1st Derby Regiment.—Captain Keller, Captain Anley.

Imperial Yeomanry.—Captain Seymour, Lieutenant Whyte.

Out of a party of twelve of the Derbyshire Regiment which was guarding a drift, 8 were killed and 4 wounded; and some idea of the severity of the fire and the doggedness of the fight may be gained by the fact that three piquets were practically annihilated, thus enabling their comrades to get under arms.

Among others of the Scottish Horse whose persistent and gallant services contributed to Lord Methuen's success, may be mentioned Captains Field and Ian Mackenzie, and young Lieutenant Jardine, who was wounded.

Command of the column was afterwards temporarily assumed by Colonel Wylly (Derbyshire Regiment), but Colonel Kekewich, recovered, soon returned to duty.

General Fetherstonhaugh had meanwhile driven before him many Boers. On the 21st he captured a position at Winkelhoek, and after searching further turned back to Waterval and thence to Kwaggafontein. On hearing of the Moedwill fight he sent Colonel Williams to Colonel Kekewich's support, and followed himself with all haste. But of course the Boers had flown, scattering among the farms in the Rustenburg Zeerust road. General Fetherstonhaugh finally moved south, and Colonel Wylly to Rustenburg.



THE GALLANT BUGLER OF FORT ITALIA

Drawing by R. Caton Woodville

Operations on the Vaal

OPERATIONS ON THE VAAL

By October the line of blockhouses from Kopjes Station to Potchefstroom was built by the 2nd Battalion Scots Guards and 1st Oxfordshire Light Infantry, and that between Heilbron and Frankfontein occupied by the Railway Pioneer Regiment under Colonel Capper. Meanwhile Colonels Byng and Dawkins (from the south of Orange Colony) chased and ran down Boers as they sought to escape the blockhouse cordon, and thus thoroughly cleared the region. Colonel Byng made an effort to attack a concentration of 300 he had heard of at Bothaville, but on his approach they dispersed into the river valleys. Still, in the course of their operations and the return along the Valsch River to Kroonstad, &c., Colonels Byng and Dawkins secured eighty-one prisoners of war.

General Mildmay Willson organised a small smart force, under Colonel Hicks (2nd Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers), consisting of 250 mounted infantry, 2 field guns, and 5 companies of Infantry, to establish and provision constabulary posts and hunt Boer snipers. In the course of their operations and afterwards between Potchefstroom and Venterskroon they, with the assistance of co-operating constabulary troops, secured 42 prisoners (including Field-Cornets George Hall and Vander Venter), and a 7-pounder gun which had been taken from the post at Houtkop.

OPERATIONS IN THE ORANGE RIVER COLONY, N.

Colonel Rimington's column worked incessantly during September, and to good purpose. On the 14th, marching from Leeufontein (six miles south of Heilbron), they made a surprise visit to a laager, which resulted in the capture of six Boers, waggons, carts, horses, and mules. Later, on the 22nd, still hunting and hustling, he overtook Strydom's commando, made a tremendous haul of impedimenta, and secured thirteen prisoners. He then finished the month by marching to Oploop (between the Klip and Wilge Rivers) to watch for an opportunity to co-operate with Colonel Rawlinson, who, as we know, was aiding the constabulary north of the Vaal, and who, by now, had driven Buy's commando to the south of the river. On this band Colonel Rimington promptly pounced, and October found him enriched by 24 prisoners, 2000 cattle, 30 horses, 14 loaded waggons, 22 Cape carts, and 20 mules. Later, on the 7th, he moved from Standerton (whence he had drawn supplies) to co-operate with General Broadwood and Colonel de Lisle from Harrismith.

To reinforce Colonel Rimington went Colonel Wilson (Kitchener's Fighting Scouts) from Kroonstad to Heilbron on the 1st of October, and scarcely were they under way before they were attacked by the enemy. But the scouts, true to the name they bear, gave such good account of themselves that the enemy scattered, but considerably thinned in their numbers. The troops afterwards covered the line of blockhouses from Heilbron to Frankfort.

MAJOR-GENERAL ELLIOT.—ORANGE RIVER COLONY, E.

On the 10th of September General Elliot started to again sweep and glean in the Wittebergen district. Colonel Barker and Major Pine Coffin operated from Winburg to west of the line of advance. General Campbell remained on

The Transvaal War

the Wittebergen slopes, and General Dartnell, with the Imperial Light Horse (from Bethlehem), assisted in blocking the Retief and Stabberts Nek passes. The movement itself commenced in four columns, Lowe and De Lisle in the centre, with Broadwood and Bethune to right and left respectively. In the course of the march Colonel de Lisle brilliantly descried and ran down a convoy then trekking towards Korannaberg, but not without infinite dash and corresponding fatigue: 15 prisoners, 47 waggons, 22 carts, 250 horses, and 2500 cattle were the prizes of the adventure. Colonel Bethune, too, had his innings, for on the 12th he routed seventy of the bandits from their lair near Wonderkop, and the next night, after an exciting march to Rietolei, caught and again engaged the foe.



COLONEL BETHUNE AND HIS BRIGADE STAFF

The combined movement continued to yield good results. The mountain kloofs disgorged large quantities of supplies and vehicles, and from these regions General Campbell ferreted out seventeen Boers. The hunters held their lives in their hands, for the game of hide-and-seek had to be played with desperate men sniping from every coign of vantage. In consequence of the development of events connected with General Botha's enterprise in Natal, some of the troops of General Elliot pushed north from Harrismith. General Dartnell with the 2nd Imperial Light Horse had preceded them, and he, together with Colonel Bethune and 600 men, moved on to Eshowe in Zululand. From Harrismith towards the frontier, near Vrede, Colonel de Lisle and General Broadwood marched at the end of the month, and their presence soon warned the Boers, who had been contemplating encroachments into Natal, to take themselves off. On the 5th of October an effort was made to get in touch with them, but they were far too knowing to be entrapped.

While these operations had been going forward, General Rundle had been

Orange River Colony

doing his share, passing supplies into Bethlehem and generally blocking the passes leading to Natal, and relieving garrisons on the line which had hitherto been furnished by the Natal command. The 1st Imperial Light Horse, under Colonel Briggs, acting independently from Bethlehem after the departure of General Dartnell for Zululand, came in for some thrilling experiences. This excellent force was well suited for exploits of a daring kind and long-distance raids such as had to be undertaken. On the 28th they made a circuitous night march of thirty-eight miles from Bethlehem, and dawn found them surrounding the town of Reitz. It was a brilliantly conceived and brilliantly carried out affair, and the prize of twenty-one prisoners (including Landdrost Piet de Villiers), nine Cape carts, two waggons, twenty-four horses, 250 cattle, and some ammunition, was well deserved. The Boers, on Colonel Briggs' way back, made many night attempts at reprisals, but the Imperial Light Horse was not to be caught napping.

The troops in the Wepener, Dewetsdorp, Bethulie, and Zastron districts were now sprayed out to catch the dispersed stragglers of Kruitzyger's commando: Colonel Thorneycroft at Quaggafontein, guarding the river south of Zastron; Lord Basing patrolling from Jurysbaken to Commissie Bridge on the Caledon; Sir Henry Rawlinson moving south from Elandsberg to Aliwal; and General Plumer at Smithfield. Major Damant had returned to Springfontein. General Plumer, from Smithfield, detached Sir John Jervis upon Wepener in pursuit of guerillas, himself hunting with Colonel Colvin's column along the Basuto border. On the 15th the force reassembled at Wepener, where they learned that Kruitzyger had doubled back towards Elandsberg. While Colonel Colvin scurried thither to co-operate with Colonel Thorneycroft, the General and Sir J. Jervis moved towards Smithfield. Sir John's men, under Captain Knight of the Buffs, had an exciting affray on the 19th, and succeeded in landing big fish, Adjutants Brand and Joubert, and eight prisoners in all. Colonel Smithson and the 13th Hussars engaged Boers at Lemonfontein on the 11th. They covered eighty miles in two days, surprised the enemy, and made a splendid haul of prisoners and effects. Colonel Colvin had also his success, for on the 22nd a party of New Zealanders, under Major Tucker, engaged the enemy on the Elandsberg and secured Field-Cornets Hugo and Bothma, and several other prisoners.

Unfortunately the effect of the squeezing operations which were taking place caused the enemy to be driven to the Thabanchu line, and here, as though history was bound to repeat itself, the unfortunate U battery met with a mishap. On the 19th a small force of 160 mounted men under Captain Tufnell, and two guns of U Battery, R.H.A., under Lieut. Otter-Barry, which had been detached by the officer commanding at the Bloemfontein Waterworks, were surrounded and captured at Vlakkfontein (eighteen miles south-west of Sanna's Post) by a superior force under Commandants Coetzee and Ackermann. Lieutenant Barry, R.H.A., lost his life in the gallant defence of his guns. All efforts were now made to hem the enemy against the Thabanchu line, and General Plumer and Colonel Rochfort (commanding General Bruce-Hamilton's force during his absence in Natal) worked hard to this end. It was a question of fight, fight, fight, and hustle, hustle, hustle on all sides. At the end of the month (the 29th) Colonel Lowry Cole had the satisfaction of hauling in Commandant Drezer and Field-Cornet Van Vunren, with their followers, whose laager he had surprised.

At the same time some sharp fighting took place between two hundred

The Transvaal War

New Zealanders¹ under Major A. W. Andrews, a smart officer of the Indian Staff Corps, who were holding Mokari Drift on the Caledon, and some 300 or 400 Boers who were in the act of crossing. The Boers, after a severe mauling, fled westward, leaving six dead and seven wounded on the field. Colonel Thorneycroft also had had stiff work with a marauding gang near Corunna on the 20th.

After this date the columns on the east of the main line of rail had each assigned to them an area with a centre from which to work. They acted independently, yet as required could combine against any formidable gathering of the enemy. In the south-western portion of the Orange Colony the situation was improving so remarkably that first the columns of Colonels Byng and Dawkins were able to withdraw towards the Vredefort district; then those of Major Damant were removed to Heilbron; while the rest, under Colonel Rochfort, were transferred to the more disturbed area of the east of the railway. Colonel Henry maintained his operations in the district, but the verb "to blockhouse" having been so liberally conjugated throughout the region, his duties were comparatively light.

EVENTS IN CAPE COLONY

The early part of September was spent in chasing Commandant Smuts, who had burst from the Orange Colony into the Jamestown-Dordrecht district. Here he was tackled on the 12th by Colonel Monro, but succeeded in evading our columns. The raiders then rushed in the night across the line towards Tarkastad. To the south in all haste followed Colonels Gorringe and Doran and the 17th Lancers, while the west was guarded (at Cradock) by Colonel Scobell. Smuts, when some eighteen miles north-west of Tarkastad, in desperation decided to attack a squadron of the 17th Lancers under Major Sandeman. These seeing a force dressed in kharki approaching, accepted them as comrades till too late. The enemy was almost upon them before they discovered their mistake. But the "Death or Glory Boys," even in these circumstances, fought valiantly, and though three officers and twenty men fell, and Major Sandeman and thirty men of the squadron were wounded, all brilliantly maintained the traditions of their regiment. The approach of Major Nickalls and another squadron of the Lancers forced the Boers to cease fighting and continue their bolt to the south.

An interesting report of the smart engagement was published by the *Midland News*. The correspondent wrote :—

"Smuts' commando rushed a squadron of the 17th Lancers, under Captain Sandeman, on Tuesday morning, the 17th inst. The squadron was posted at Modderfontein, guarding the southern exit from Elands River Poort, and another pass towards the north-east, known as Evans Hoek, to prevent the Boers from coming south-west into the Cradock district. The surprise was due chiefly to the Boers being dressed in kharki, and being thus mistaken for Colonel Gorringe's men, who were expected to arrive from Soude Nek in the course of the day. A mist which hung over the low ground till late that morn-

¹ This corps (the 6th New Zealand Mounted Rifles) greatly distinguished itself in many ways. On one occasion (the 16th September) Lieutenant Tudor, with only twelve men, crossed the Caledon and kept in touch with 200 Boers for three days, afterwards holding a position for three hours against fifty Boers with exceptional gallantry. A young hero, Lieutenant Caskey (5th Queensland Imperial Bushmen), lost his life during the dashing exploit. Captains Findlay (The Buffs) and Knight with the New Zealand Mounted Rifles, also performed notable service in command of detached troops during this period.

Events in Cape Colony

ing also favoured the approach of the enemy, as in the case of Colonel Scobell's capture of Lotter's commando.

"On receipt of a report that a small picket in advance of the camp had been rushed, a troop quickly mounted and rode towards the poort. The officer in command saw some kharki-clad men about two miles from camp, and thinking they were some of Colonel Gorringer's column, rode forward to meet them. When about two hundred yards distant, seeing them levelling their rifles, he shouted out, 'Don't fire! we are the 17th Lancers.' The only answer was rapid rifle fire, which emptied several saddles.

"During this time another body of the enemy had worked up the donga running past the camp, and approached it from the rear. These men were dressed in kharki, and were taken for friends. Major Nickalls was encamped at Hoogstude, about three miles distant, and, having been informed of the attack on Captain Sandeman's camp, he was coming up to its support. Consequently the order was given not to fire on this party.

"The camp was placed on the southern slope of a gentle rise, which is encircled on the west by a spruit running generally north-west, and joining the main river about two miles distant. About three hundred yards from the spruit the ground on which the camp stood rises into a rocky kopje about a hundred yards long at the crest. This was defended with great determination, and most of the casualties occurred here.

"The Boers, too, suffered very severely in the attack on this position, and it was not until the enemy attacked the hill from the rear that any impression seemed to have been made on the defenders. A perfect hail of bullets appears then to have been poured in from the rear, which killed or wounded all of its defenders. Finally Captain Sandeman tried to reach the kraals in the vicinity of the camp, but most of the men with him were shot down, and he himself was wounded.

"The Boers then rushed the camp, but not a single man surrendered, the enemy levelling their rifles and firing on any man they saw.

"On Major Nickalls's squadron coming up the enemy retired quickly in the direction in which they had come.

"The Boers, on entering the camp, went straight for the supplies, but were able to take away only a few biscuits and hardly any ammunition, the Lancers having emptied their bandoliers, as the hundreds of empty cartridges found on the kopje eloquently testified.

"The enemy's casualties were extremely heavy. The dead and wounded were carried off by the commando when it retired."

From Bank View to Mount Prospect, then across the Mancazana, along the Fish River and over the Port Elizabeth line near Sheldon Station the raiders went, followed with unrelaxing energy by Colonels Gorringer, Doran, and Scobell. Colonel Gorringer succeeded in catching them in the Zuurberg Mountains and caused them to split their force in two, one half fleeing south, the other west. Early in October they reunited south of Darlington and were again attacked and trounced by the indefatigable Colonel, who drove them north with the loss of three of their number killed and five wounded.

Meanwhile Myburg and Fouché had been flitting around the northern borders, while Colonels Monro, Pilcher, Western, General Hart, with Colonel Murray's troops and the Connaught Rangers, guarded the river line from Bethulie to Herschel. The residency at this place was attacked on the 4th, but Major Hook and the local police sent the foe to the right-about with considerable celerity and the loss to them of twenty-nine horses and three men.

The Transvaal War

Everywhere small gangs of Boers made themselves obstreperous, and some made an attempt on Ladygrey, which was promptly repulsed. On the 20th of September, however, Kruitziuger, north of Herschel, endeavoured to force a passage over the Orange, and came into collision with some eighty of Lovat's Scouts under Lieutenant-Colonel Hon. A. D. Murray. The gallant Scotsmen, small in number but large in courage, held on grimly to their post, and the attempt to cross was fiercely resisted, but unhappily with the loss of the brilliant commander, who had led them throughout the campaign with gallantry and distinction. He fell shot through the heart while shouting, "Fix bayonets!"¹ His adjutant, Captain Murray, also fell, and sixteen of his brave men, while one officer and thirty-five men were wounded. A gun was carried off under cover of darkness, but it was promptly followed up and recovered in a smart engagement in which the Boers lost two killed and twenty prisoners. The end of the month, the enemy having withdrawn into the Transkei, was spent by Colonels Monro and Pilcher in watching the passes of the Drakensberg; but later they, with Colonel Western—leaving Colonel Monro and local troops in charge of the area—were recalled to the south-east of the Orange Colony. Commandant Scheepers at this time was making himself obnoxious in the region of the line near Matjesfontein, and to circumvent him General Beatson despatched Colonel Crabbe's column from Waggon Drift on a night march, which helped materially to break down Scheepers strength. The force completely surprised the enemy under Van der Merwe (in a place where they had outspanned some twelve miles east of Laingsberg), killed the commandant—a sporting youth of eighteen, who was considered by his friends as a De Wet in embryo—and one of his followers, wounded many of the burghers, and took thirty-seven prisoners, including Field-Cornet Du Plessis. This was on the 10th. From that time to the 20th Scheepers was kept on the move, and finally after much veering and dodging reached Klip Drift on the 20th. He continued to evade the pursuing columns of Colonels Crabbe, Atherton, and Major Kavanagh till the 5th of October, when this last officer almost captured him. He was attacked at Adams Kraal, twenty miles south-south-west of Ladysmith, and only succeeded in saving himself "by the skin of his teeth."

Commandant Theron, hoping to join Scheepers, was fleeing before Colonel Capper in the Ceres district. This officer was assisted by Colonels Alexander and Wyndham, who, when they had driven the enemy well away to the north-west, continued in the chase after Scheepers.

Colonel Sprot and Major Lund were persistently engaged in tussles with Lategan's gang, which had reappeared south of the Orange, and in a brilliant encounter on the 23rd of September Major Lund succeeded in securing an influential rebel, Louw by name, together with seven of his followers. Colonel Hunter-Weston, in a smart engagement with Lategan, secured Coetzer and other rebels and drove the rest northwards.

Sad was the fate of a gallant fellow, Lieutenant M. Gurdon Rebow, who, with nine men of the 3rd Battalion Grenadier Guards, while searching a farm,

¹ Colonel the Hon. Andrew David Murray was the brother of the present Earl of Mansfield, and was born in 1863. He entered the army in 1884 as second lieutenant in the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, became lieutenant in 1893, and brevet-major in 1898. He served in the Nile Expedition, 1884-85, with the Soudan Field Force, 1885-86, with the Nile Expedition, 1898, and was present at the battles of Atbara and Omdurman, for which he was mentioned in despatches. He was appointed commander of Lovat's Scouts last year.

Events in Cape Colony

was attacked by the enemy at Cyferkuil, near Riet Siding, on the 17th. Some thirty or forty Dutchmen burst suddenly upon the small party, whose gallant stand against this overwhelming majority was one of the most striking episodes of desperate valour on record. A summons to surrender was refused, and it was not till Gurdon Rebow himself had been shot down and one of his men had been killed and two dangerously wounded that the remaining few Grenadiers, after a fight of three hours, were captured. The sergeant of the patrol lost his life in a gallant effort to swim the Carolus River in search of help.

As a proof of the herculean labours of the columns during this month, in spite of the prevalence of rinderpest among the cattle and the consequent reduction in the efficiency of the ox transport, the sum total of achievement may be quoted: 170 Boers killed, 114 wounded and prisoners, 1385 unwounded prisoners, 393 surrendered burghers, 11,000 horses (practically useless), 41,500 cattle, 798 rifles, 119,000 rounds small arm ammunition, and 770 waggons.

At Pretoria the month closed with the execution of Broeksma, formerly the Public Prosecutor of the Transvaal, whose trial, begun on the 12th of September, lasted three days. He was charged on the four counts of breaking the oath of neutrality, treachery, high treason, and inciting to break the oath of neutrality, and the evidence showed that the police found in his house treasonable pamphlets and documents, including copies of letters addressed to Mr. Steyn, Mr. Reitz, "Dr. Williamson," and Mr. Kruger. Other letters were produced in court which purported to have come from Dr. Krause. On the concluding day of the trial the Crown Prosecutor stated that "Dr. Williamson" was in reality Dr. Leyds. Sundry other burghers and Netherlanders were tried for treachery and on other charges, while some were found guilty of high treason and murder and sentenced to death. This sentence in most cases was commuted to penal servitude for life, or reduced to terms of imprisonment.

CHAPTER XIV

PROGRESS IN OCTOBER 1901

IT may be remembered that on the 15th of October Colonel Colville pounced on a convoy that was moving after the Boers in their flight towards Swaziland. On that border he remained while General Plumer's force (released, as we know, from the south-east of the Orange Colony owing to the state of quietude there) acted on the, by now, almost impassable blockhouse line between Wakkerstroom and Colonel Colville's column. Meanwhile General Walter Kitchener's troops, with those of Colonels Campbell, Garratt, and Stewart, moved like a big broom sweeping up the stragglers south of the line, till news came in that Botha, instead of taking the Swazi direction, had veered north and was with a small column hanging around Amsterdam. To catch the Boer general Colonels Rawlinson and Rimington pushed on from Standerton on the 19th of October. They reached Amersfoort on the 21st, and on the 25th, after a perilous night march over ground seamed with small posts of protecting Boers, he succeeded in surrounding the farm near Schimmelhoek, where the Boer chief was reported to be. Colonel Rimington's men were ordered to make for the farm, avoiding the main laager and posts, while those of Colonel Rawlinson moved between Ermelo and the farm—but though the movement was admirably carried out and Colonel Rimington's troops rushed the farm, the enemy had been forewarned and was on the alert. Botha had but a moment to bolt in, but that moment he used. Though he and all but four of his men got away in safety, his personal property and some papers, very enlightening to the British, fell into their hands. The main laager having retreated north towards Lake Chrissie, pursuit was abandoned, and Colonels Rawlinson and Rimington returned at the end of the month to Volksrust and Zandspruit respectively.

General G. Hamilton and Colonel Pulteney were meanwhile moving, in continuous torrents of rain, around Utrecht and Vryheid in order to block all Boer attempts to break through northern Natal into the Orange Colony; and further south General Bruce-Hamilton, with the troops of General Spens and Colonel Allenby, hunted the Vryheid and Ngomi region with incessant activity, despite all the impediments of fog and bog and downpour. Scrimmage and skirmish varied the monotony of the hard work, and in the end 21 killed, 11 wounded, and 160 unwounded Boers, together with carts, ammunition, cattle, and foodstuffs, bore testimony to the pluck and endurance of the troops engaged.

TRANSVAAL (EAST)

Colonel Benson was at this time continuing his system of midnight annoyance, which was telling on the nerves of the enemy and causing Botha to rack his brains to arrange a plan of getting quit of so ubiquitous and "slim" an antagonist. Moving from Middelburg on the 20th—with 3rd and 25th Mounted Infantry, three squadrons of Scottish Horse, 4 guns 84th Battery, two pom-poms, and the Buffs—Benson began moving to the south. He surrounded



THE FIGHT AT BRAKENLAAGTE: BOERS CHARGING

Drawing by John Charlton

Transvaal (East)

a laager south of Brugspruit on the 22nd, captured 37 prisoners, and marched next day to Bethel and on towards Rietkuil. During this march, on the 25th, the rearguard was heavily engaged by some 700 Boers under Groblaar, Trichardt, and Erasmus, who hoped to stop the night manœuvres for a bit. But the Dutchmen were quickly repulsed (with the loss of Civil Surgeon Robertson and one man), and Colonel Benson moved on, impeded by many thunderstorms, towards Brugspruit *via* Bakenlaagte. At this place there was considerable sniping, while the enemy on all sides, in the mists and fogs and rains, collected under Botha and Groblaar in order to effect a junction and at last bring things to a crisis. Colonel Benson, who hoped to halt at Bakenlaagte, found the place on the 30th already in possession of the enemy. Some fighting followed and the Boers took themselves off, and the columns moved gradually into camp covered by the rearguard, composed of 2 companies of Mounted Infantry, 2 squadrons 2nd Scottish Horse, 2 guns 84th Field Battery R.A., and one company of the 2nd Battalion the Buffs, the whole under the command of Major Anley, 3rd Mounted Infantry. The guns, a company of the Buffs, and 50 Mounted Infantry took up a position on an irregular ridge some 2500 yards from the camp, screened by posts of Mounted Infantry and the Scottish Horse on either flank and south of the ridge. The enemy meanwhile, in the wind and sleet and rain, taking advantage of the fact that the storm was bursting in the face of the British columns and of the vast expanse of rolling downs and the convenient hollows with which they were familiar, were creeping and congregating ant-like round flanks and rearguard. No sooner had the column and baggage got into camp and arrangements been made for defence than they began to advance in formidable array. Major Anley at noon, while about to carry out an order for the screen of Mounted Infantry and Scottish Horse to fall back on the remainder of the guard at Gun Hill, suddenly found himself in close contact with the foe. They were continuing to advance in great numbers, galloping and shouting and firing. He at once commenced to retire on Gun Hill, but, in the very act, the Boer force appeared over the rise, and absolutely regardless of the British guns came on and on and stormed through Scottish Horse and Mounted Infantry, many of whom were killed before they had time to fire. The Boers then dismounted and formed up on dead ground whence they could work their way to a position within close range of the guns on the crest, while themselves in comparative safety. The original escort, the company of Buffs posted to the front of the guns on the south side of the ridge, was captured and the Mounted Infantry Company of the Yorkshire Light Infantry and the squadron of Scottish Horse who promptly formed up on the flanks of the guns, despite their gallant efforts, found themselves unable to offer serious resistance to the terrific volleys of the foe.

With the exception of the western end of the ridge, which was held by a party of mounted infantry till dark, the whole gradually fell into the enemy's hands. When Colonel Benson became aware of the nature of the attack he ordered two more companies of the Buffs to reinforce the rearguard on the ridge, but these could not succeed in reaching a position whence their fire could be brought to bear. He himself was one of the first to fall, hit in three places.¹ Referring to the death of this hero and the doings of his warlike band

¹ Colonel Benson, who has died of the wounds received in the attack, had played an active part in the present campaign, and had accomplished much good work. He belonged to the Royal Artillery, served in the Soudan, and was present in the engagement of Hasheen, where he was slightly wounded, and at the destruction of Tamai. He also took part in the expedition to Ashanti under Sir Francis Scott in 1895, and went with the Dongola Expedition under Lord Kitchener in 1896 as brigade-major of the mounted corps. He was twice mentioned in despatches, and was granted several decorations.

The Transvaal War

at the critical moment when the Boers made their fierce onslaught on the defenders of the ridge, Mr. Bleloch of the *Morning Post* wrote:—

“A squadron of Scottish Horse had just gained the edge of the ridge to defend the guns when the Boers charged. Colonel Benson and his staff were stationed near the guns. When the Boers got to the ridge they shot down, almost in the first few minutes, the greater number of the defenders, and it was the stubborn defence of the survivors which checked their further advance and prevented them at the time from rushing the ridge first, and possibly the camp afterwards. The defence of the ridge saved the column from imminent disaster, and inflicted on the Boers a heavy penalty for their daring attack. Unfortunately it was only done at the cost of many valuable lives.

“Shortly after Major Murray was killed several Boers approached, shouting ‘Hands up!’ Corporal Bell, the son of Sir James Bell, shouted back ‘No surrender!’ and kept on firing. He killed one Boer, and immediately afterwards another Boer shot him from a distance of twenty paces. Other Boers then fired at him, and he was killed. A man named Bradshaw Smith, who was found lying dead near Corporal Bell, carried on his duty in the same spirit. He had a pile of empty cartridge cases by him, and wounded survivors state that he killed or wounded thirty Boers with his own rifle before he received a fatal shot. Lieutenant Kelly, who had received his commission only three weeks before the fight, fell near the same spot. He came from Australia, and was advanced rapidly to the rank of sergeant and then to that of lieutenant. He was one of the best fighting men in the regiment. He cheered and rallied his men in the most fearless manner, being wounded many times before he fell for good. When picked up he was found to be literally shot through and through.

“These are conspicuous examples among a band of heroes. To the men of the Scottish Horse, the Yorkshire Mounted Infantry, and the artillerists is due the credit of maintaining the defence when it appeared to be almost hopeless. Knowing full well that only a few were left they held on, firing or selling their lives dearly, and keeping it up until almost the last man fell. The latest accounts show that out of 92 men of the Scottish Horse on the ridge, 88 were killed or wounded. Scotland may well be proud when at the end of a wearisome war she can send out men who die willingly and fearlessly in the performance of their duty.”

Colonel Guinness¹ also fell by the guns, having fired the last shot of case on the advancing enemy before he was killed. Captain C. W. Collins (Cheshire Regiment), who died of his wounds, Lieutenant Jackson (King’s Own Royal Lancashire Regiment), Lieutenant Sloan (R.A.M.C.), Lieutenant Robertson (Scottish Horse), played glorious parts in this melancholy scene, and Lieutenants Bircham and Crichton (King’s Royal Rifle Corps) distinguished themselves by remaining gallantly in command of their respective units though severely wounded early in the fight. The attack on the camp itself was easily driven off, but no further reinforcements could be sent to the ridge, nor were guns in camp able to materially assist the defence with the rearguard. All hands in camp worked hard to entrench the position which, before night, was rendered so strong that no subsequent attack was made. Colonel Wools-Sampson took command of Colonel Benson’s column, and on the 31st the columns of Colonel Barter and General G. Hamilton went hot foot to his support. The bulk of the enemy with the captured guns had, however, disappeared beyond the reach of the British force. Of the losses on both sides Mr. Bleloch wrote:—

“Of Colonel Benson himself every voice proclaims him a hero. Though grievously wounded, he sent back to Major Wools-Sampson, telling him not to send out the ambulances because the Boers would take the opportunity of removing the guns, but to continue bursting shrapnel just on and over the ridge to prevent any further advance of the

¹ Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Davis Guinness, R.A., was the eldest son of the late Mr. Thomas Hosea Guinness, who married Mary, heiress of Mr. Charles Davis, of Coolmanna, county Carlow. He was educated at Eton, became lieutenant in the Royal Artillery February 18, 1880; captain on January 19, 1888; and major on September 23, 1897. He married in 1889 the Hon. Lucy Matilda, eldest daughter of the sixth Lord Massy, and leaves a son, Hugh Spencer, who was born in 1890.

Transvaal (East)

enemy. Major Wools-Sampson acted on these orders, and it was in imminent danger from our own gun and Maxim firers, as well as from the enemy, that some of the survivors of the Scottish Horse and Yorkshires moved about helping their wounded and dying comrades. Dr. Sloane, of the Scottish Horse, is praised by every one. The fire from the camp and from the other positions commanded by Major Wools-Sampson checked any further advance of the enemy. The Boers had paid dearly for their bravery, and their enthusiasm died down, though they continued a heavy fire all round the position. Major Wools-Sampson had taken every measure for the safety of the camp. He reinforced the southern positions held by the 25th Mounted Infantry, under Major Eustace, and called up all the Transport Commissariat officers and men to aid in defending the camp proper. When Colonel Benson was brought in about nine o'clock at night he told Major Wools-Sampson to see to his defences, because Botha had stated that unless he surrendered he would attack in the morning with 1400 men. The men were put to work entrenching, and by daylight the position was impregnable. The heroism on the ridge and the clever dispositions of the determined soldier commanding the camp had baulked the Boers, and Botha admitted that the fight was a failure. Between 200 to 300 Boers are known to have been killed and wounded. Man for man the losses were about equal on each side, but we have suffered the greater loss in the death of the gallant leader of the column and his equally brave associates. Men like Benson, Guinness, Murray, Lindsay, and Thorold, and the other officers who fell are difficult to replace. Lieutenant Straker, of the Scottish Horse, who was thrown from his horse and stunned, while retiring to the ridge, was taken prisoner, and remained with the Boers next day. Being conversant with the taal, he learned many things from the Boers which confirm their disappointment at the result of the fight."

Among the forty-four Boers killed was General Opperman. General Chris Botha and 100 of his men were wounded.

The British casualties in addition to Colonel Benson were:—

KILLED.

Royal Artillery—Lieut.-Col. E. Guinness, Lieut. Maclean. Scottish Horse—Major F. D. Murray, Capt. M. W. Lindsay, Capt. Inglis, Lieut. Kelly, Lieut. Woodman. Yorkshire Light Infantry (3rd Mounted Infantry)—Capt. F. T. Thorold, Lieut. E. V. J. Brooke, Lieut. R. E. Shepherd. East Kent Regiment—2nd Lieut. A. J. Corlett.

WOUNDED.

Coldstream Guards—Capt. Eyre Lloyd (since dead) Cheshire Regiment—Capt. C. W. Collins, severe. Northamptonshire Regiment—Capt. A. A. Lloyd, D.S.O., slight. King's Royal Rifle Corps—Lieut. H. F. W. Birchan, severe; Lieut. T. G. Dalby, severe; Lieut. R. Seymour, severe. Scottish Horse—Capt. Murray; Lieut. W. Campbell, severe; Lieut. C. Woodman, dangerously; Lieut. Firms, dangerously; Lieut. A. T. Wardrap, severe. East Kent Regiment—Capt. Ronald, slight; Second Lieut. L. H. Soames, severe; Second Lieut. W. Greatwood, slight. Yorkshire Light Infantry—Lieut. L. H. Martin, severe. Killed—Fifty-four non-commissioned officers and men. Wounded—One hundred and sixty non-commissioned officers and men (four since dead.)

Colonel Park at this time worked in the Heidelberg district, Colonels Hacket-Thompson and Bewicke Copley in support of the Constabulary Posts, and Colonel Rawlinson in Heidelberg. Colonel Hacket-Thompson on the 14th of October routed a Boer gang that threatened the Pietersburg line, and on the way north Major Ross (Canadian Scouts) surprised and broke up Field-Cornet Jan Visagie's commando at Kranspoort. So much opposition did the Boers offer in the rugged country near Tweefontein, that Colonel Williams with 600 Australians was sent from Klerksdorp to reinforce Colonel Hacket-Thompson. On the 26th, while moving by Kameelpoort to Wolvekraal, a Boer picket was driven in, and fifty prisoners with their effects were taken. On the 27th the

The Transvaal War

difficult Witnek defile—a pass six miles long—was forced by Col. Williams, in spite of the Boers, who held it in great strength and brought a pom-pom to bear on the troops. The splendid advance of the Australians eventually forced the enemy to give up his hold and take to his heels, leaving five dead on the ground and four prisoners in our hands.

Colonel Colenbrander's men (Kitchener's Fighting Scouts) between the 6th and 21st scoured the hitherto untraversed region between Warmbaths and Magalapyi on the Rhodesian Railway. They visited Boer haunts which had been carefully located beforehand and pounced on various Boer supply depots, with the result that on return, on the 2nd of November, they showed a bag of 45 prisoners, 10 voluntary surrenders, 67 rifles, 4000 rounds of ammunition, and a large number of waggons and cattle.

Colonel Hawkins (commanding Colonel Wood's column) displayed rival activity in the region west of the rail between Nylstroom and Geelhout, and his captures amounted to 97 prisoners, among whom were Field-Cornets J. J. Van Staden, J. P. Botha, J. Duverhage, Captain G. Coetzee, Adjutant Muller, and C. Schutte (former Landdrost of Pretoria), besides rifles, ammunition, waggons, cattle, and horses.

TRANSVAAL (WEST)

Colonel Kekewich from Rustenburg and Lord Methuen from Zeerust engaged in a converging movement for sweeping up Boers in the direction of Lindley's Poort, but Boers being shy, these officers returned to their original posts. While Lord Methuen was marching from Zeerust towards Lindley's Poort, Colonel Von Donop from Zeerust moved in the direction of Tafel Kop. On his way back, on the 24th, at Kleenfontein (between Wonderfontein and Wilgeboom Spruit), he was confronted by over 1000 Boers under Generals Delarey, Kemp, and Celliers. These had taken advantage of the thick scrub through which the British were moving to gallop to close quarters and set upon the little force.

Fighting was ferocious, particularly round the two guns (4th Battery R.F.A.), and the heroism shown by one and all, particularly by the gunners, it is scarcely possible to exaggerate. One officer, 17 men of the gun detachments, 26 escort of the Northumberland Fusiliers (some 60 strong), were either killed or wounded in this desperate and successful defence. All distinguished themselves in one way or another; notably young Lieutenant Hill (R.F.A.), who sacrificed his life, two gunners, Neil and Murphy, and drivers Divers and Platt. Lieutenant Hobbs (R.E.), a prodigy of valour; Captain Laing (R.A.M.C.), 5th Imperial Yeomanry, who tended the wounded regardless of the heavy fire; Lieutenant Baldwin, who fought like a lion; and Lieutenant Caird, who was killed, were a few of many who behaved nobly. The men were heroic as their officers. Sapper Ryder, for instance, hearing the guns were in difficulties, galloped alone to them and joined in their defence, subsequently fetching reinforcements under heavy fire. Sergeant Roland (Bechuanaland Rifles), too, in the same deadly hail, collected men and carried messages with the daredevil courage for which he is notable. Sergeant Browning (4th Battery R.F.A.) kept his gun in action till the Boers were upon him, when he endeavoured to remove the breech screws and got wounded in the act. Sergeant Miller (1st Northumberland Fusiliers), whose splendid services have been noted on many occasions, collected men and set them to hold an important position, and Sergeant Baily of the same regiment distinguished himself by his determination and bravery.

The Orange River Colony

The Boers, repulsed on all sides, eventually drew off, leaving 40 dead and 5 wounded, including Commandant Oosthuyzen (since dead), on the field.

Colonel Kekewich had also some noteworthy adventures. On the 28th he marched to attack a laager at Beestekraal on the Crocodile River. Having concealed his troops in the hollows around Hartebeestspruit, he, on the following day, resumed his march. At night his mounted troops, under Colonel Duff, moved towards Beestekraal, while his infantry moved to Klipplatt. The western approaches to the Boers' camp being unguarded, they fell victims to the surprise prepared for them. Resistance they soon found to be futile, and Colonel Kekewich marched back to Rustenburg plus 78 prisoners (including B. A. Kloppe (former chairman of the Volksraad) and many waggons and horses.

OCTOBER IN THE ORANGE RIVER COLONY

Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. J. Byng from Kroonstad spent the best part of October pouncing on commandos. On the 13th he attacked a laager at Jackfontein and captured 18 prisoners, and later in the month (the 25th) he surrounded Spanneberg's laager at Huntersolei, securing, with Field-Cornets Spanneberg and Oosthuyzen, 20 burghers; 11 extra prisoners were captured near Plessis Rush. On the 2nd of November he moved to Heilbron to take up his position for combined operations in the direction of Reitz. At Heilbron was Colonel Wilson (Kitchener's Fighting Scouts), who with Major Damant at Frankfort continued to cover the completion of the blockhouse line in that region. Major Damant on the 13th caught and engaged 300 Boers near Naudesdrift on the Wilge, and two days later handled somewhat vigorously a gang of 500 whom he drove to the Bothersberg, capturing Adjutant Theron in the course of the operation. More prisoners were secured before the end of the month.

General Elliot's columns, under Broadwood, with the energetic Lowe and De Lisle, continued to operate north of Harrismith, but they were much hampered both by rinderpest and by incessant rains. Nevertheless Colonel De Lisle, working independently, surprised a Boer laager on the 15th, in the neighbourhood of the Wilge River, and made a fine haul of vehicles and cattle, in addition to the fifteen prisoners taken. General Broadwood, with 700 of his own men and some detachments of General Rundle's force, made an expedition to the eastern extremity of the Brandwater Basin, which resulted in the capture of a few prisoners and much ammunition. General Campbell remained in the region constructing forts, in order to baulk the enemy at important points. From Bethlehem Colonel Briggs (1st Imperial Light Horse), with his dashing men, carried on a series of exciting raids, thus clearing the country for twenty-eight miles round.

Major-General C. Knox and Colonel Rochfort, under the general control of Lieutenant-General Tucker, engaged in operations for the completion of the clearance of the south-eastern portion of the Orange Colony, where Commandants Brand, Ackerman, and Coetzee still struggled to make themselves baneful. They gave considerable trouble, as their intimate acquaintance with the country made their deft dodges for prolonging the game of hide-and-seek highly successful. Still, in spite of their evasive tactics, 125 were taken and seven killed or wounded.

The Transvaal War

OPERATIONS IN CAPE COLONY

General French, whose headquarters were at Middelburg, by his vigorous measures to check the invasion, had so far swept the central districts of the Colony that a large number of troops were freed to hunt the south-western and north-eastern areas. On the 11th Lotter was executed, and curiously enough on the same date the arrant raider and desperate rebel Scheepers was captured by a patrol of the 10th Hussars under Captain Shearman, at Koppie's Kraal, where he had been left too ill to proceed. On his recovery he was tried on various charges, and sentenced to death. As his case aroused considerable interest, a short report of the trial is appended.

The Court sat at Graaff Reinet on December 18, 1901, and there were sixteen charges brought against the prisoner—seven of murder, one of attempted murder, one of placing prisoners in firing line, one of ill-treating prisoners, three of flogging (one being a British subject and two natives), one of destroying railways, one of train-wrecking, and one including fifteen charges of arson.

The one charge on which the finding of "Not guilty" was returned was the fifth, which related to the case of two scouts named John Jackspan and Johannes Rooji, who were shot in September at Wildepaardefontein, Montagu district. These men were shot, but the evidence went to show that it was by the order of Commandant Van der Merwe, Scheepers being on the farm at the time lying ill in a cart.

The first charge of murder on which a verdict of guilty was returned was that of shooting two natives named Jacob Fillis and Kiedo, captured when scouting in September at Secretaris Kraal; the second was a charge of shooting a Kaffir policeman named Moycwka at Brakwater in January 1901; the third was that of shooting a native, name unknown, at Uitkomot, in March; the fourth was that of shooting a native scout named James at Brighton in August; the sixth was the shooting of a native named John Kennedy in the Worcester district in September; and the seventh the shooting of Zederas, a native, at Kruis River, the victim being first sjamboked. This was also in September. The other charges were fully proved. In all fifty-two witnesses were called for the prosecution.

Apart from two witnesses whom he called, Commandant Scheepers gave evidence himself. He said his name was Gideon Jacobus Scheepers, that he was a Free State Burgher, and head of the Heliographic Department at Bloemfontein.

"I surrendered on the 10th October 1901, and at that time I occupied the position of commandant in the combined forces of the late South African Republic and Orange Free State. I was promoted to the rank of commandant in the month of March last, but through some cause which I do not know of the formal appointment only reached me in August last. Previous to this I held the rank of captain. On 15th November 1900, I and the troops to which I belong came into the Cape Colony under General De Wet's command, but General De Wet did not himself come into this colony at that time. While we were with Commandant Kruitinger he was in chief command, but as soon as the forces divided I was in chief command of my division. Before I came into the Cape Colony, on above date, there was a council of war held in the Free State, composed of all the chief officers in command. At this council of war propositions were made and carried that a letter should be written to Lord Kitchener drawing his attention to the destruction by fire and otherwise of property in the Free State and Transvaal, saying that if this destruction did not cease the officers in command of troops invading the Cape Colony would after a while receive instructions to proceed with destruction in the colony of all properties belonging to persons not friendly to the Republics. Prior to this letter, one to the same intent and conveying the same information had been written to Lord Roberts. In March last proclamations issued by General De Wet and signed by ex-President Steyn reached me, and the contents thereof was an in-

Trial of Scheepers

struction to the officers in the Cape Colony to treat all persons not on friendly terms with the Republics to the same destruction of property as had been done by the British in the Free State and Transvaal. I saw a copy of this proclamation in one of the Graaff Reinet newspapers. My instructions and proclamations I have handed over to my successor."

The prisoner then dealt with the various charges in detail, declaring in respect of some that he had given no orders, as to others that the men were shot after sentence by courts-martial, and that they were spies. As to the destruction of railways, the train-wrecking, and the burning of farms, he



GENERAL MAP OF THE EASTERN PORTION OF CAPE COLONY

pleaded that he was only carrying out the instructions of his superior officers. He vehemently denied having ill-treated his prisoners.

In the course of the trial the following telegram was received by the president:

"December 21st, 1901.

"Can fact that Scheepers spared my son's life—Grant, 12th Lancers—in time of great excitement, September twenty-third, be pleaded in mitigation of sentence if sentenced? Please forward this to confirming office.

GRANT, Monymusk."

In reference to this telegram, Scheepers said:—

"Lieutenant Grant, 12th Lancers, as far as I have seen, has done the bravest deed ever done by a British officer. It was south-east of Oudtshoorn, along the Commanassie River, after having wounded two and captured eight of my men, as he was crossing the river I came upon him with four men. I shouted to him, 'Hands up!' He was in the water on

The Transvaal War

the point of crossing the river, and as I shouted to him 'Hands up !' he paid no attention. When I shouted to him a second time, 'Surrender, or I'll shoot you down,' the four men with me pointed their guns at him, when he dropped his gun and revolver and surrendered. The men with me wanted to shoot him down, as he had wounded two of my men ; I ordered them not to do so. I ultimately captured him and took him to a house and gave him a bed, and liberated him." He also claimed that the one thousand three hundred prisoners he had taken had been treated well.

Scheepers was found guilty, after five days' trial, on all charges except the one of murder mentioned, and sentenced to death. The sentence was confirmed by Lord Kitchener about a fortnight later, on January 14, 1902, and the prisoner was shot at Graaff Reinet on January 18, 1902.

Colonels Crabbe and Kavanagh hunted from Oudtshoorn to the north-west Smuts', Bonwer's, and Pyper's rovers. Colonels Haig and Lukin engaged in an animated chase, here, there, and everywhere, after Van der Venter and his band of marauders, and at last the vigilant Lukin, on the 21st of October, had the happiness of surprising the quarry six miles south-west of New Bethesda. Fourteen prisoners were taken, and one Boer lost his life in the affray. The rest of the party, as they escaped westward on the 24th, were engaged by Colonel Scobell, who had been chasing Smuts out of the Aberdeen district.

The month ended with combined operations for purging the place of the commandos of Maritz, Smit, and Theron, and driving these undesirable elements into the remote districts beyond Calvinia. In these lively proceedings Colonels Capper and Wyndham and Captain Wormald were engaged, and by the end of October they had reached the line Lambarts Bay, Clanwilliam.

Colonel Monro's column, after covering the construction of a line of block-houses from Stormberg to Queenstown, commenced, in conjunction with a force under Colonel Scobell, to hunt the enemy north of Dordrecht. Meanwhile another line of blockhouses from De Aar to Beaufort West was concluded, thus adding materially to the security of the main line. The Proclamation of Martial Law at Cape ports was now deemed necessary, and regulations were made by the Colonial Government and the Commander-in-Chief with a view to minimising interference with legitimate trade, preventing inconvenience to law-abiding persons ; adequate powers were secured for the military authorities to enable them to deal with the plots and intrigues of Boer spies, sympathisers at seaport towns, and to close to them this source of supply of munitions of war. The previous non-existence of Martial Law had enabled the enemy and his agents to carry on in security the introduction of foreign recruits and communications with Europe.



GENERAL SIR BINDON BLOOD.

Photo Elliott & Fry, London.

CHAPTER XV

THE CLOSE OF 1901—PROGRESS IN NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER

THE establishment of constabulary posts from the Valley of the Modder towards Bultfontein and Boshof was being carried out simultaneously with the completion of a blockhouse line from Kroonstad to Coal Mine Drift on the Vaal. A blockhouse line from Kroonstad by Lindley, Bethlehem to Harrismith, and another by Heilbron and Frankfort towards Tafel Kop (a favourite Boer haunt and signalling station) and beyond it by Botha's Pass, promised to curtail the enemy's scheme of operations and push him into remote corners whence he would be unable to interfere either with the proposed extension of the rail from Harrismith to Bethlehem, or with another line working from Bloemfontein to the Waterworks and thence to Ladybrand.

TRANSVAAL (EAST)

General Bruce-Hamilton at the end of October assumed the direction of operations in the Eastern Transvaal, and the columns under his command were those of Colonels Allenby and Campbell at Standerton, of Colonel Barter at Leeukop (forty-six miles west of Bethel), of Colonel Mackenzie (late Benson's) at Brugspruit. Colonels Williams and the Hon. C. G. Fortescue were moving west of Middelburg. Under the auspices of these troops and of those of General Spens, the Standerton-Ermelo line of blockhouses was constructed, and the constabulary posts to the line Brugspruit Station, Waterful Station, were established. At the conclusion of these useful operations General Bruce-Hamilton, having forced the enemy in a corner as it were and prepared for the further advance of his columns to the east, made Bethel his headquarters.

A concentration was afterwards arranged for the purpose of hemming the guerillas against the Eastern Transvaal Frontier, and consequently some of these struggled to break through the sweeping columns and the constabulary posts, while others, in knots, returned and pervaded the Delagoa Railway. They had of course to be dealt with, and Colonel Wools-Sampson, whose services had been invaluable to the lamented Colonel Benson, again applied himself to the locating of the offensive intruders. His information was brief and to the point. General B. Hamilton, with portions of General Spens' and Colonel Sir H. Rawlinson's columns, surprised the marauders at dawn on the 4th of December at Oshoek, twenty miles south-west of Ermelo. Owing to the dash and enterprise with which the 8th Battalion Mounted Infantry closed with the enemy and prevented their escape, the captures amounted to 93 prisoners, 116 horses, 26 waggons, 29 Cape carts, besides ammunition and telegraph and signalling apparatus.

While this exciting affair was going forward between Ermelo and Carolina, Colonel Williams was chasing some Boer banditti under Viljoen, Prinsloo, and Erasmus, who were fleeing westwards in the direction of Knapdaar. The pursuit was carried to Welte-Vreden, where the enemy (in a strong position

The Transvaal War

and numbering some 500) commanded the passages over the Olifants River. Colonel Williams' small force was unequal to a decisive engagement, therefore he drew off, having killed 5 and taken 12 Boers, 8 waggons, and 3500 rounds of ammunition in the course of his westerly pursuit. On the 7th, Colonel Rawlinson made a grand night march from Ermelo (General B. Hamilton's headquarters), and took 8 prisoners, while at the same time Colonel C. Mackenzie, moving from Carolina to Waterval, vigorously chased the enemy towards the Komati Valley, capturing 16, together with their horses, mules, and cattle.

While Botha's bands were kept in hourly dread of being driven east against the Swazi border, or west between the troops and constabulary posts, where they would have been more than ever isolated and doomed to destruction, Colonel Urmston, with a small column, played the Cerberus, watching the line of constabulary posts in case of attack by such desperate Boers as might have become wedged between the posts and the columns, and keeping General B. Hamilton well informed as to their whereabouts.

Viljoen, hovering between Pilgrims' Rest and Dullstroom, engaged the attentions of Colonel Park, while on the northern line Colonels Dawkins and Colenbrander hunted and hustled the enemy. By the 13th of November Dawkins had secured 124 prisoners, and by the 19th (when he had returned to Warmbaths by the Mafeking-Rhodesia route) Colenbrander had captured 54 prisoners of Beyer's commando, including Field-Cornets Ross and Louw and Adjutant Pretorius, with their horses, waggons, and stock.

Colonel Colenbrander then devoted himself to the chase of Badenhorst's commando, a spirited and an exhausting affair which lasted some days, during which Kitchener's Fighting Scouts pushed perseveringly, through an almost waterless and decidedly uninviting region, on the tracks of the enemy. Eventually the column, almost spent with their prodigious activities, came suddenly on the quarry, and the 3rd of December found them in possession of all the waggons of the commando, and fifteen prisoners. Badenhorst and sixty followers tore into the jungle fringing the Poer Zyn Loop River, and thus escaped; but not for long. A large quantity of stragglers were driven up into the hills, and there seized by the 12th Mounted Infantry of Colonel Dawkins' column, who displayed considerable prowess in the achievement. The total results of these "well-planned and carefully-executed operations were 104 prisoners, 50 horses, 50 mules, 500 cattle, 6 waggons, 6000 rounds of small arm ammunition, and the serious discomfiture of the enemy in a district in which he had long considered himself immune."

TRANSVAAL (WEST)

Lord Methuen and Colonel Kekewich continued with unabating zeal their co-operations in the Rustenberg - Zeerust region, capturing many prisoners during their various marches. On the 13th of November, owing to a squadron of Imperial Yeomanry of Colonel Hickie's force having been surrounded near Brakspruit, both officers moved by different routes to Klerksdorp to disperse the commandos threatening Colonel Hickie. But these rovers had quickly made off to the west. Still hunting them, Lord Methuen, with Hickie and Kekewich on his right, left Klerksdorp to operate to west of Hartebeestefontein and Kaffirs Kraal. He got in touch with the foe, chased him towards Wolmaranstad, and "doubled him up" at Rooiport. Liebenberg's adjutant, his horses, stock, waggons, and twenty-six prisoners were the rewards of a fatiguing excursion. Lord Methuen returned to Klerksdorp on the 4th of December. Thus Colonel Hickie, whose column was covering the construction of the Schoonspruit

Orange River Colony

blockhouse line, was relieved of the unwelcome attentions of the Boers, and the work on hand terminated without further interruption.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY

A magnificent programme for the sweeping up of infesting marauders in the region of Vrede and Reitz was planned out early in November. The difficulty and the extent of its plan may be gauged by the fact that the rendezvous and starting-points of the outermost columns engaged upon it were roughly at the



COLONEL PILCHER

(Photo by Robinson, Dublin)

angles of a parallelogram, whose diagonal was 175 miles in length, and of which no side was less than 100 miles, marked by the points Standerton, Harrismith, Winburg, and Heilbron; but of the details of this enormous movement, the energy and precision with which it was carried forth, nothing can here be said. It was arranged like an enormous and intricate game of chess, with tortuous and well-designed curves to keep the enemy from detecting the object of the manœuvres, but the whole thing was a failure. The weather, firstly, was atrocious, and highly favourable to such Boers who might wish to straggle and draggle to cover; secondly, the immensity of the converging movement rendered it impossible to entirely fill all gaps, and these gaps the Boers were naturally "slim" enough to discover and to make use of. Thus, when all the splendidly

The Transvaal War

managed and patiently executed marches concluded by the arrival of the columns at their objective, they found most of the birds flown. But the Boer stock and transport had to be left behind, and there was some consolation in knowing that the machinations of the marauders would be hampered for want of supplies for some time to come. Ninety-eight prisoners were taken and twenty-two of the enemy were killed, and horses and cattle in large quantities were secured. The troops returned to their original points of departure without incident, save in the case of Colonels Byng and Wilson. On the 14th of November a party of 400 Boers, who had evaded the cordon before it was drawn, attacked the troops near Heilbron. Two hours of stiff fighting ensued, and the enemy, said to be commanded by De Wet, was successfully repulsed on all sides by Colonel Byng's rearguard, which was brilliantly handled by Colonel Wilson of Kitchener's Fighting Scouts. The Boers left eight dead on the field. Lieutenant Hughes was killed and three other officers of Kitchener's Fighting Scouts were wounded.

Colonel Rimington and Major Damant continued to pursue their special guerilla tactics from Frankfort to the Valley of the Vaal with a diamond-cut-diamond agility which was highly disconcerting to the Boers. Many captures they made, the most satisfactory of all being that of Commandant Buys, who, wounded in a skirmish with the "Railway Pioneers," fell afterwards into the hands of Colonel Rimington, who had gone to their assistance. The skirmish took place near Villiersdorp. Major Fisher's small patrol was attacked north and south by some 350 of the enemy. The British were overpowered; Major Fisher was killed, and Captain Langmore was dangerously wounded.

General Dartnell and the Imperial Light Horse Brigade—real veterans by now—were perpetually on the move in the Bethlehem and Harrismith region, but the Boers were wary, and, at the rumour of their coming, seemed to evaporate! The 2nd Imperial Light Horse, however, caught them napping on the 24th of November between Elands River Bridge and Bethlehem. In the attack they killed two of the enemy and captured twelve more. The bag was furthered replenished on the 27th by the addition of 24 prisoners, 150 horses, and 800 cattle, which were the prizes of a dashing raid of the combined force of the 1st and 2nd Imperial Light Horse under Colonel Mackenzie.

The end of November was spent in sweeping and hunting, surprising and night-raiding by General Elliot, who with three columns (Broadwood, De Lisle, and Lowe) moved gradually upward from Harrismith to Kroonstad. Here he arrived on the 1st of December with 15 prisoners, 89 carts, 2470 cattle, and 1280 horses (most of them worn-out). Colonel Barker from Bethlehem engaged the enemy frequently, thus protecting Broadwood's left flank and inflicting considerable damage. Colonel Rimington having effected a junction with Colonel Wilson (Kitchener's Fighting Scouts), south-west of Frankfort, on the 28th had some exciting experiences with the enemy, who pursued certain buzzing tactics for the purpose of drawing off attention to a proposed lunge by De Wet on the baggage and rearguard. The attack when delivered was brilliantly repulsed. The troops made a dashing charge on the enemy, during which Lieutenant Oliver (Inniskilling Dragoons) lost his life. Field-Cornet Klopper and 2 burghers were killed and 4 wounded, and 13 prisoners captured. Colonel Rimington then returned to Heilbron.

Various groups of columns under General Knox and Colonel Rochfort harassed and hunted the remnants of the commandos of Brand, Ackerman, and Loetzee, which still hung and clung to their ancient haunts. The work was fatiguing and monotonous in the extreme, but the clearance of that



MAJOR-GENERAL ARTHUR PAGET.

Photo J. Russell & Sons, London.

The Swazi Border

part of the country was accomplished. One hundred and seventy prisoners were swept up in the course of the month.

West of the rail the establishment of constabulary posts between Boshof and Bultfontein went on apace, while Colonel Henry watched the country and kept the Boers at a distance.

THE SWAZI BORDER

The troops clearing the east in the Piet Retief region and on the Swazi border were hard at work to press back the desperate and almost refugeless Boers. Major Wiggin, with a detached force of the 26th Mounted Infantry Battalion (Colville's column), surrounded a laager at a farm eight miles south of Mahamba (near Piet Retief), and captured Landdrost Kelly and Field-Cornet Van Rooijen, with fourteen of their party; and then this same officer, with another detached force, proceeded on the 16th to repeat his success. At Plat Nek (within the Swazi border) he pounced again on the foe, caught twelve of them, and secured nineteen waggons with teams and a number of Krupp cartridges.

General Plumer meanwhile worked considerable havoc among the scattered bands that hung south of the Wakkerstroom-Piet Retief blockhouses. After the 20th he was joined by Colonel Pulteney, and together they scoured the Randberg neighbourhood till the torrents should subside, and General Bruce-Hamilton, in his advance on Ermelo, could be assisted by them.

NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER

As before said, General French's operations in Cape Colony were making substantial progress, and small commandos only continued to rove about the south-east and south-west fringe of the colony. These were harried and worried by the troops, but their presence was now described as a serious inconvenience rather than as a menace of vital consequence. They confined their annoyance to the Barkley East district and the country to the west and north of the Cape Town-De Aar line. In the former area Monro and Scobell continued their hunts after Myburg, Fouché, and Wessels, who now and then skirmished, but who, owing to their losses, preferred to give the British a wide berth. The astute and indefatigable Hunter-Weston spent his time in chasing a gang of Boers under Naude, who, after shifting and doubling, finally burrowed into the Karee Kloof hills north-west of Philipstown.

More columns under General Stephenson had the wearisome task of chasing dispersed gangs over a vast tract of country; and December found Colonel Crabbe at Lambert's Bay, General Stephenson with Colonel Kavanagh at Clanwilliam, Colonel Capper at Piquetberg, Captain Wormald at Wagon Drift (north of Ceres), Major Lund south of Sutherland, and Colonel Doran between the last place and Matjesfontein. As a result of the month's united operations of these forces, 29 of the enemy were killed, 21 wounded, and 45 captured. The rinderpest continued to work havoc, but the process of inoculation and the care taken to prevent the spread of the disease prevented the movements of the troops from being seriously impeded. As regards the troops, despite the heavy rains, the incessant marching, the harassing and ticklish nature of outpost work in exposed and isolated positions, the perpetual calls on their

The Transvaal War

patience, their pluck, their sagacity, and their cheerfulness; despite the wet bivouacs and the monotonous food, and sometimes the scarcity of it, the dangers they ran and the meagre amount of publicity their heroism received—despite all these inconveniences, they remained true as steel and full of grim determination “to see the thing through,” or, as the Commander-in-Chief expressed it, “to relax no effort until the campaign had been brought to a successful issue.”

The Boers now, at the end of 1901, found themselves cooped by blockhouse lines into four definite areas: Botha's attenuated force hovered on the borders of Swaziland and the Brugspruit-Waterval line. Delarey and Kemp hung around the difficult country between the Mafeking Railway line and the Magaliesberg range. Steyn and De Wet with some dauntless desperadoes did their worst in the north-east districts of Orange River Colony, and various bands of rebels and adventurers clung to the north-west regions of the Cape Colony. Elsewhere were only insignificant knots of worn-out and listless stragglers. There was a gratifying increase of voluntary surrenders, and during the month three of the most trusted leaders—Kruitziuger, Opperman, and Haasbroek—disappeared from the fighting scene.

TRANSVAAL (EAST)—DECEMBER

General Bruce-Hamilton, for the purpose of protecting the constabulary posts, was now operating in the country that had been so effectively cleared by General French in the beginning of the year. On the 9th of December he engaged in a brilliant converging movement over the old ground (see map, p. 20), with the result that 130 prisoners, 4000 cattle, and a large convoy fell into his hands. Briefly the tale is this: the General discovered that a large force of Boers had collected north of Bethel, and were moving south with a view to escaping round his left flank. Quickly, he summoned Colonels Wing and Williams (who were moving upon Kalabasfontein) to join him at Spioenkop, and by night the whole force made a secret march on the lair of the enemy at Trigaardtsfontein. The movement was magnificently carried out, and the laager was rushed by the troops at dawn. In the scrimmage seven Boers were killed, and many who escaped pursuit were mopped up by Colonel Allenby, who was moving from Middelkraal to Onverwacht. General Hamilton's force after this successful action marched into Bethel, having covered sixty miles in the previous forty-eight hours.

His repose was short-lived. The Boers who had escaped from the pursuit of his force gathered now, under Viljoen, twenty-five miles north-east of Bethel. He determined to secure them. With the troops under Colonels Sir H. Rawlinson, Wing, and Williams, he started on the 12th on another exciting march. He neared his destination in darkness, and then in the dim dusk of the morn galloped upon the objective. It was a splendid achievement, and seventy Boers, including Field-Cornets Badenhorst and Swanepool, closed their military career. Sixteen were killed in the engagement, and one of the two 15-pounder guns taken from Benson's force at Brakenlaagte was recovered. The other gun had been disabled by the enemy. The scattered remnants of this commando fled north, and were tackled by Colonels Mackenzie and Fortescue, who were operating in that direction. These officers captured more prisoners and stock.

On the 19th of December General Bruce-Hamilton left Ermelo, marching towards the east, while Colonel Mackenzie simultaneously moved from Carolina

Transvaal (East)

upon Lake Banagher (twenty-two miles north-east of Ermelo). Colonel Mackenzie on the night of the 19th made a forced march and attacked, at Schalk Meyer's farm, Smits' laager, and inflicted upon the enemy a loss of six killed. He took sixteen prisoners. He afterwards moved on Bothwell, and pursued for thirty miles a convoy which turned out to be Smits, and after a stiff engagement (on the 21st) secured 17 prisoners, 44 vehicles, and 2000 cattle. General Plumer and Colonel Pulteney co-operated in the vicinity of Spitzkop, and near there at dawn on the 23rd these officers engaged a gang of 500, and captured 6 prisoners.

On the same day General Bruce-Hamilton's troops attacked Grobelaar's laager at Maryvale (fifteen miles north of Amsterdam). Owing to the denseness of the morning mist the majority of the Boers got off scot free, and only four were killed and eleven captured, but 700 cattle and a number of waggons fell into British hands. The captures were mainly due to the leading of Lieutenants Rendall and Huddleston, who, in spite of every obstruction, dashed in among the enemy before they could gather themselves together for more than flight. General Hamilton returned to Ermelo, and on the 29th pushed again to Maryvale. Again he repeated his manœuvres, again he pounced on the Boers and thinned their numbers by twenty-two (taken prisoners), capturing also their waggons and cattle. This was on the 1st of January. On the following day, with the columns under Colonels Simpson and Scott, General Hamilton followed the spoor of the Pretoria commando up hill and down dale, over circuitous bridle-paths and into deep kloofs in the sides of the hills north-east of Amsterdam, hunting, and chasing, and burrowing. As reward of his dogged patience and perseverance forty-nine Boers were hemmed in and taken (among this number General Erasmus and Mr. Custer, late J.P. of Amsterdam). Colonel Wing, who was at the same time engaged in identical exploits, brought in twenty prisoners and five waggons.

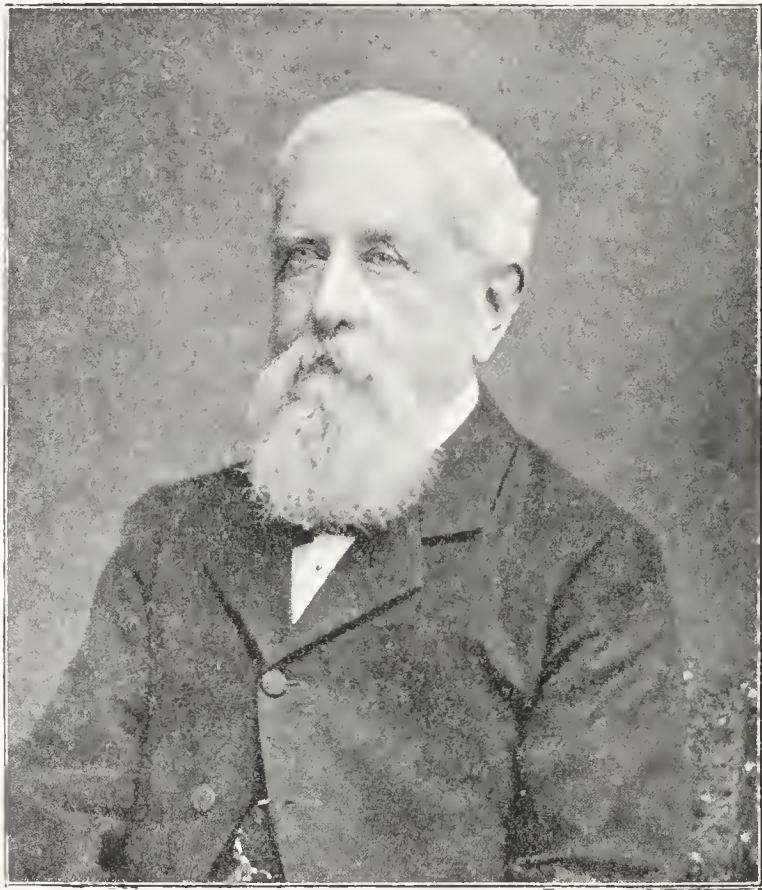
While these activities were going forward in the east, Generals Spens and Plumer, and Colonel Colville, on a line Beginderlyn - Rotterdam - Derby, watched the surrounding districts, and here on the 3rd of January Plumer's New Zealanders encountered the enemy at Twyfelaar. Fighting fast and furious, during which the commanding officer and twenty Colonials were wounded, resulted in the discomfiture of the foe and a loss to them of 300 cattle and a wagon-load of ammunition.

Another fierce engagement took place on the following day, when Major Vallentin with fifty mounted men were following up the band which had attacked the New Zealanders. Suddenly, upon the small party rushed some hundreds of the enemy, galloping at full speed. There were about a hundred in the first line, while about fifty were thrown back on each flank, the movement being covered by heavy fire from a crowd of dismounted riflemen in the background. Thus outnumbered, the British band realised that there was nothing for it but to sell life dearly, and in the desperate hand-to-hand conflict Major Vallentin and 18 men fell, 5 officers and 28 men were wounded, and indeed the small company would have been utterly annihilated but for the timely arrival of reinforcements under Colonel Pulteney, who forced the enemy to retire. But the Boer loss was considerable, for General Opperman, the leader of the eastern group of commandos, perished, together with nine others. Three wounded were left on our hands.

The enemy also had given considerable trouble to General Spens, who spent December working between Standerton and Ermelo. On the night of the 18th, the General detached the 14th Mounted Infantry under Major Bridg-

The Transvaal War

ford to search the farms dotted around the junction of the Vaal with the Kaffir Spruit. After a long night's march he encountered at dawn a gang of Boers. These he chased with the utmost zeal, but while, as result of the pursuit, the troops were scattered on a wide front, they were assailed by a vastly superior force under Commandant Britz. The engagement was desperate and our losses were lamentable, many men being taken prisoners. These were fortunately recovered later, but the enemy escaped punishment. Lieutenant Stirling, Dublin Fusiliers, and the remainder of the party fought their way doggedly through the enemy, and returned to the nearest point on the Standerton-Ermelo block-



GENERAL BEATSON

(Photo by Russell & Sons, London)

house line. Among the wounded were Captain G. F. W. Brindley, 2nd Manchester Regiment (since dead); Captain B. H. H. Cooke, Rifle Brigade; Lieutenant P. S. Fryer, 2nd West Yorks Regiment; Lieutenant B. A. W. C. Moeller, 2nd Middlesex Regiment; Second Lieutenant L. P. Russell, 2nd West Yorks Regiment (since dead).

At the end of the month combined action was taken to dispose of Commandant Britz's guerillas, and to commence the pursuit the troops of General Plumer, Spens, and Colonel Pulteney assembled at Amersfoort on the 28th. Promptly some seven prisoners were captured near Schuilplaats, and Britz sent scurrying towards Platrand. Here General Spens came upon him again, and relieved him of twenty-four of his followers. The rest broke up into small knots running the gauntlet of the blockhouses, and some of them dropping

In the Northern Transvaal

wounded from their fire, while others sought shelter in the north along the Vaal River.

Some Boers at this time had succeeded in bursting into the protected area to the east of Springs, and the pursuit of them occupied Colonel Allenby's troops and General G. Hamilton's Cavalry Brigade. These succeeded in capturing sixty, while others surrendered to the Constabulary. In the securing of these interlopers some very exciting and interesting adventures are related. Major Butler and the Carabineers on the 18th accounted for thirty-four who were running riot south-west of Brugspruit, and on the 5th of January, north of Bethel, the 13th Hussars, under Major Williams, brilliantly effected the surprise of Breytenbach's laager, taking 11 prisoners, 200 horses, 600 cattle, 50 mules, and 6 carts. The Commandant himself in the midst of the scrimmage made off with true Boer velocity, but Captain Tremayne (13th Hussars), who was better mounted than his men, spied the fugitive and engaged in a neck and neck race with the Dutchman and, single-handed, secured him.

Colonels Park and Urmston, in the midst of atrocious weather, made vigorous efforts to locate the so-called Boer Government, which was reported to be hidden north of the Delagoa line. Colonel Park on the night of the 19th was attacked in his camp at Elandspruit by a strong force under Muller, Trichardt, and Krieger. A tremendous amount of hard fighting took place before the guerillas were repulsed, and the losses on both sides were heavy. Of the British one officer and seven men were killed, and five officers and twenty-four non-commissioned officers and men were wounded. Of the Boers eight dead and three wounded were left on the ground. The number of those removed could not be ascertained. Among the slain were Commandant Krieger and Field-Cornet Malan. From the 21st to Christmas Day the two columns co-operated, skirmishing with and chasing the foe, who in small bodies flitted hither and thither in the dense mists that hung around Dullstroom. On the 22nd Colonel Urmston's efforts were almost crowned with success. He occupied a Boer laager some miles north of Dullstroom from whence the Boer Government *in a Cape cart* some hours previously had fled.

IN THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

To west of the Pietersburg line Colonels Colenbrander and Dawkins' co-operative system worked splendidly. Boers who evaded the one fled into the open arms of the other! In this way Commandant Badenhorst with twenty-two of his party was secured on the 11th December. Fleeing hot foot from the Fighting Scouts he dropped into the maw of the Mounted Infantry, who had been vigilantly preparing to "welcome the coming guest." Later in the month Colonel Dawkins started for Harrismith to reinforce General Rundle's command, while Colonel Colenbrander moved to Rooiberg, and from thence pursued Boers to Jericho, a place near the Crocodile River, where sixty prisoners and much stock were secured. Early in the year he passed on towards the neighbourhood of Waterval, made a brilliant night march on the Magato's Nek in the small hours of the 4th of January, and surprised the enemy at dawn. A stiff engagement ensued, in which five of the enemy were killed and twenty-nine made prisoners. Not many days after Colonel Colenbrander was fortunate enough in delivering from the hand of the native Chief, Linchwe, a number of Boer women and children. The Chief with a following of 2000 had started forth vowing vengeance on the Boers for having stolen his stock, and determining to recapture his property. He was prevailed on by the

The Transvaal War

Colonel, however, to retire to Pilansberg, and thus, much to the relief of the families of the enemy throughout the district, an awkward and probably disastrous complication was averted.

TRANSVAAL (WEST)

Lord Methuen and Colonel Kekewich continued operations from Klerksdorp. The former on the 13th December sighted a Boer convoy, gave chase with all available mounted troops, and after covering seven miles as hard as they could go, secured all the waggons. These were the property of Van Rensburg's men, and there was grim satisfaction in the knowledge that for a few days at least the marauders would be on short commons. A dash was made on the 16th for Potgieter's laager, which was comfortably posted on the southern slopes of the Makwassie range (near Wolmaranstad). The night march was splendidly managed, and dawn found Lord Methuen in possession of a tremendous haul of prisoners, horses, and cattle. His success was materially assisted by the operations of Colonel Kekewich at Korannafontein, who kept the commandos of Celliers and Vermaas engaged, prevented them going to the assistance of the captured laager, and blocked the roads to the north.

Further operations were continued south-west of Klerksdorp at the end of the month. Early in the year Lord Methuen's force engaged in an animated chase westwards after a convoy which unfortunately had had a long start of them. The chase appeared to be a failure, but subsequently it was discovered that Lord Methuen's tactics had caused the convoy to seek safety by a sudden double to the south, with the result that it ran straight upon the Kimberley column of Major Paris, who joyously took possession of 40 waggons and over 1000 head of cattle. Thus did one man sow and another reap!

Colonel Kekewich ended the month in keen pursuit of Potgieter's men. He had some exciting adventures, and made many small but useful captures. Colonel Hickie's column covered the extension of the new blockhouse line from Ventersdorp to Tafelkop, which point was occupied, much to the discomfiture of the Boers, who had made it a *pied-à-terre* for some time past.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY

The Orange Colony was gradually becoming too peaceable for De Wet's liking. The great chief, after some deliberations at a Kriessraad held on the 11th December, determined on a new plan. Finding that the system of scattering his forces resolved itself into a steady decrease of their numbers in consequence of the energy of our mobile columns, and discovering also that evasive and defensive tactics ended in his gang becoming hemmed in by the advancing blockhouse lines, he decided on concentration. He meant with his force to avoid direct collision with British columns, but decided to choose his own times and seasons for pouncing on and overpowering odd detachments on duty bound, whom he might chance to entrap. This new system brought about some unfortunate surprises and defeats of the British, but as our small but gallant little parties were not overpowered without deadly cost, there was every chance that the system would ensure an earlier collapse of the enemy's power to prolong the struggle.

A clever combined movement of the division under General Elliot, with the columns of Rimington, Byng, Damant, and Wilson, began on the 8th Decem-

Orange River Colony

ber. The enemy were given the impression that the six columns were bound for the east, consequently they made an attempt to break back through the columns in small parties to the west. But a complete countermarch of the British troops on a given date (the 11th) ended in their being driven to the west quicker than they intended, and hemmed into the angle marked by the main line of railway and the Wolvenhoek-Frankfort line of blockhouses. Of course many of them were "slim" enough to see in time the threatened danger and evade the bristles of the British broom, but the troops captured 43 prisoners, 780 horses, 3000 cattle, and 187 vehicles.

It was now evident that a concentration of Boers was taking place at Kaffir Kop, north-west of Bethlehem. General Elliot's division from Kroonstad, General Dartnell's men from Elands River Bridge, and Colonel Barker's men from Winburg co-operated so as to close in on the Kop from west, north-west, and north-east. But unfortunately the Boers, smelling menace in the air, dispersed even as the troops approached. Still the action was not without results, for Colonel Barker at Vaalbank, in an engagement with 500 Boers on the 16th (Dingaan's Day), killed the Boer leader Haasbroek, and disposed of a formidable foe.

General Dartnell on the 18th, in the last stage of his return journey to Elands River Bridge, came into collision with De Wet, who, from a strong position along the Tygerkloop Spruit, disputed his further advance. Furious fighting followed, the Boers assailing General Dartnell's flank and rearguard, the Imperial Light Horse, spirited as ever, holding their own gloriously. Finally to their succour came General B. Campbell from Bethlehem (he had established signalling communication during the fight), and the Boers were forced to beat a hurried retreat in the direction of Reitz.

Nothing daunted, De Wet made a new effort, and, alas! a successful one. On the 25th, in the direction of Tweefontein (nine miles west of Elands River Bridge), he turned up again where a covering force was watching the construction of the Harrismith-Bethlehem blockhouse line.

This force, temporarily commanded by Major G. A. Williams, 1st South Staffordshire Regiment, consisted of the 34th, 35th, 36th, and 53rd Companies Imperial Yeomanry, and one gun of the 79th Battery and a pom-pom. It lay that night on the slope of a lonely kopje; the outpost line held the crest, the camp being situated on a gentle slope to north. The south side was steep. From this steep and apparently unprotected side the Boers by night, at 2 A.M. on the 25th, delivered their attack, scrambling up the heights exactly in the swift and silent way they had mounted Wagon Hill on the 6th of January 1900, and rushed the piquets in overwhelming numbers. The ridge secured, there followed a dash through the camp, and so swift was the movement that many of our officers and men were shot down before they had become aware of what had happened. It was a deplorable affair, and Major Williams paid for what mistakes he may have made with his life. Five other officers were killed and also 51 men; 8 officers and 81 men were wounded. Lieutenant Harwich himself fired with the pom-pom, and was shot through the heart in the act. Lieutenant Watney (Imperial Yeomanry) was killed as he headed the gallant charge on the enemy. A Boer prisoner gave the following account of the fight: Commandant Mears on the previous day spied round the camp, noting the exact positions of the guns. After sunset De Wet assembled over six hundred men and moved on Colonel Firman's camp, arriving within a thousand yards at two o'clock on Christmas morning unobserved. The Boers marched to the foot of the hill on which the camp was. There they left their

The Transvaal War

horses, and scaled the precipitous height. When the sentry challenged them the Boers yelled madly, hoping thus to create confusion, and rushed into the British camp, shooting our men down point-blank as they came out of their tents. Our gunners, who were firing the guns at a range of forty yards, were overpowered, and the camp was captured after a fierce hand-to-hand conflict. Some Boers who lagged behind when the enemy charged the hill were sjamboked along by De Wet and Brand. The official casualty list of the Boers was fourteen killed, including Commandant Oliver, of Bethlehem, and Field-Cornet Lawrence, and thirty-two wounded.

At this time General Rundle, with a small column, was encamped some 2½ miles to the east of this lonely hill. Hearing the firing he despatched Colonel Tudway, D.A.A.G., and his Mounted Infantry to ascertain the cause, and at the same time summoned two regiments of Imperial Light Horse from the neighbourhood of Elands River Bridge. Quickly the Boers discovered their peril, and made off into the Langeberg, carrying with them the gun and pom-pom they had captured in their attack on the camp.

General Elliot, on hearing of this unfortunate affair, promptly started off on a series of chases after De Wet, which chases were fraught with much fatigue and considerable danger; but they failed in their main object, though many captures of more insignificant kind were made. As an idea of the distances covered in a week by General Elliot's columns, the following table was given by Lord Kitchener:—On December 29, marched seventy miles in close pursuit of De Wet; on 31st December, twenty miles; on 4th January, sixty miles.

Before De Wet enjoyed the short-lived triumph of Christmas day, Wessels, in the neighbourhood of Tafel Kop, had distinguished himself on the 19th. The troops of Colonels Rimington and Damant were moving by night in a fierce thunderstorm by parallel roads three miles apart to cover an extension of the blockhouse line. Damant's advance guard beheld suddenly a force approaching. This force was kharki clad, and affected the formation usual with regular mounted troops. They also, as they advanced, fired volleys in the direction of some Boers who were escaping across the front of two British forces. Naturally our men were deceived, and this clever ruse enabled the Dutchmen to seize the crest of a kopje which commanded the whole field and also the guns and the main body of our troops. But even in their inferior position Damant's gallant fellows fought nobly and tenaciously to save the guns which accompanied the advance guard—so nobly, indeed, that every officer and man, except four, of the leading troops were shot down before reinforcements from the main body and Colonel Rimington's column came to the rescue. When these loomed in the distance the Boers wisely relinquished their attack, and fled over the Wilge pursued for many miles by Colonel Rimington's troops. Colonel Damant himself was wounded in four places, and many of his staff were killed and wounded as they fought gallantly with their revolvers till shot down. The casualties among officers were: Lieutenant R. G. Maturin, 39th Battery Royal Field Artillery (wounded); Captain H. J. P. Jeffcoat, Royal Field Artillery Pom-poms (killed); Captain C. L. Gaussen, 91st Company Imperial Yeomanry (killed); Captain G. A. C. Webb, Royal Munster Fusiliers (attached Damant's Horse) (wounded); Lieutenant C. H. A. Wilson, Damant's Horse (wounded); Lieutenant W. J. Shand, Cameron Highlanders (attached Damant's Horse) (wounded, since dead); Lieutenant L. W. Armstrong, 91st Company Imperial Yeomanry (wounded). Out of a total force of ninety-five in action, we had seventy-five killed and wounded, while of three officers and forty-two men of



DE WET'S ATTEMPT TO CROSS THE RAILWAY.

Blockhouse and Armoured Train at work.

Orange River Colony

the 91st Yeomanry, one officer and fourteen men were killed, and one officer and sixteen men wounded. Some truly heroic deeds were performed. Captain Jeffcoat, D.S.O., continued gallantly to work his gun under close and heavy fire till he dropped dead. Lieutenant Maturin, although wounded, collected some men and got the limbers out of fire; while Captain Webb and Lieutenant Shand charged boldly forward to a ridge, which they held till all save two of their men were killed or wounded. Captain Gaussen (91st Company Imperial Yeomanry) and Lieutenant Diving, who commanded the escort to the guns, displayed almost reckless gallantry, and the same may be said of Lieutenant Clive Wilson. Dr. Wedderburn pursued his deeds of mercy to the wounded, regardless of the rain of bullets that overtook him.

The following particulars of this gallant fight were obtained from the men engaged in it by the correspondent of the *Central News*:—

“The columns under Colonel Damant and Colonel Rimington left Frankfort on the 19th inst. and proceeded in the direction of Vrede. The force trekked all night through a most severe thunderstorm, during which three of our men were struck by lightning and killed.

“On reaching the neighbourhood of Tafelkop, Damant rushed a Boer piquet, killing one man and capturing Commandant Gyter.

“At daybreak the transport waggons were laagered, and were left behind in charge of a small escort, while Damant with two guns of the 39th Battery, and one pom-pom and ninety-five men all told, rushed forward. The little force deviated on the left flank, where a number of Boers had been located.

“On reaching a ridge Colonel Damant observed a party of seventy men dressed in British uniform busily engaged driving cattle in his direction. The strangers were at first taken to be a part of Rimington’s column which had gone out on the right flank. The mistake was soon discovered, however, and almost immediately another body of the enemy was located further to the left of the British laager.

“Our guns were speedily unlimbered, and quickly came into action. We had only been able to fire two shots when the Boers in charge of the cattle abandoned them and galloped boldly forward towards the British position.

“The enemy opened a galling fire on the gunners at a range of two hundred yards, and simultaneously another party of 150 Boers who had remained carefully concealed in ambush in the long grass at the foot of the ridge enfiladed the position.

“A large number of the gallant defenders fell at the first few volleys, but the survivors fought tenaciously, and the enemy were only able to rush and capture the position after all the men on the ridge had been either killed or wounded except three.

“Previous to this, however, some of the gallant gunners and the escort had succeeded in getting away the limbers of the guns, notwithstanding the heavy fire. The only gunner who had escaped the bullets then effectually destroyed the breech-blocks of the guns and rendered them utterly useless to the enemy. Out of a total force of 95 in action we had 75 killed and wounded, while of the 91st Yeomanry, one officer and 14 men were killed and one officer and 10 men wounded.

“The Boers, who were under Commandants Wessels, Ross, and M. Botha—the latter the son of the Commandant-General—also lost heavily. They had Commandant Vandermerwe and 30 men killed. Three of the Boer dead were buried by our men, and the remainder were carried away.

“Later in the day a Boer came in under a flag of truce and asked for an armistice in order to allow the enemy to attend to their wounded and bury their dead.

“The survivors on our side state that the Boers behaved badly to our wounded on the ridge after the position had been rushed. Every one who made a movement while lying on the ground was fired at. An officer of the Yeomanry asked permission from a Boer dressed in kharki to get water for our wounded. For reply the Boer discharged his Mauser point blank at the officer’s head, but fortunately missed him.

“Several more of the enemy robbed and stripped our wounded and dead, and were only restrained from perpetrating further outrages by their commandants, who used sjamboks freely.

“The Boers were terribly angry when they discovered they were unable to move or use the guns which they had captured.

“Meanwhile Captain Scott had got together a small force and came up to the assistance of Damant’s men.

The Transvaal War

"Scott prepared to charge the position, when the enemy, mistaking his men for Rimington's column, hastily retreated. The fleeing Boers, however, fell right into the arms of Rimington's force, which was coming up to Damant's support. Rimington opened fire, and the enemy lost a few killed, while five were captured.

"Rimington, with the remainder of Damant's force, chased the flying enemy across the Wilge River.

"There appears to have been lately a large concentration of the enemy under De Wet at Tafelkop. Large parties of determined fighters under the immediate command of M. Botha, Meintjes, Tallvaard, Steenkamp, and Bucknill are now laying in ambush about the district, waiting to attack small columns."

In the south-western parts of the Orange Colony the process of clearance continued, the troops bringing to the monotonous labour the utmost patience and cheeriness. In the north-western portion the troops under Major Pack Beresford (South African Constabulary) did a remarkable amount of work. At the end of December they made a dashing raid on Bothaville, which led to the capture of 36 prisoners, 80 horses, and 29 vehicles; and early in the new year, in Ukenaimer, they secured the whole of Field-Cornet Theron's laager and transport, with 35 prisoners, among them Field-Cornet Le Roux.

CAPE COLONY

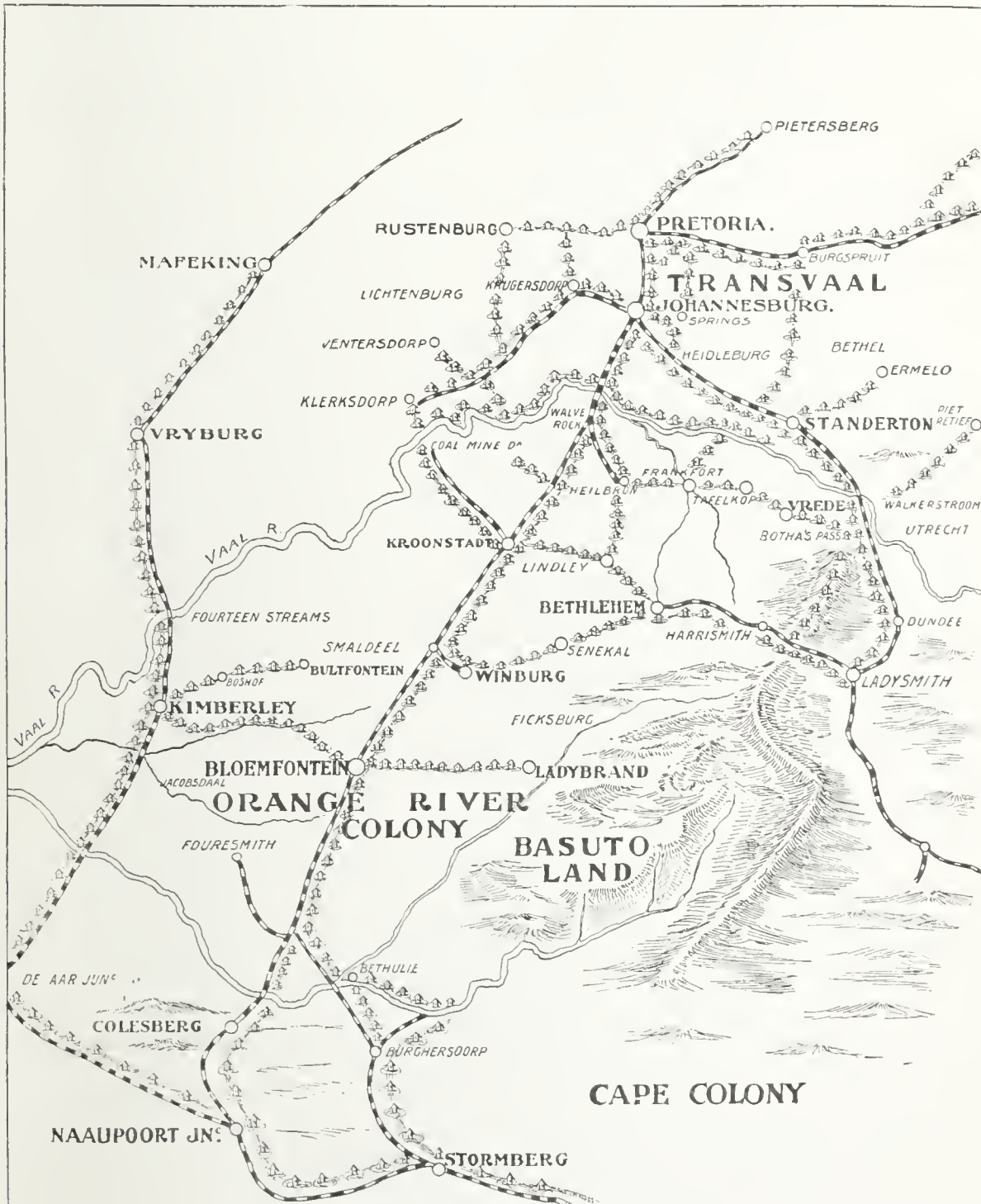
In the Cape Colony Major-General Sir H. H. Settle assumed command in succession to Major-General Wynne, who returned to England. Affairs otherwise remained as before, though the bands of Fouché and Myburg were disorganised and broken up by the excellent and continuous work of Colonel Munro and Scobell, and Lovat's invaluable Scouts. The guerillas were now fewer and farther between, spending their time lurking in the hills around Dordrecht, Jamestown, and Ladygrey, and indulging in acts of brigandage according to the state of their appetites. The great incident of the month was the capture of Kruitzinger. This was effected on the 16th of December. The raider, returning to the Cape Colony with an escort of one hundred men, came into contact near Hanover with the blockhouses held by the Grenadier Guards on the Naauwpoort-De Aar line of railway. The collision was sharp and short, and the commander and twelve of his men were wounded and finally captured. The rest of the escort escaped to the south, and were pursued into the Aberdeen district by troops under Colonel B. Doran and Major Lord W. Cavendish Bentinck.

A gradually widening line of blockhouses running 200 miles (from Lambert's Bay to Calvinia and Victoria West) threatened shortly to limit the raiders' sphere of operation, but till this was complete the chases continued. Colonel Doran, on the 9th, surprised and buffeted Nesser's rebels near Brandwagt, thirty miles east-north-east of Calvinia. One Boer was killed and eight were captured. The rest scuttled in small parties to the Clanwilliam district, in hope to reassemble and pounce on the next convoy coming their way. This much-desired prize at last appeared, and was attacked with intense energy at dawn on the 22nd. It was escorted by columns under Colonel Crabbe and Wyndham, who, despite the strength and desperate determination of the foe, managed to repulse them. But the next day the enemy, hungering after the tantalising supplies, betook themselves to a high ridge commanding the line of advance and there lay ensconced awaiting the precious convoy. But after all they went empty away, for the 16th Lancers, with tremendous dash, rushed the entrenchments and drove them at full gallop into space.

The Situation

THE SITUATION—JANUARY 1902

Over a year had passed since Lord Kitchener had embarked on the duties of Commander-in-Chief, and it was now possible to examine the system on which



THE BLOCKHOUSE SYSTEM

the war had been conducted, and the extent of progress made. The great and most important part of the work, which was still continuing, was the dividing of the settled from the unsettled portions of the country. The development

The Transvaal War

of the blockhouse system, which effectually blocked the inroads of the marauders, went on apace, and already some 14,700 square miles of the Transvaal, and 17,000 square miles of the Orange River Colony were entirely shut off from their incursions. The area protected in the Transvaal was bounded on the north by a line from Zeerust to Middelburg, on the east from Middelburg to Standerton, on the south from Standerton to Klerksdorp, on the west from Klerksdorp to Zeerust. The Orange River Colony protected area went right across the colony south of the line from Kimberley to Winburg, Winburg to Bloemfontein, and Bloemfontein to Ladybrand. Within these boundaries the Boer could not exist, and beyond them the task of clearing the country and hunting down the enemy was pursued by means of small mobile columns.

The work and activity of these columns throughout the year had been enormous. Though about 10,000 Boers remained sprinkled in the field, some 53,000 (half of which number had been accounted for during the last year) had been either killed, wounded, imprisoned, or protected in concentration camps. In regard to these camps a great deal had been said by the enemies of the Government for the purpose of raising a cry of inhumanity against the Ministers, but in a speech made by Mr. Brodrick he lucidly and concisely examined and disposed of these charges. "So long," he said, "as every house in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony was used at once as a telegraph station, a recruiting office, and a refectory for the enemy, it became impossible for Lord Kitchener to ignore the necessity of relieving the country of the population which was rendering futile the exertions of our troops. Under these circumstances you have to consider not what their condition is now as compared with what it would be in time of peace, but what their condition is now as compared with what it would have been if they had been left on their farms. You have not got to consider the difference between luxury and privation, but between starvation and great suffering, and the less suffering we can arrange for." He further showed that to a large extent the disease in the camp was due to the fact that the majority of persons who came in (some compulsorily, but the greater number voluntarily) were already half-starved, their resources being at an end, and half-clothed, with their bodies in a condition fitted for the reception of disease. Under those circumstances a large death-rate was certain.

But, he asked, what nation engaged in war has at any time, in any country, or under any conditions, endeavoured to feed, clothe, house, nurse, doctor, and educate 150,000 persons, who have been left on their hands by the enemy, whom they had called on—as Lord Roberts did on two occasions—to take over and maintain their own belongings, but who said they would leave them on our hands. And again, he explained that far from any inhumanity being shown the enemy, many of the troubles had been prolonged by excessive leniency to men who, on many occasions, had violated the rules of civilised warfare. For the last year and before it there had been instances of firing on ambulances, professing to surrender and opening fire again, or firing on the wounded, breaches of parole and treachery, which had provoked no retaliation, no deviation from the usages of the civilised warfare on our part. He put forth reasons which accounted for the abnormal death-rate in the concentration camps, showing in the first place that a death-rate in a camp whence all the healthy males have been removed, cannot be looked on as an ordinary death-rate. He said: "If you look only at infants, it has been pointed out that in the thirty-three great towns of the Kingdom the mortality is 248 per 1000. Birkenhead goes up even to 362 per 1000. Therefore, those who compare the

The Situation

death-rate in these camps with the ordinary death-rate of the great towns are, of course, speaking wrongly. I have heard of people who think that measles cannot have much effect on the death-rate. But what of the *gardes mobiles* of Paris during the siege, whose death-rate was 40 per cent. in measles cases?" The critics who had discussed the camps had not taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with the ordinary statistics of Boer farm life, for, had they done so, they might have taken into consideration the fact that though many Boers had families of twenty children, as a rule, owing to the neglect, ignorance, or apathy of the parents, only two to a family survived. For this reason their population has not been equal to that of other nations in the same conditions. It is only by a study of the habits of life of these people prior to the English rule that it is possible to judge whether they had in the camps the comfort they were accustomed to. Luxury is but comparative, and, as has been shown, the luxury of soap and other sanitary precautions were ignored by the lower classes of Boers from earliest times. In regard to the matter of diet, that these persons received food at all was a marvel, considering that every convoy had to be protected from their marauding relatives by the lives of our own valiant men, men who themselves were not without anxiety as to how their own wives, mothers, and babes were faring at home in their absence, and who themselves, after a long career of hazard and usefulness, might share a less enviable fate.

In addition to the accusations regarding the concentration camps, invented by traitors to the country that housed and sheltered them, there were other arguments to be met. "How is it, if you send this vast number of horses—if you have your columns—if you have good leaders who are well equipped—that our men cannot catch the enemy? Is your intelligence defective; is your system at fault?" The explanation given by Mr. Brodrick, one which showed a serious development of the war, was this: "The system of our country and people with regard to the Kaffir is different from the Boer system. The Boer columns have only too frequently in the last few months eluded our columns by hiding their tracks, by murdering the Kaffirs behind them. It is a serious charge, and I make it only for this reason, that I had occasion to notice that in the secret intelligence reports so many cases were mentioned of the murder of Kaffirs that I telegraphed to Lord Kitchener to ask whether this was a general practice, or whether it was the occasion of isolated persons. His reply was: 'Cold-blooded murders by the Boers have been frequent of late. It was only on the 10th inst. two dead infants were found with their hands tied behind them down a main shaft at Freylingstadt.' The leader of a column, whose letter I saw not long ago, mentioned that he was within two or three hours of a column of the enemy whom he had been pursuing for a considerable number of hours—that was at a Kaffir kraal—and he found the place deserted, but in one of the houses he found four little Kaffir boys, all under twelve, all with their heads battered in two or three hours before." Mr. Brodrick proceeded to explain that he did not bring this forward with the intention of making an impeachment against the whole Boer nation. Indeed, the statement was forced from him by friends of the enemy who at one time jeered at the Government and our Military Commanders for not beating the Boers, and at another complained that negotiations and blandishments were not substituted for the slow system of physical pressure that was found by the Commander-in-Chief to be the surest means to the end—the peaceable end.

Both Lord Kitchener and Lord Milner decided that it was of no use either to threaten or to wheedle, the one and only thing was imperturbably to squeeze, reserving the policy of clemency for the proper season, when the surrendered

The Transvaal War

Boers should have become our fellow-subjects. Accordingly we still continued to pour fresh regiments into the country. Four thousand trained mounted troops were now on their way out to replace those that needed rest, and India was providing four battalions and two more cavalry regiments in return for other troops which would take their place there. Some militia regiments were also being sent to the front, and further Colonial contingents, so that thus reinforced the tired veterans would receive a fillip for future operations.

For reference in the future, when the resources of the Empire are studied, the following return of troops and horses sent out to South Africa between January 1, 1900, and December 31, 1901, may be found interesting :—

During	From Home and India.			
	Officers.	Warrant Officers.	N.C.O.'s and Men.	Horses
1900.				
January . . .	1,099	45	28,072	10,229
February . . .	1,362	47	32,356	5,701
March . . .	1,130	63	26,539	5,501
April . . .	480	18	11,692	4,522
May . . .	321	4	7,020	2,481
June . . .	271	7	10,092	2,649
July . . .	120	6	2,107	1,277
August . . .	93	7	3,137	832
September . . .	128	3	4,644	1,187
October . . .	113	4	2,337	2
November . . .	125	18	2,331	895
December . . .	106	9	1,080	591
Total for 1900 .	5,348	31	131,407	35,867
1901.				
January . . .	288	12	3,333	2,471
February . . .	275	3	5,225	1,495
March . . .	782	9	21,591	2,328
April . . .	366	12	4,498	2,724
May . . .	304	15	3,509	2,801
June . . .	287	11	5,532	2,481
July . . .	99	3	2,055	2,314
August . . .	179	13	3,546	1,672
September . . .	197	4	1,958	2,128
October . . .	191	13	1,466	2,401
November . . .	270	7	5,350	2,856
December . . .	619	16	11,686	5,024
Total for 1901 .	3,857	118	69,749	30,695
Grand Total .	9,205	349	201,156	66,562

The Situation

During	Colonial Contingents.				Remounts from Abroad.	Totals.			
	Officers.	Warrant Officers.	N.C.O.'s and Men.	Horses.		Officers.	Warrant Officers.	N.C.O.'s and Men.	Horses.
1900.									
January .	134	2	2,080	2,145	840	1,233	47	30,152	13,214
February .	69	3	1,313	1,384	2,703	1,431	50	33,669	9,788
March .	149	1	2,739	3,065	10,341	1,279	64	29,278	18,907
April .	45	...	834	880	7,879	525	18	12,526	13,281
May .	81	1	1,349	1,690	7,761	402	5	8,369	11,932
June .	...	...	...	...	12,551	271	7	10,092	15,200
July .	...	...	...	...	3,305	120	6	2,107	4,582
August .	...	...	...	...	5,293	93	7	3,137	6,125
September .	...	...	...	...	8,680	128	3	4,644	9,867
October .	...	...	...	...	2,213	113	4	2,337	2,215
November .	...	...	...	...	1,120	125	18	2,331	2,015
December .	...	...	...	...	5,272	106	9	1,080	5,863
Total for 1900 .	478	7	8,315	9,164	67,958	5,826	238	139,722	112,989
1901.									
January .	17	...	567	580	4,224	305	12	3,900	7,275
February .	77	1	1,424	1,391	5,991	352	4	6,649	8,877
March .	162	6	3,806	2,722	9,022	944	15	25,397	14,072
April .	86	3	1,672	1,951	4,850	452	15	6,170	9,525
May .	3	...	2	...	4,384	307	15	3,511	7,185
June .	...	...	...	...	4,742	287	11	5,532	7,223
July .	9	...	7	...	9,130	108	3	2,062	11,444
August .	21	2	324	...	7,800	200	15	3,870	9,472
September .	...	...	...	...	7,550	197	4	1,958	9,678
October .	...	...	...	...	10,728	191	13	1,466	13,129
November .	...	...	...	...	8,099	270	7	5,350	10,955
December .	...	...	...	...	15,463	619	16	11,686	20,487
Total for 1901 .	375	12	7,802	6,644	91,983	4,232	130	77,551	129,322
Grand Total .	853	19	16,117	15,808	159,941	10,058	368	217,273	242,311

The Transvaal War

Owing to the efficacy of Lord Kitchener's slow but sure efforts the railway disasters became fewer. In October 1900 the railway was cut thirty-two times, or more than once per day. In November thirty times, in December twenty-one times, in January sixteen, in February (after De Wet's incursion into Cape Colony) thirty, in March eighteen, in April eighteen, in May twelve, in June eight, in July four, in August four, in September two, and in October not at all. Thus it became possible for more than a hundred refugees per week to resume work at Johannesburg.

The supreme authority throughout the Transvaal rested with Lord Kitchener. Civil considerations had of necessity to give way to military exigency. The work of the civil authorities was naturally restricted and subject to limitations from which on the return to normal conditions it would be freed. Nevertheless they acted with foresight, preparing such seeds as would ensure a good harvest in time to come. In a report made to Mr. Chamberlain in December, Lord Milner spoke hopefully of this happy era: "We have come into possession of a magnificent estate, which has been woefully mismanaged. As far as local administration is concerned—I am not speaking of the political development of South Africa as a whole—it requires no extraordinary statesmanship, it simply requires ordinary decent government and reasonable liberality in public finance to ensure not only a great advance in material prosperity, but in all the essentials of civilisation." Lord Milner also expressed the opinion that, terrible as had been the ravages of the war, the great fact remained that the Transvaal possesses an amount of mineral wealth virtually unaffected by the war which will ensure the prosperity of South Africa for the next fifty years, and other resources, both industrial and agricultural, which, properly developed, should make it a rich country, humanly speaking, for ever.

Before constructing the blockhouse lines Lord Kitchener determined that the enemy must be deprived of his guns. His efforts in that direction were speedily rewarded. By June 1901 nearly the whole Boer artillery was captured or had been destroyed by the Boers themselves. General French was responsible for the capture of guns in the Eastern Transvaal, and we know how effectively his work was carried out. General Babington deprived Delarey of nine guns, two were taken by Rawlinson and more by Dartnell and others. In all twenty-seven guns were reported to have been taken during the year; twenty-six of them during the months of February, March, April, and May. They included half-a-dozen pom-poms, seven or eight Maxims, several 15-pounders, Krupp guns of varying calibre, Creusot, Hotchkiss, and quick-firing guns. In addition to these armaments, more than half-a-dozen of our own guns taken from British positions at various times were recovered. Of rifles 7993 were captured, and during the year it was estimated that 8589 vehicles had been taken by the British. In fact the process of the gradual depletion of the enemy's resources had been most effective. The number of prisoners taken was about 27,000. The surrenders prior to Lord Kitchener's proclamation in August had averaged about 500 a month. During the later months the surrenders decreased, while the number of prisoners captured increased. Naturally at the close of the year there was a decline in the number of Boer casualties, for the continued attrition of the Boer resistance necessarily reduced the number of antagonists accounted for.

In an intercepted letter from Mr. Schalk Burger to Mr. Steyn, dated Tautesberg, March 21, 1901, stating that the condition of the Boers at that time was becoming very serious, the Acting President said:—

"The question is, what must we, what shall we do? May we, can we,



GENERAL BABINGTON.

Photo Charles Knight, London.

The Situation

continue the struggle further? I pray the Lord day and night to give us wisdom and light hereon, and cause us not to sin against His will, but also not to fall into disbelief. If we are convinced that our last resources are exhausted, our last strength broken, we must bow down and surrender ourselves to the power of the enemy, no matter how bitter this cup may be to us. I can, however, not yet decide upon this latter course. My hope and trust is still that we shall be delivered and saved; the sacrifices of lives, prayers, and misery, are too great not to be crowned with our hopes and expectations, according to our belief. As you will see for yourself, from the correspondence between Lord Kitchener and Commandant-General Botha, there is no mention of terms which meet us in any way, therefore I keep to the decision to surrender unconditionally if this must happen, which I trust God forbid. No, let us keep our nation unsullied, to receive no favour from our enemy, that the gulf which exists through former years and this cruel war remains and still widens. 'Where there is a will there's a way,' and if we are not exiled, we can, by exerting our strength, form committees, and supported by loving gifts from Europe, again build up our country and people, to advance our language and religion, to educate our children, and to keep alive our oppressed national spirit and cause it to come to life again. This is my ideal."

Many months had now elapsed since the penning of that letter, and the condition of the Boers had gone from bad to worse. Their hitherto stubborn resistance was now little more than suicidal lunacy. A rough estimate of their losses for the year, so far as could be judged, is shown in the following table :—

1901.	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.	Surrenders.	Total.
January . .	Killed and wounded, 670		Prisoners and surrenders, 2,174		2,844
February . .					
March . .					
April . .					
May . .	153	90	1,512	535	2,290
June . .	223	109	1,074	504	1,910
July . .	147	111	1,045	367	1,670
August . .	202	86	1,504	549	2,341
September .	170	114	1,379	393	2,056
October . .	425	368	980	197	1,970
November .	233	269	1,156	93	1,751
December .	164	97	1,106	121	1,488
Total . .	1,717	1,244	9,756	2,759	18,320

Lord Milner, in reviewing the situation at the end of the year, commended the marked change which had come to pass :—

"Six months ago the enemy were everywhere, outside the principal towns. It is true they held nothing, but they raided wherever they pleased, and, though mostly in small bodies, which made little or no attempt at resistance when seriously pressed, they almost invariably returned to their old haunts when the pressure was over. It looked as though the process might go on indefinitely. I had every opportunity of watching it, for during the first two months of my residence here it was in full swing in the immediate neighbourhood. There were half-a-dozen Boer strongholds, or rather trysting-places, quite close to Pretoria and Johannesburg, and the country round was quite useless to us for any purpose but that of marching through it, while the enemy seemed to find

The Transvaal War

no difficulty in subsisting there. To-day, on the other hand, a great quadrilateral, bounded roughly as follows: on the east by the Wilge River and a line drawn from its head-waters to Villiersdorp on the Vaal River; on the south, by the Vaal River from Villiersdorp to about Klerksdorp; on the west, by an irregular line drawn from Klerksdorp to the centre of the Magaliesberg Range; and on the north, by that range and the Pretoria-Delagoa Bay Railway, is virtually denied to the enemy. This area is more important, economically, politically, and strategically than all the rest of the Transvaal. It contains not only Pretoria and the whole of the Rand mining area, but one of the most important coalfields and a large extent of the best agricultural land. Similarly, a great improvement is manifest in the southern part of the Orange River Colony—the districts lying south of a line drawn from Ladybrand to Bloemfontein, and thence westward through Boshof to the colonial border. It would not be true to say that this region is entirely clear of the enemy, but great progress has recently been made in clearing it. Strategically this is a very important region owing to its central position, and to the fact that it connects the northern states with the ‘friendly and allied’ districts of Cape Colony.”

In discussing the Cape rebels he declared that—

“If the enemy now find this region difficult to live in, and impossible to traverse in any considerable numbers, the circumstance is both militarily and politically important, for it means that their dwindling numbers in the late Republics are now deprived of that reinforcement from the south, which has all along been of such immense assistance to them. For even holding, as I do (though competent opinions differ on the subject), that the number of colonial rebels who have actually crossed the border during the past twelve months has not been large, it would be hard to overestimate the moral support which Colonial information, sympathy, and encouragement, and the touch with the outside world maintained by free communication with Cape Colony, has hitherto afforded to the enemy. Such communication is now greatly hampered, and may soon become absolutely impossible.”

On the 25th of January a Peace Movement was made by the Dutch Government, in which it was proposed that the British Government should give safe conducts to three Boer delegates in order that they might go from Europe to induce their fighting compatriots to conclude a treaty of peace. Since a treaty is a compact between two Governments, and since one of the Governments—the Boer Government—ceased, with the annexation of the Boer territories, to exist, there was only one reply possible to the British Government, and this reply was given. The following is the text of the document:—

“THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE TO BARON GERICKE.

“FOREIGN OFFICE, *January 29, 1902.*

“SIR,—You were good enough to lay before me on the 25th instant a communication from the Netherland Government, in which it was proposed that, with the object of bringing the war to an end, his Majesty’s Government might grant a safe conduct to the Boer delegates now in Holland for the purpose of enabling them to confer with the Boer leaders in South Africa. It is suggested that after the conference the delegates might return to Europe with power to conclude a Treaty of Peace with this country, and the Netherland Government intimate that, in this event, they might at a later stage be instrumental in placing the Boer Plenipotentiaries in relation with the Plenipotentiaries who might be appointed by his Majesty’s Government.

“The Netherland Government intimate that if this project commends itself to his

The Situation

Majesty's Government, they will inquire of the delegates whether they are prepared to make the suggested visit to South Africa.

"It may therefore be inferred that the communication which I received from you was made on the responsibility of the Netherland Government alone, and without authority from the Boer delegates or leaders.

"His Majesty's Government have given it their best consideration, and, whilst they entirely appreciate the motives of humanity which have led the Netherland Government to make this proposal, they feel that they must adhere to the decision, adopted and publicly announced by them some months after the commencement of hostilities by the Boers, that it is not their intention to accept the intervention of any foreign Power in the South African War.

"Should the Boer delegates themselves desire to lay a request for safe conduct before his Majesty's Government, there is no reason why they should not do so. But his Majesty's Government are obviously not in a position to express an opinion on any such application until they have received it and are aware of its precise nature, and the grounds on which the request is made.

"I may, however, point out that it is not at present clear to his Majesty's Government that the delegates retain any influence over the representatives of the Boers in South Africa, or have any voice in their councils. They are stated by the Netherland Government to have no letters of credence or instructions later in date than March 1900. His Majesty's Government had, on the other hand, understood that all powers of government, including those of negotiation, were now completely vested in Mr. Steyn for the Boers of the Orange River Colony, and in Mr. Schalk Burger for those of the Transvaal.

"If this be so, it is evident that the quickest and most satisfactory means of arranging a settlement would be by direct communication between the leaders of the Boer forces in South Africa and the Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces, who has already been instructed to forward immediately any offers he may receive for the consideration of his Majesty's Government.

"In these circumstances his Majesty's Government have decided that if the Boer leaders should desire to enter into negotiations for the purpose of bringing the war to an end, those negotiations must take place, not in Europe, but in South Africa.

"It should, moreover, be borne in mind that if the Boer delegates are to occupy time in visiting South Africa, in consulting with the Boer leaders in the field, and in returning to Europe for the purpose of making known the results of their errand, a period of at least three months would elapse, during which hostilities would be prolonged, and much human suffering, perhaps needlessly, occasioned.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "LANSDOWNE."

Thus the situation remained much the same as before, save that the British more than ever realised the necessity of bringing home to the Boers the fact that the death-blow to their independence had been struck by Kruger's insolent ultimatum of October 1899.

THE LOYALISTS OF THE CAPE COLONY

Regarding this remarkable and long-suffering set of men, it would be possible to write a volume. Space limits us to a few lines. Yet, after all, deeds like theirs are best sung in the finest song of all—the song that has no sound. Some one has asked, What constitutes a State? The answer applies to those, the loyal and true, who have fought and suffered in the cause of home and country.

"Men who their duties know
But know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain,
Prevent the long-aimed blow
And crush the Tyrant while they rend the chain :
These constitute a State."

And these bulwarks of Great Britain's might were to be found in great strength in South Africa. Other colonies had contributed most generously in men and

The Transvaal War

money, but no other colony had been called on to endure what the Cape Colony had endured, and thus enduring, to act and to pay as this colony had acted and paid. Almost from the commencement of hostilities the Colonial forces—the Cape Mounted Rifles, Cape Police, South Rhodesian Volunteers, and others¹—had shown their grit and usefulness in the field and covered themselves with imperishable glory. If the burden of their maintenance had fallen hard on the resources of the country, the laurels they had won had clothed the harshness with an evergreen beauty, for the country must be eternally



MAP OF THE WESTERN PORTION OF CAPE COLONY

proud of the men who saved Wepener and of those who struggled and helped to save Mafeking. The outlines of Wepener's story have been given, and a little has been said of the Rhodesia Regiment that was raised by Colonel Plumer to protect the border in case of war, and in looking back over their operations it is difficult to say whether by their usefulness or their dash the Colonial "Irregulars" rendered themselves most conspicuous. During the war, of the Rhodesians Colonel Spreckley, Captain Crewe, Captain Butters, and Lieutenant Anderson lost their lives, but the borders of Rhodesia were

¹ See vol. iii. p. 161.

The Loyalists of Cape Colony

protected. During the siege of Wepener the Cape Mounted Rifles fought in more engagements than an ordinary General will count in a lifetime — yet they saved the place and came out of it to fight a renewed set of battles!

It must be admitted that all the Colonial troops entered into their work with the same cheeriness and military ardour, though all had not the same chance to win fame. The Tabaksberg engagement on 29th January afforded the Kaffrarian Rifles an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, and the following quotation from a letter from Colonel Crewe (commanding the Colonial Division in the Field) to the Mayor of East London serves to show how they availed themselves of it:—

“I am sure you will be pleased to hear of the gallant conduct of the Kaffrarian Rifles at the recent engagement at Tabaksberg on 29th January last, when the force under my command, some 700 in all, were engaged by the forces of De Wet and Steyn. With odds of 2500 to 700 against us, we were able to successfully maintain our position owing to the extreme bravery of the men I have the honour to command. Where all did well, the Kaffrarian Rifles did especially fine service. To Major Price and Captain Fairweather much of this success is due, and amongst the non-commissioned officers and men it is difficult to pick out names for special mention where all did so well. I am sure East London will be prouder than ever of her gallant sons. Both General C. Knox and Lord Kitchener have expressed their admiration of the behaviour of all ranks on that day.”

It seems unfair to make special mention of any single branch of the Colonial Volunteer Service, when all the Cape loyalists behaved in some way like “trumps” or veterans. The permanent forces of the Cape Government were grandly supported almost from the very first by the Cape Garrison Artillery, the Duke of Edinburgh’s Own, and the Cape Town Highlanders, and these, when the “call to arms” came, were finally backed up by the Town Guards, the Peninsula Horse, and other irregular forces that had been raised practically at a moment’s notice—drawn straight from the hearth and home to throw in their lot with the soldiers in the field. It was thanks to these that the colony was saved, and thanks to the Town Guard that the regular and irregular forces and volunteers were freed to push on to the front. Indeed, at one period of the war, the Cape Town Guard (which enrolled for three months and hung on to the end) were left almost entirely alone for the protection of the towns.

Lord Milner, who was greatly impressed by the conduct of the volunteers, thus expressed himself on the subject: “It is indeed calculated to exercise a most important and, I believe, beneficial influence upon the South African politics of the future. Among the principal causes of the trouble of the past and present was the contempt felt by the Africander countryman, used to riding and shooting, and generally in possession of a good rifle and plenty of cartridges, for other white men less habituated to arms than he was himself. That feeling can hardly survive the experience of the past twelve months, and especially of the last six weeks. The splendid fighting of the despised Johannesburgers, of the Imperial Light Horse, and of the other South African Colonial Corps has become a matter of history, and the present *levée en masse* of the British people, including the townsmen, of this Colony, is proof positive that when the necessity is really felt they are equal to the best in courage and public spirit. In this respect the events of the past few months, unfortunate as they have been in many ways, have undoubtedly their brighter side. The mutual respect of the two principal white races is the first condition of a healthy

The Transvaal War

political life in the South Africa of the future. It is possible that if the extreme strain of the most recent developments of the war had never been felt throughout Cape Colony the British inhabitants would never have had the opportunity of showing that they were inferior to none in their willingness to bear all the burdens of citizenship, including that of personal service."

It may be remembered that on the 6th of February 1901 Brigadier-General Brabant was appointed to the command of the force which was then being raised for the defence of the Cape Colony, with Colonel Girouard as his chief staff officer. His headquarters were at East London, where the organisation proceeded, expanding eventually northward and westward, taking in district after district, so as to enable the Imperial military forces ultimately to concentrate in the Orange River and Transvaal Colonies. Colonel H. Cooper, C.M.G., A.D.C., commanded the Cape Town District, and Major Coke took a prominent part in the organisation of the irregular corps. The towns which provided guards were mentioned in a previous volume, but particulars were not then available.

The Stellenbosch Town Guard contained some of the smartest members of the Colonial Defence Force. Like one man they enrolled themselves, only too proud to assist in the national cause. Very soon there were collected over a hundred of them under the following officers: Captain Harry Beyers, Lieutenant H. P. Shepherd, Lieutenant J. L. Scott, Hon. Surgeon-Captain J. W. C. Macpherson.

On the 15th January 1901 the Commandant read the proclamation of Martial Law in the Stellenbosch Court-house. From that date, thirty members of the Town Guard were called out to do permanent duty. At first some difficulty arose as to where the men were to be housed, &c., but eventually the Masonic Building was placed at the disposal of the Permanent Guard. "In this building," wrote a colonial correspondent, "Captain Harry Beyers, the officer in command of the Guard, has his office, where all permits and passes are issued; the Commandant of the District, who, by the way, lives at the Remount Station about five miles out of the town, comes in three times a week to transact any military business. The barrack-room is a fine and large hall where the men have their meals and also sleep. The rifles are all in racks at the further end of the hall; these racks are all numbered, and every man knows his number. The place and its surroundings are kept scrupulously clean, and a sentry, who is always to be seen at the gate, stops any loiterer from entering the parade ground, where every morning at seven o'clock and every afternoon at six o'clock the men are properly drilled by the popular 'Jimmy' Hills, the Colour-Sergeant Major, who is, like his captain, an old hand at the game."

In the beginning of July, when the Commandant of No. 7 Area, Colonel Helme, inspected the Guards, he was surprised to note the efficiency and smartness of the men. In an address to them he complimented the commanding officer for the work done; he also mentioned that the Stellenbosch Town Guard was the best turned out Guard in his area.

A brief description of the Civil Service Company of the Cape Town Guards serves to give a general idea of the nature of these valuable protectors of the city. The Company was under the command of Captain Callcott Stevens, of the Civil Commissioner's Office, Cape Town, who had previously seen active service with the Duke of Edinburgh's Own Volunteer Rifles in the Basuto Campaign of 1880-81. The section commanders of the Company were Lieutenant Frank W. Waldron, A.M.I.C.E., of the Department of the Commissioner for Public Works; Lieutenant William A. Collard, Deputy-Assistant Treasurer,

The Loyalists of Cape Colony

Treasury Department; Lieutenant Arthur A. Beck, of the Colonial Secretary's Department; Lieutenant Bertram E. Shepperson, of the Treasury; and Lieutenant Charles Murray, of the Department of Public Education. The nominal strength of the Company was 142 members. It was raised in one afternoon—immediately the ministerial authority for its enrolment was obtained. A similar degree of rapidity was manifested in many other companies of the Guards at the time of the crisis, and this martial impetuosity reflected immense credit on the manhood of the city—on its patriotism, its disinterestedness, and its pluck.

The Civil Service Company consisted of five sections, and was fully representative of the Departments of the Prime Minister, the Commissioner for Public Works, the Treasury, the Colonial Office, and the Attorney-General, together with all the offices and sub-departments controlled by these ministerial divisions. An excellent spirit was manifested throughout by all ranks; and much laborious work was done in the way of guards mounted over important arsenals, magazines, and valuable stores. The original period of three months for which the Guards enrolled passed only too quickly, but their services were still urgently required, and they continued to be called upon for further periods of service, to which an excellent response was made—thus the military authorities were enabled to release many men of the regular forces for service in the fighting line, where they were much needed.

Among the various companies of the Town Guard were many prominent Government officials and business and professional men, whose names are familiar in the colony. It would be impossible to reprint the rolls of all the companies, but a list of names of some of the well-known persons who appeared in the new character of defenders of the Empire is here quoted:—

A. Allen, G. T. Amphlett, Kitchener Andersen, H. J. Andrews, H. Arderne, Robert Armour, R. H. Atwell, R. J. Austin, R. E. Ball, F. C. Berrangé, F. L. Bishop, J. J. Bisset, G. Bolus, W. H. Bond, J. Brydone, W. P. Buchanan, J. C. Carstens, J. D. Cartwright, M.L.A., J. H. Clark, Wm. Cleghorn, W. F. Colman, Sydney Cowper, C.M.G., Peter Davidson, A. Dawson, Theo. De Marillac, R. Dickson, Dennis Edwards, E. J. Edwards, W. A. Fairbridge, Dr. E. B. Fuller, J. Garlick, C. M. Gibbs, J. Gillett, C. G. Goodison, C. R. Goodspeed, W. Hanson, W. Hare, A. T. Hennessy, J. W. Herbert, T. Herbert, Dr. J. Hewat, J. J. Hill, Norman Hilliard, J. Hodgson, C. F. Hoffman, B. Hogsett, J. W. Honey, Alf. S. Hosking, J. W. Irwin, W. H. Johnstone, Howel Jones, Sir H. H. Juta, K.C., J. M. King, J. R. Lancaster, R. A. Lambart, H. G. Legg, E. B. Lewis, Alex. Lipp, J. E. Lloyd, W. B. Low, D. A. MacDonald, Walter Marshall, A. H. Mathew, Rob. M. Maxwell, D. E. McConnell, A. M'Corkindale, D. McKee, C. S. Meechan, Donald Menzies, Stavros Mitchel, R. H. C. Montague, E. J. Moore, W. E. Moore, J. Barry Munnik, C. S. Neave, E. T. M. Notcutt, A. Palmer, D. S. Pargiter, J. Parker, Dr. T. L. Parry, J. O. Paterson, W. I. Perrott, F. Plant, A. Plint, R. H. Pritchard, A. Ransome, P. Raphael, A. B. Reid, J. Richards, H. P. B. Rigby, A. J. Robb, H. D. Robertson, G. Crosland Robinson, D. D. Ross, Pierce Ryan, J. Sandersen, P. J. Savage, A. D. Scott, G. Scott, M. W. Searle, K.C., Fred. Wm. Smith, J. H. Smithers, C. E. Solomon, Will. G. Sprigg, W. Stableford, James M. Stephen, Calcott M. Stevens, P. Stewart, F. L. St. Leger, R. Stultaford, D. Tennant, N. P. Thesen, A. W. Townshend, Geo. Trill, T. Upington, E. H. Von Witt, Joseph Walker, G. B. Williams, J. Wilson, G. Lavibond Windsor, M. Woodhead, T. J. Woodhead, J. Wyllie, R. O. Wynne-Roberts, J. A. Yallop.

Among the number were many men of independent means who were contented to fill any place assigned to them, to take their share of duty as mere privates, and go through the same drudgery of drill as the ordinary raw recruit.

In February 1901 it was computed that 11,000 South African irregulars had been raised during the foregoing three months, and that of these Cape Town itself had contributed 5000, but finally, when, owing to the extension of the area of rebellion and the invasion of the Boers, a large augmentation of

The Transvaal War

the defence force became necessary, further assistance was cheerfully given, the number of District Mounted troops and Town Guards amounting in a short time to over 18,000 men. This number out of a male (white) population of 114,000 speaks for itself.

It is impossible in a few lines to do justice to all the 18,000 members of this remarkable Colonial army, this goodly band of loyalists, English and Dutch, who stood at attention, ready, every man of them, to shed his heart's blood in the defence of his home and the maintenance of the prestige of the Empire. Noble work was done by them in various districts, work sometimes of the quiet and unostentatious kind that looks for and meets with no reward. But for these men various small towns in different parts of the Colony must have fallen into the enemy's hands, and have made stepping-stones to still further conquest: but for them the country might have become chaos—looting and ruin would have spread wider and wider afield—but for them the idea of driving the British into the sea might have been more than an empty boast. *They* helped to turn the scale at a critical moment—the weight of their unanimous loyalty proved to the Boers the vanity of their dream!

British supremacy has been well maintained. The period of warfare is nearing an end, and all are thankful that a policy of generosity will be extended to the Boers. But there is an old proverb which advises us to “be just before we are generous,” and it is hoped that in the coming by-and-by the great debt that the Empire owes her Cape loyalists may not only be ever remembered but adequately rewarded.

THE SOLDIERS' CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

The work done by the Soldiers' Christian Association in South Africa has been so incessant and far-reaching that it deserves special recognition. In no previous war has so much interest and sympathy been manifested in its multifarious operations, and it is difficult to define exactly how far the ramifications of this commendable undertaking extended. Innumerable War Funds, Comforts' Committees, Soldiers' Work Committees, Soldiers' Home Committees, and various bodies of a similar nature were organised and set to work with the best results, whilst officers and men were united in their praise and gratitude for the splendid efforts which were made in order to ameliorate their lot in the field, in camp, and in hospital.

The Soldiers' Christian Association—the Military Department of the Young Men's Christian Association—was one of the first organisations in the field, and on the 9th of November 1899 the following notice appeared in “Orders” :—

LINES OF COMMUNICATIONS.

Notice.

Permission has been given to the Soldiers' Christian Association to send out tents and writing materials for the troops.

Facilities are to be accorded to the Association to put up tents at fixed stations as far as military requirement will permit.

THE CASTLE, CAPE TOWN,
November 9, 1899.

About the middle of December 1899 a fully-equipped and specially-qualified band of eight workers was sent to South Africa from the head office in London,



A DUTCH VILLAGE NEAR EDENBURG.

From "War Impressions" by Mortimer Menpes, by arrangement with Messrs A. & C. Black

The Soldiers' Christian Association

Mr. A. H. Wheeler (who has since died) being in charge, and during the campaign thirty workers were employed on the staff of the Association, many of these signing on in South Africa.

As far as was possible and practicable, workers were attached to the main columns, having with them large green canvas marquees, each capable of seating 250 men. In the daytime the marquees were utilised for reading, correspondence, and recreative purposes, and in the evening gospel meetings were conducted by the representatives of the Association, many of the soldiers taking an active part in the proceedings. Reading matter and stationery, and goods of that nature, were at all times freely supplied to the troops, it being an object of the Association to grant everything to the men free of cost. In addition to the eight marquees in the country, there were also four wood and iron buildings, with a seating capacity for 300 men. These were placed at fixed camps along the lines of communication. The building at the Woodstock Hospital Camp proved of immense benefit to the multitudes of invalided troops at that large and well-known military depot.

During the campaign several thousands of pounds sterling were contributed towards the work, whilst the Soldiers' Christian Association was directly represented at the following camps:—Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Orange River, Enslin, Kimberley, Dronfield, Sterkstroom, Dordrecht, Arundel, Boshof, Hoopstad, Bloemfontein, Kroonstad, Pretoria, Eerste Fabriken, Estcourt, Frere, Dewdrop, Ladysmith, Elandslaagte, Ingagane, and Newcastle, where active operations were carried on by the staff of thirty workers. The main base of operations was Cape Town, whence supplies to the numerous representatives were despatched all over South Africa by the officials at headquarters, supplies being sent from the London office at Exeter Hall at regular intervals to the Cape Town depot, and thus throughout the many months of the Association's work in the field every camp where the work has been conducted was kept fully supplied with goods for the troops. Gratifying expressions of appreciation were received from several of the Generals and many of the officers regarding the good work of the Association, while the men were at all times profoundly grateful for all the pains expended for their comfort and welfare by Mr. W. Gordon Sprigg and his devoted colleagues.

Before leaving South Africa for England, the Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, sent the following letter to Mr. Will Gordon Sprigg, F.R.G.S., General Secretary of the Cape Town Young Men's Christian Association, and Honorary Secretary in South Africa of the Soldiers' Christian Association, expressive of his lordship's interest in, and appreciation of, the work:—

“CAPE TOWN, 11th December 1900.

“I am desired by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts to assure you of his lordship's high appreciation of the good work done by the Soldiers' Christian Association in South Africa. Lord Roberts has watched your work with much interest, and feels sure that the success which has attended your efforts in the past will continue in the future.

“His lordship wishes me to ask you to tender to all the members of your staff and co-workers his best thanks for their excellent services, and, in leaving South Africa to-day, he wishes you all good-bye and God-speed.

(Signed) “W. V. COWAN, *Lieut.-Colonel,*
Military Secretary.”

CHAPTER XVI

THE NEW YEAR—JANUARY 1902

TRANSVAAL (EAST)

THE troops of General Botha, weakened and disintegrated, still continued a species of opposition which was met by the persistent activity of the British commanders. The blockhouse system developed, enclosing vast areas which were first carefully swept by the British troops, and subsequently occupied by a network of Constabulary Posts. With the continued extension of the blockhouse lines, the strain of night duty, and the arduous labours of constructing fences, trenches, and ramparts, fell heavily on the lessening garrisons of individual blockhouses. Yet these overworked, fatigued troops never failed to respond with spirit and cheerfulness to every fresh call made upon them.

General B. Hamilton, after the capture of General Erasmus, returned to Ermelo. Knowing that a Boer laager was located in his vicinity, he directed Colonel Wing to make a night raid upon Witbank, some twenty-two miles to north-west of him. Simultaneously Colonel Mackenzie arranged a descent on the same objective from the neighbourhood of Carolina—a co-operative movement which acted splendidly and resulted in the capture of 42 prisoners, including Major Wolmarans, Captain Wolmarans, and Lieutenant Malan (all of the Staats Artillery), together with ammunition and camp equipment. Not completely satisfied with the haul, and suspecting that the Boers, scattered for the nonce, would return to their old haunt, General Hamilton, with great wiliness, planned a second night raid in the same locality. His surmises proved correct. The stragglers had returned, but, luckily for them, their outlying pickets gave the alarm in time, and enabled them to escape in hot haste. They secured a fair start, and though a spirited chase after flying burghers was carried on for seven miles, some of them managed to get off. Others were ridden down, and 32 prisoners were secured. Mules, cattle, and vehicles swelled the bag. On the 18th General Hamilton made a third night expedition in deplorable weather and over atrocious ground, and captured 27 prisoners. And yet another dash (on the 24th) from Ermelo towards Boschmansfontein put him in possession of twelve more of the enemy. The greatest triumph was achieved on the 26th, Colonel Wools-Sampson and his Intelligence Staff being mainly instrumental in procuring the success of the affair. Picked men and horses were drawn from the columns under General Spens, Colonels Allenby, Mackenzie, and Stewart. These, in ignorance till the last moment of the nature of their mission, were suddenly directed on Tafel Kop (ten miles north-west of Ermelo). It was now found that the Boer tracks forked in two, and therefore the force divided. General B. Hamilton's party proceeded one way in the pouring rain, and sure enough found a huge laager at Nelspan. This they charged grandly, and in a few moments a swarm of Boers fled through the tempest, followed for miles by the troops with ardour little damped by the nature of the weather. The other way was taken by a party under Major Pratt (Durham Light Infantry), who drove

Transvaal (North)

the Boers towards the Ermelo-Standerton line of blockhouses, where the luckless Dutchmen were forced to surrender. Other bands were also run to earth, and in all 82 prisoners—among them Field-Cornet de Villiers, Corporal de Jager (Staats Artillery), and Mr. de Jager, formerly of the First Volksraad—were the reward of this brilliant enterprise. General Hamilton by these dashing exploits (during the last his troops covered fifty-two miles in twenty-four hours) had considerably unnerved the enemy, who now, both by night and by day, lived on tenter-hooks, and consequently evaded as much as possible all contact with the British troops. In his operations the General was materially assisted by the activities of the columns under General Plumer, Colonels Pulteney and Colville, who effectually barred all exits to the south, and kept the enemy within range of General B. Hamilton's schemes. General Plumer scored on the 25th. Then, 24 prisoners were hemmed in and taken in the kloofs between Spitz Kop and Castrols Nek. Colonel Fry (West Yorkshire Regiment) seized thirty more straggling burghers who had run their heads against the Piet Retief-Wakkerstroom blockhouse line. Colonel Mackenzie was meanwhile guarding the northern avenues of escape leading across the Delagoa Railway in order to frustrate plans for a junction between Botha and Viljoen, but the last ruffian remained north of the railway at a farm between Boschoek and Kruger's Post, where, on the 25th, he was cleverly captured by a detachment of the Royal Irish under Major Orr. Thus the enemy lost one of his most prominent and trusted leaders, one who nursed a supreme hatred for the British. The weather continued deplorable—fogs, mist, and incessant rain baulked the best enterprises of the troops—but on the 21st 300 Boers were encountered by Colonels Park and Urmston, and in spite of the elements some captures were made. On the 24th, near Houtenbek, another guerilla gang, with whom the Boer Government was said to be, was encountered. But this will-o'-the-wisp disappeared at the first shot into the broken country north of Roosenekal. January closed with the departure from Lydenburg of Colonel Urmston, who escorted General B. Viljoen and other prisoners to the railway at Machadodorp.

Early in February, east of Springs, the columns under General G. Hamilton and Colonel Wing made an important haul. The Boers had broken back to the west of the constabulary posts, and clung tenaciously to their ground—most probably in fear of facing, in their efforts to escape, the fire-swept region of the blockhouse lines. They were exceedingly wary, and the reward of very hard labour on the part of the British columns was meagre until the 3rd February, when, at Grootpan, 31 burghers with their transport were captured, and 3 killed.

TRANSVAAL (NORTH)

Operations here were handicapped by horse sickness. Colonel Colenbrander, having moved to the south, gave General Beyers the leisure to conceive a neat little plan for an attack on Pietersburg, and the simultaneous removal of such peaceably-minded burghers as occupied the refuge camp there. The attack on the town began at 4.20 A.M. on the 24th January, and continued hotly for some twenty minutes, after which Beyers was repulsed with the loss of three of his band, while three others lay dangerously wounded within 300 yards of the defence. The Dutchman succeeded under cover of darkness, however, in getting away a certain number of "neutral" burghers, who doubtless were acting in collusion with him. In the engagement the Volunteer Town Guard, who had turned out to the assistance of the troops, displayed

The Transvaal War

grit and steadiness of a remarkable order. His attack having failed, Beyers retired to the south-east, but some eleven of his band were caught on the 6th of February by Major Vallancey and a small force, hunting from Pietersburg.

TRANSVAAL (WEST)

Colonel Colenbrander was now assisting (with Lord Methuen and Colonel Hickie) in the clearance of the western regions. Of Lord Methuen's raids and repeated successes it would be tedious to write, though each was carried out at the risk of life and limb, and with consummate dash and endurance. On the 16th of January a Free State laager, with twenty-four burghers, and mules, horses, carts, cattle, and waggons, was captured on the way from Vryburg to Lichtenburg. Near here, while a detachment of Yeomanry were reconnoitring, the Boers got their revenge. Celliers, with 200 men, pounced on the small British party, who, though they fought bravely, had 40 of their number captured: 8 were killed and 5 wounded. On the 30th, after a brisk engagement, Celliers was sent flying to the west by Lord Methuen, who returned to Klerksdorp on the 1st of February. His troops after a rest proceeded, under Colonel Von Donop, towards Wolmaranstad. On the way they effected the capture of 36 prisoners, 49 horses, 25 waggons, and 15 Cape carts by means of a neatly-contrived surprise for Potgieter, who narrowly escaped falling into their hands. By night they surrounded his laager, which was found at Rhenoster Spruit, and also an adjacent farm, and at dawn on the 8th came into possession of the prizes already enumerated.

Colonel Kekewich spent his time in night raids of the same nature, some profitable, some disappointing. Boers were growing scarce as a natural consequence of the effective operations for netting them. In February a smart expedition was arranged for the capture of Delarey, which failed in its main object, but was yet highly successful in other ways. Starting from Leeuwfontein on the 4th of February, Major Leader, with mounted men (from Kekewich's and Hickie's columns), proceeded north by night, taking a circuitous route towards Roodepan (fifteen miles north-east of Lichtenburg), where Delarey was reported to be. After the capture of a Boer piquet, he learnt that the Dutch general had moved his camp, but the laager of Commandant Sarel Albert was in the vicinity. A bird in the hand being worth two in the bush, this laager was surrounded just before daybreak. With a rush and a roar the Scottish Horse dashed on the Dutchmen, causing a scene of dire tumult, which was enhanced by the stampeding of the Boer horses, who had become alarmed at the fire of the British pom-pom. Brilliantly the attacking force, inspired by the gallant major and his spirited subalterns, Lawless, Selby, and Wallace, fought for their prize, and in the end they had the satisfaction of securing Sarel himself, with his adjutant, Landdrost Potgieter, Field-Cornets Jan du Plessis and Jan du Toit, two assistant Field-Cornets, and ten corporals. They took in all 132 prisoners (11 wounded), 130 rifles, 2800 rounds of ammunition, with horses, mules, and cattle in great number. Unhappily the gallant Scottish Horse paid for its triumph. Two officers and six men were wounded.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY

General Elliot and his troops spent the early part of the new year in chases around Reitz after De Wet, but that skilful personage smartly evaded them. In spite of all efforts it was impossible to wedge him against either the Drakens-

A Big Trap for De Wet

berg or the Harrismith-Bethlehem blockhouses. Colonel de Lisle, at Kaffir Kop, to the west of Lindley and Bethlehem, kept an eye on Prinsloo, who threatened the safety of the blockhouses in course of construction. Colonel Byng's force was constantly engaged with parties of the enemy between Lindley and Reitz, while Colonel Rimington operated in the country south of Frankfort. (At Groothoop, on the 31st of January, he performed useful work by capturing a convoy and twenty-two prisoners, with their "effects.") Colonel Dawkins, with his own column and two regiments of Imperial Light Horse, joined Colonel Rawlinson (who had moved from Standerton after De Wet), and marched south on the left of Colonel Rimington's line of advance. On the 29th Colonel Rawlinson, with a portion of his force, doubled back from near Kaffirstad to Achalia (near the junction of Cornelis and Wilge Rivers), and at dawn on the 30th pounced on one of Mamie Botha's laagers. This night march and raid was a feat of remarkable endurance and dash, for the fighting force in the previous thirty-four hours had marched sixty-seven miles, the 2nd Battalion Mounted Infantry doing eighty-two miles in the same interval of time! The captures amounted to 11 prisoners, 120 horses, 2900 cattle, 20 waggons, and 25 carts.

A BIG TRAP FOR DE WET

Meanwhile wheels within wheels of the military machine were revolving, and preparing a carefully arranged plan for the enclosing of De Wet should he, on approach of the columns, which were pressing him towards the Harrismith blockhouses, endeavour to break back to the west. Troops were quietly being passed to east and south-east of him in readiness for a general sweep to the west. It was hoped by the maintenance of perpetual close contact, with patrols and outposts along the whole front of the British line, to drive the smart Dutchman into the strongly held angle formed by the Wolvehoek-Kroonstad railway and the Wolvehoek-Heilbron-Frankfort blockhouse line. De Wet, as was expected, did break back. He ran within the cordon. He appeared to be doomed. He was first promptly pursued on the night of the 2nd of February by Colonel Byng, who on Liebenberg Vlei (west of Reitz) had lain in waiting for him. Quickly flew the British troops in pursuit, and some fifteen miles to the east they came upon a convoy of De Wet's commando. The New Zealand and Queensland Imperial Bushmen brilliantly dashed into the rear-guard, while the South African Light Horse as gallantly charged the centre, and with complete success. Such of the enemy as escaped tore off westwards, but twenty-six prisoners (among them Captain Muller, O.F.S. Artillery, Captain Villiers, and Field-Cornet Wessels, who was mortally wounded) fell into our hands. Many vehicles, cattle, horses, and mules were secured, and also a 15-pounder gun and two pom-poms. Nine Boers were killed and eight wounded in this brilliant engagement, which was a tug-of-war creditable to the stamina of both parties. De Wet himself had yet to be dealt with. Now began the working of the great plan for his capture. By the 5th of February our columns formed a continuous line of men (a movable chain of outposts in fact) extending along the west bank of Leibenbergs Vlei from Frankfort as far south as Fanny's Home and thence to Kaffir Kop (west of Lindley). Rawlinson's men on the right were flanked along the Frankfort-Heilbron blockhouse line by the troops under Wilson (Kitchener's Fighting Scouts) and Keir (Royal Artillery), and thence, in order from right to left, came columns under Rimington, De Lisle, and Major Fanshawe. From the south, Marshall and Holmes (detached from Colonel

The Transvaal War

Knox's command) moved up to the Lindley-Kroonstad line, gradually connecting General Elliot's left with the Kroonstad railway line. This, from Kroonstad to Wolvehoek, had been specially strengthened for the occasion. In addition to the normal garrisons, the 2nd Battalion Seaforths were distributed along the line. Four armoured trains were also in readiness. The Wolvehoek-Heilbron branch line had, moreover, been reinforced by the 2nd Battalion Leinster Regiment and three armoured trains. At Wolvehoek itself General Cunningham held the 28th Mounted Infantry in readiness to pursue such marauders as might be driven across the railway!

Here was a gigantic chain—every link firmly united to its fellow! On the 6th it began to move west. By night a British line was held from Holland, on the Heilbron-Frankfort blockhouse line, to Doornkloop, on the Kroonstad-Lindley line. This gigantic line was held by entrenched outposts fifty yards apart. Fires were lit in advance, to give the effect of a double position. Men were pushed along the flanking blockhouse line to watch for attempts to break through. Nothing could be more complete, and at every post were British eyes on the alert and British hearts beating with anxiety lest their part in the programme should be weakly performed.

At daybreak a further general advance was made. The line now reached the Heilbron-Kroonstad road, the left moving up, joined at America Siding on to the Kroonstad-Wolvehoek blockhouse line. The last night's arrangements were repeated, and every officer and man in the force remained on outpost duty. The piquets were constantly attacked, and Boers, struggling to escape and caught in the toils, caused a perpetual ripple of bullets to break the stillness of the night. In one case there was a desperate rush at the Heilbron line of blockhouses, which was bravely repulsed. The Boers lost ten killed and several wounded. At this time De Wet—finding himself cornered as it were—ordered his men in small parties to make each, independently, his dash for safety, leaving him and a few others to trust to their native wit for a means of escape. His well-known sagacity came to his aid. Riding with an immense herd of cattle, he made for Kroonstad-Lindley blockhouse line. Here, in the intense darkness, he gathered himself together for a desperate plunge. Racing full speed in the midst of the herd, he charged the line, breaking the wire entanglements and simply sweeping every obstacle before him by sheer weight of the impact! Thus he got away. Three of his followers were killed, and the mob of horses and cattle that had shielded him was shot—but his end was achieved! He had outwitted the British. He was free.

But though his freedom as an individual was maintained, the loss to his party and the wreck of his hopes were considerable. Two hundred and eighty-five of his band were either killed, wounded, or prisoners, the last having been gleaned from among the rushes and reeds in the bed of the Rhenoster, where they had sought refuge after carefully divesting themselves of compromising articles of kharki uniform. These were found lying on the banks!

To the west of the railway, Colonel Rochfort spent January and February in tussling with commandos under Nieuwhoudt and Pretorius. On the 26th of January, Major Driscoll came in touch with the former leader. He pursued him to the Boshof road, about eight miles north of the Modder, and in a short, sharp engagement secured seventeen prisoners (including Field-Cornets Venter and Grobelaar), some waggons, carts, and riding horses. Nieuwhoudt, however, doubled back and joined Pretorius and 150 burghers, and then prepared to attack Colonel Du Moulin's column, which had been searching for him in the Jagersfontein region. On the 27th, Du Moulin's force was bivouacked on the

A Big Trap for De Wet

south bank of the Riet, at Abraham's Kraal. The Dutchmen crossed the Riet from the north and rushed the piquet that was holding a kopje, behind which the camp was sheltered. Once in possession of this commanding point their success seemed assured. At the first sound of alarm Du Moulin, a brilliant leader who had done incessant and excellent service, dashed to repel the attack, and was instantly shot. Many of his men dropped by his side. Major Gilbert (Sussex Regiment) assuming command, set to work to repulse the enemy, and by 1.45 A.M. had so effectively reoccupied the defences that a second bold attempt on the part of the guerillas to carry a position held by one of the piquets proved a complete failure. But, besides the valiant Colonel, ten of our men were killed and six wounded in the hardly-fought engagement.

Colonel Sitwell spent January in covering the passage of convoys in the Kimberley district. This, always a risky undertaking, on the 13th of January became more exciting than pleasant. De Villiers with 400 rebels held an entrenched position midway between Campbell and Griquatown, completely commanding the line of advance. Despite the energy and dash of the 22nd Battalion Mounted Infantry, who managed to establish themselves within a comparatively short distance of the defences, the foe was not to be routed. Finally on the scene came a small detachment of the Munster Fusiliers, and these, by a well-executed bayonet charge, carried the position. The engagement cost us 1 officer and 5 men killed, and 6 men wounded. The Boer loss was great, but they succeeded in removing their wounded, leaving 50 dead horses and 18 live ones behind them.

CAPE COLONY

The operations of the raiders were gradually becoming confined to the comparatively waterless and inaccessible districts where, though politically less menacing, they were, in matters of transport and supply, decidedly obnoxious. The columns at this time were chiefly employed in covering the Lamberts Bay-Victoria Road blockhouse line, and in escorting convoys to supply depots now being established at Calvinia, Williston, Fraserburg, and Carnarvon.

CHAPTER XVII

THE EVENTS OF FEBRUARY AND MARCH 1902

TRANSVAAL (EAST)

GENERAL B. HAMILTON'S three months' effective efforts resulted in the departure of Botha, and the complete clearance of the enemy from the district. It was now impossible to locate bodies of Boers in any part of that region. Rumour said that Botha had betaken himself to Vryheid to seek rest and change of scene for himself and his hunted horde. So, on his track went the British sleuth-hounds. The movement began on the 25th, and early in March they located their man in the neighbourhood of Vryheid.

Meanwhile General Plumer, Colonel Pulteney, and Colonel Wing, in the angle formed by the upper waters of the Vaal River and the Standerton-Volksrust Railway, gleaned remnants from Botha's sheaf of Boers, Plumer's Queenslanders bringing in twelve, and Wing's men eight. General Gilbert Hamilton, during his operations east of Springs, was sharply attacked on the 18th of February, and a lamentable incident occurred. Boers, estimated to number 500, had been hanging around Klippan (twenty miles S.E. of Springs), seeking an opportunity to take vengeance. A portion of the Scots Greys, detached to one flank, was cut off, surrounded, and partially captured. They made a gallant fight for it, during which Major Feilden and Captain Ussher were mortally wounded, while Lieutenant Rhodes and two men were killed, and six men wounded. The Boers lost eight killed, and Commandant Van Niekerk was shot in the knee.

After this sorry affair General Gilbert Hamilton was joined by the 28th Mounted Infantry, and from Springs he proceeded to hunt down the commando which had caused the trouble.

To make up for the mishap two successes were reported during the operations of General Fetherstonhaugh north of the Delagoa line. On the 20th February Colonel Park's column with 300 National Scouts, after a tedious night march, swooped down on two laagers at Nooitgedacht and Grootrivlei. Among the prisoners taken—164 in all—were Field-Cornets Du Toit, G. Joubert, H. de Jager, Lieutenant A. J. Vilgoen. Hinton and Trichardt, two pernicious guerillas, succeeded in escaping. But there was a goodly haul of horses, waggons, mules, cattle, &c.

Colonel E. Williams' men on the southern slopes of the Bothaberg secured some more prisoners, and on the 21st they surprised a laager at Buffelskloof and captured twenty more.

A co-operative movement was now organised for the purpose of making a descent on Langkloof (near the junction of the Olifant and Wilge Rivers), where the Boer Government was shortly expected to arrive, but owing to the nature of the rocky and intersected country, the arrangements were impeded. The said Government, by the time the troops surrounded the place, had got some hours' start and were well on their way to Pietersburg. Colonel Park,

Transvaal (West)

who was unavoidably prevented from reaching his assigned position in time, proceeded to investigate the kloofs on the western side of Rhenoster Kop, and unearthed seventeen prisoners and many oxen, horses, and vehicles.

TRANSVAAL (WEST)

Operations continued in February as before, save that Colonel Von Donop at Wolmaranstad had succeeded temporarily to the command of Lord Methuen's mobile troops. On the 23rd an empty convoy of over one hundred waggons was despatched to refill at Klerksdorp and bring back supplies to Wolmaranstad. The escort was composed of 5th Imperial Yeomanry, three companies 1st Northumberland Fusiliers, two guns and a pom-pom, under Colonel W. C. Anderson (Imperial Yeomanry). Till the 25th all went well. Then, before dawn, as the convoy was moving from its bivouac ground ten miles south-east of Klerksdorp, a furious attack was made on the advance guard from the darkness of dense bush on the left. Flashes and forks of flame only showed where the enemy plied his rifles, but on this point the guns and pom-pom at once opened fire. The waggons of the convoy, which had stampeded back to the old camping-ground in the midst of the first shock of attack, were again closed up as rapidly as possible from the rear. A second and a third attack upon the rearguard were boldly and indeed brilliantly repulsed. Then Colonel Anderson, fearing the increased pressure on his rearguard, ordered the convoy to proceed towards Klerksdorp, instructing his transport officer to try and trot the waggons clear of the fire. He then made noble efforts to extricate his force, supporting the hard pressed rearguard, as it struggled to cover the retirement, with his guns and such troops as could be collected from the front. But without avail. The enemy under Delarey and Kemp, old and accomplished hands, kept the advantage. They had had the first word in the darkness; they were superior in numbers; they pressed triumphantly forward and caught the convoy where they had expected to catch it—in crossing the Jagd Spruit. The difficulty of the operation, the terror and stampede of natives and beasts in the hail of bullets that fell on them, contributed to the disaster. The convoy was lost. The escort, gallant and stubborn, was overpowered; 5 officers and 53 men fell, 6 officers and 123 men were wounded. The remainder, with the exception of 3 officers and 106 men, who reached Klerksdorp, were captured. They were subsequently released. Though the pursuit of the Boers was at once taken up, little could be done. The empty waggons were burnt, and the captors had dispersed as rapidly as they had assembled.

In order to intercept, if possible, the captured guns, and prevent Delarey from moving to the Marico district, Lord Methuen resumed the vigorous pursuit of him in which he had for sometime previously been engaged. To this end the column started from Vryburg on the 2nd of March. Colonel Kekewich was directed to send a column from Wolmaranstad towards Rooirantjesfontein, there to meet the column under Major Paris (R.M.A.), from Vryburg, while Colonel Rochefort was directed to cross the Vaal from Orange River Colony and drive Delarey towards the columns heading for Rooirantjesfontein.

The movement seemed excellently planned, and every precaution to avert surprise taken, but nevertheless Delarey and Kemp made an overwhelming and successful attack on Lord Methuen, with the result that this commander, who has worked with indefatigable zeal throughout the war, was dangerously wounded and taken prisoner. Since the details of this unfortunate affair have

The Transvaal War

not yet been fully sifted, it is best to satisfy ourselves with reading Lord Methuen's own report of the events connected with the Tweebosch disaster:—

FROM LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD METHUEN TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF.

“KLERKSDORP, 13th March 1902.

“SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that, with the object of preventing the force under General Delarey from moving northwards to the Marico district through the gap between Lichtenburg and Mafeking, I sent orders to Colonel Kekewich, C.B., at Wolmaranstad, to send a column towards Rooirantjesfontein, where he would meet a column under Major Paris, Royal Marine Artillery, from Vryburg.

I, at the same time, directed Colonel Rochefort to cross the Vaal from Orange River Colony, and to move northwards by the Bamboo Spruit, or the Harts River, and thus drive General Delarey towards the columns which were heading for Rooirantjesfontein.

2. Colonel Kekewich informed me, on the 2nd March, that he was sending a column, consisting of 1600 mounted men, lightly equipped; while Colonel Rochefort wired that the command would contain about 1000 mounted men.

3. The column, under Major Paris, which I accompanied, consisted of the following units:—5th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry, 184 men, under Captain Jennings; Cape Police (including Special Police), 233 men, under Major Berangé; Cullinan's Horse, 64 men, under Captain Cullinan; British South African Police, 24 men, attached to Cullinan's Horse; 4th Battery, Royal Field Artillery, one section, under Lieutenant Venning, D.S.O.; one pom-pom ‘GG’ Section, under Captain Geoghegan, Royal Field Artillery. These units did not belong to Major Paris's column, but were an addition, placed under his command.

Major Paris's column before the fresh units were placed under his command at Vryburg:—86th Company Imperial Yeomanry, 110 men; Diamond Fields Horse, 92 men; Dennison's Scouts, 58 men, under Captain Browne; Ashburner's Light Horse, 126 men, under Captain Ashburner; 38th Battery, Royal Field Artillery, one section, under Lieutenant Nesham; one pom-pom, ‘D’ Field Artillery; 1st Battalion Northumberland Fusiliers, 200 men, under Captain Montagu; 1st Battalion Royal North Lancashire Regiment, 100 men, under Lieutenant Paul. The infantry were attached to the columns at Vryburg.

4. My written instructions to Major Paris were that I should give him daily the direction of the march, and the time of starting for the following day; in case of any fighting, that he should look after the mounted brigade, and that I would stand by the guns and infantry, and give him general instructions.

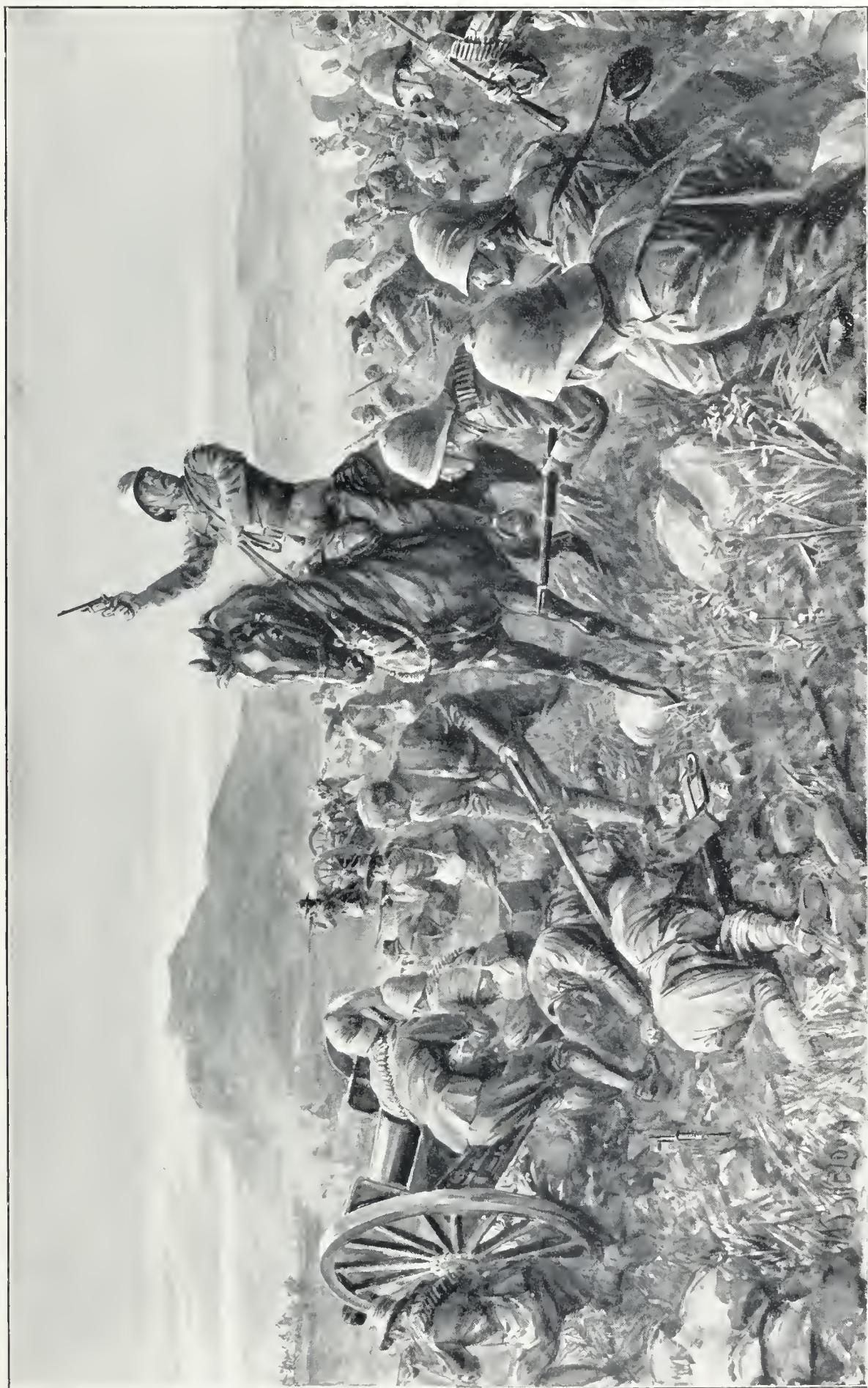
The mounted troops were the best horsed force that I have yet had under me, added to which the Cape Police, under Major Berangé, held an exceptionally high reputation, as did also the local corps. I remarked to Major Paris, on leaving Vryburg, that I could not believe in the numbers given to me. He again made inquiries, and satisfied himself that the numbers were correct.

5. I informed Colonel Kekewich, by wire, that I should reach Rooirantjesfontein on 7th March.

6. 2nd March.—The column under Major Paris left Vryburg at 5 A.M.; the Supply column consisting of 39 ox waggons, and the baggage of 46 mule waggons; owing to heavy rains which had fallen during the night the last waggon did not reach O'Reiley's Pan, a distance of thirteen miles, till 5 P.M. I therefore at once sent a message to Colonel Kekewich to inform him that I should be one or perhaps two days late at Rooirantjesfontein. I had previously informed him that the position of the enemy had rendered it necessary for Major Paris's column to bear more to the north-west towards Polfontein (254).

7. 3rd March.—Owing to the animals being exhausted by the previous day's trek, the column was only able to reach Grootpan (Bestersfarm), a distance of six miles. During the march the Police, forming the advance guard under Major Berangé, killed three local rebel Boers, by name Steyn, Bester, and ‘Janson.’

8. 4th March.—At Grootpan I heard that large droves of cattle and Van Zyl's (rebel) commando had moved eastwards towards Doornbult (197). That morning Major Paris's column marched to Graspan, two miles beyond Mooiplatz (244 B), a distance of thirteen miles, where there was plenty of water. As there had been no rain in these parts it was very doubtful whether, if I trekked by Klipdrift (188), as I had told Colonel Kekewich I intended to do, I should find water at Vaalkop (183), or Rietvlei (279).



LORD METHUEN RALLYING HIS BROKEN FORCES AT TWEEBOSCH

Drawing by C. M. Sheldon

Transvaal (West)

9. 5th March.—I therefore moved to Boschpan (68) in the morning, which I found all but dry, and in the afternoon to Barberspan, a distance of twenty-one miles, where there was plenty of water. Here I was informed that there had been rain at Leeuwkuil (95), and that there certainly was water at Leeuwkuil (23).

10. 6th March.—The column moved off at 5 A.M., the ox convoy having moved at 4 A.M. The whole force reached Leeuwspruit (232) about 7.30 A.M. Here I sent on a detachment of Cape Police to Leeuwkuil (95) to make certain of the existence of water.

There had been some sniping at the rearguard by about 100 of Van Zyl's commando, and seeing some confusion, I went back myself, sending at the same time for a section of the 38th Battery.

I found the men forming the rear screen, which consisted of the 86th Company Imperial Yeomanry, very much out of hand and lacking both fire discipline and knowledge of how to act. There seemed to be a want of instructed officers and non-commissioned officers. Van Zyl's commando being accurately shelled by the section Royal Artillery, eventually retired and moved round our right flank to Tweebosch (247), while the column halted at Leeuwspruit (232).

On receiving information that there was no water at Leeuwkuil (95), I decided to move to Tweebosch (247), where Van Zyl's commando had taken up a good position in the bed of the Klein Harts River.

Major Berangé with the Police, the section 4th Battery, and the pom-pom 'GG' Section, were ordered to move straight on Tweebosch (247), while Dennison's Scouts, supported by Cullinan's Horse, were to move round the enemy's left flank.

The commando retired rapidly, the Police under Major Berangé working with the greatest quickness.

Much praise is due to Major Berangé for the way in which he handled his men.

Our casualties were one killed and two wounded.

As the day was hot, and it was then 11.30 A.M., I decided to remain at Tweebosch (247).

11. 7th March.—At 3 A.M. the ox convoy moved off towards Leeuwkuil (23) with an escort of 1 squadron Cape Police; 86th Company Imperial Yeomanry; 200 men 1st Battalion Northumberland Fusiliers; 100 men 1st Battalion Loyal North Lancashire Regiment; 1 section 4th Battery Royal Field Artillery; 1 pom-pom 'GG' Section. The whole was under command of Captain Montagu, 1st Battalion Northumberland Fusiliers.

The main column moved off at 4 A.M. as follows:—*Advance guard*:—1 squadron Cape Police; Ashburner's Light Horse; 1 pom-pom Diamond Fields Artillery. *Main body*:—Cullinan's Horse; British South Africa Police; Detachment 5th Regiment, Imperial Yeomanry; 1 section 38th Battery, Royal Field Artillery. *Rearguard*:—Diamond Fields Horse; Dennison's Scouts.

Thinking there was a likelihood of an attack in rear, I had called Major Paris's attention to the necessity of putting thoroughly reliable troops in the rearguard.

The country through which we passed was flat and without brush.

At daybreak (about 5 A.M.) a heavy fire was opened on the rearguard. The fire was so intense that the rear screen was at once reinforced by the section of the 38th Battery, and one pom-pom Diamond Fields Artillery. A portion of Ashburner's Light Horse, and the detachment of the 5th Imperial Yeomanry, were extended on either flank, round which the enemy seemed intent on galloping.

At this time (5.30 A.M.) the ox convoy was about a mile in front of the baggage, which was moving in four lines well closed up. I therefore ordered the ox convoy to halt, and the baggage to join it. Major Berangé was directed to move, with the police that were with him, towards a fresh body of the enemy, who now appeared on our right rear. The time was about 6 A.M.

I joined the ox convoy about this time, and found Captain Tilney, D.A.A.G., assisting Captain Montagu, 1st Battalion Northumberland Fusiliers, Commanding the Infantry, to extend the men to meet the attack on our right flank.

The section 4th Battery Royal Field Artillery and the pom-pom 'GG' Section had already taken up a position to meet this attack.

I could see no mounted men available, and could only assume that they had all gone to reinforce the rear screen, so I ordered the baggage to continue to advance, it being impossible to move the ox convoy, as the native drivers were lying under the waggons and refused to move.

I would here like to draw attention to the orderly manner and complete control exercised by Lieutenant Hartley, Transport Officer to Major Paris's column, over the mule waggons during the fight.

The Boers, attacking the rearguard, had come on with great determination right

The Transvaal War

amongst the rear screen, but the support to the screen having been reinforced by Ashburner's Light Horse, Cullinan's Horse, and some of the 5th Imperial Yeomanry, held them in check till about 6.30 A.M. A heavy attack then developed on our rear and right flank, which caused, as far as I could see, all mounted troops then in rear (some of them which had originally been there had moved off towards the flanks to meet threatened attacks) to break, and they galloped in complete confusion past our left flank. The section 38th Battery was thus left unprotected, but continued in action until every man, with the exception of Lieutenant Nesham, was hit. I am informed that this officer was called upon to surrender, and on refusing to do so was killed.

The attack on our right flank was pressed home to within six hundred yards of the gun of the 4th Battery.

I then gave orders for a kraal about one mile along the road to Leeuwkuil to be occupied, and sent orders to rally the mounted men on the rising ground beyond the kraal. The kraal was occupied by Major Paris and Major Berangé with some forty men. The mounted troops in the meantime continued their retirement. I remained with the guns, 4th Battery, and Infantry until my horse was killed, and my thigh fractured by a bullet.

They held out in a most splendid manner until about 9.30 A.M., when all the men round the guns had been shot down and Lieutenant Venning, commanding the section, had been killed. In the meantime the two guns and a pom-pom with Commandant Cellier's commando had rendered the kraal untenable, when the men at the kraal and those remaining with the baggage surrendered.

The Boer Commandants present were—Delarey, Vermaas, Cellier, Kemp, Van Zyl, D. Botha, and Lemmer. It is difficult to estimate the number of Boers on the field, but I should say about 1500. General Delarey treated myself and the prisoners with the greatest kindness, and left General Cellier to look after our wounded on the ground; they buried eleven of their own men at Kareelaagte, and, from what I can learn, their losses were heavy.

I beg to draw attention to the good work done by Major Paris in endeavouring to keep the mounted troops in hand, and to the promptitude with which Captain Tilney, 17th Lancers, D.A.A.G., assisted in placing the Infantry round the convoy.

I would also call attention to the gallant manner in which Lieutenants Nesham and Venning, Royal Field Artillery, stuck to their guns.

Captain Montagu, commanding detachment 1st Battalion Northumberland Fusiliers, and Lieutenant Paul, commanding detachment 1st Battalion Loyal North Lancashire Regiment, held on until further resistance was impossible. Civil Surgeon Prentice, with the rearguard, and Captain Thurston, Royal Army Medical Corps, with the guns, continued bandaging the wounded throughout the engagement.

Colonel Townsend, C.B., my Principal Medical Officer, remained in the fighting line until he had received three wounds; he has, from the commencement of the campaign, always acted most gallantly.

Captain Fernyhough did good work with the rearguard during the action. He has been of very great value to me ever since he has served under me.

A large number of the Boers were dressed in khaki, many of them wearing the chevrons of non-commissioned officers. This, in several instances, led to misapprehension by our troops, and to losses by death, wounds, and capture among us. Owing to having been wounded and taken prisoner, I am unable to give any list of casualties. This report is, for the same reason, based solely on what came under my own observation and what I have been able to gather from the few officers with whom I have had the opportunity of speaking on the subject."

Lord Methuen concluded by saying that should he have omitted to bring to notice some who had distinguished themselves during the action Major Paris would supply the deficiency.

Of the General's staff of six, five were wounded. Lieutenants Venning and Nesham, Royal Field Artillery, were killed while gallantly serving their guns with case. Lieutenant Hartley, Steinacker's Horse, also lost his life. Among the wounded were Colonel Wilson, 3rd York and Lancashire Regiment, Captain Outram, 3rd Highland Light Infantry, Lieutenant Dennis, Yeomanry, Lieutenant Nash, Cape Police, and Lieutenant Logan, Yeomanry. Lord Methuen was taken to the Boer laager, but was subsequently allowed by Delarey to proceed with Colonel Townsend, who was also wounded, to the hospital at Klerksdorp.



BRILLIANT DEFENCE BY NEW ZEALANDERS AT HOLSPRUIT, FEBRUARY 25, 1902

Drawing by Allan Stewart from Sketches supplied by a New Zealand Officer

Orange River Colony

ORANGE RIVER COLONY—MAJUBA DAY

After some days' rest, the troops which had formed the cordon to enclose De Wet's force were engaged in a new and far-reaching scheme of operations. This was divided into two phases, in the first of which two simultaneous movements were to be made to the east, one between the Heidelberg-Standerton Railway and the Wolvehoek-Frankfort-Tafel Kop blockhouse line; the other, from the line Kroonstad-Ventersburg-Doornberg up to the blockhouses between Lindley and Bethlehem. For the second phase, it was arranged that whilst the northern columns, then on a line between Standerton and Tafel Kop, made a right wheel on to Botha's Pass-Tafel Kop blockhouses, with Tafel Kop as a pivot, the southern columns should move east to the Wilge, and in conjunction with the troops at Harrismith, hold the line of the Wilge between Strydpoort and Majoor's Drift. Finally, with the line of the Wilge so held to the west, and the passes of the Drakensberg closed to the enemy from the east by the troops from the Natal command, the northern line of columns was to move south from the Tafel Kop-Botha's Pass position, right down to the blockhouses between the Van Reenan's Pass and Elands River Bridge, near Harrismith. These brilliant operations, on the principle of previous "drives," began about the middle of the month, and culminated on Majuba Day in the capture of 728 Boers, 25,000 cattle, 2000 horses, 200 waggons, and 50,000 rounds of ammunition. Various efforts were, of course, made to break through the encircling cordon, but none so violent as that which took place at the last stage of these proceedings. At dawn on the 23rd a general advance to the south was made towards the Van Reenan's Pass-Elands River Bridge blockhouses. It was timed to take four days. At night, at the close of the first day's march, another dashing attempt on the same principle as the last was made by De Wet to escape the net into which he had been driven by the advancing columns. In darkness, eighteen miles south of Vrede, at the point where Byng's right and Rimington's left joined, the noted chief, with his mob of cattle rapidly driven by natives, attempted his gallant rush. The New Zealanders of Garratt's column, commanded by Major Bauchop, with characteristic dash, gallantly resisted and repelled the attack made, and the 3rd New South Wales Mounted Rifles brought heavy fire to bear on the enemy, but De Wet and Steyn themselves succeeded in breaking through the toils. Still, the whole of the Boer cattle and vehicles were captured, and thirty-one Boers, while 160 horses were killed at the place where the gallant Colonials made their notable resistance. Our own casualties were severe, two officers and eighteen men were killed, five officers and thirty-three wounded, the majority of whom belonged to the New Zealand contingent. On the 26th Colonel Nixon repulsed a like attack made upon the line of the Cornelius River, but on the 27th the sweep down to Harrismith closed with the surrender to Colonel Sir H. Rawlinson of Commandant Truter and 650 men.

Colonel Lawley and Major Du Cane made more captures in the vicinity of the Doornberg, and Colonel Barker's troops groped for Boers in the kloofs and caves of the western slopes of the Wittebergen. Before the 25th, owing to Colonel Barker's various activities, he collected 30 prisoners, 725 cattle, and 280 horses. The Boers, as may be imagined, began to accept these convincing proofs that further resistance to the British was little else than suicide.

The Transvaal War

THE CAPE COLONY

On the 2nd of February the general disposition of troops in the Cape Colony stood thus: Those under Crabbe, from Beaufort West, and those under Capper and Lund, from Sutherland, converging towards Fraserburg, where a concentration of the enemy had taken place; those under Haig and under Kavanagh and Wyndham moving from Clanwilliam upon Calvinia; the intervening space watched by Doran, forty miles north-east of Clanwilliam, and by Callwell near Sutherland. Crewe's Colonial troops occupied both the Elandsvlei and Sutherland.

On the 30th January Colonel Crabbe's column (acting as a screen to a convoy of donkey waggons which, under its own escort, was some distance in the rear) was suddenly menaced by a swarm of Boers. Their attitude and their numbers warned the Colonel to take up a defensive position at Rietfontein (twenty-five miles east of Fraserburg). That done, he there fought tenaciously, determined to hold his own till Colonel Capper and Major Lund could arrive from Sutherland to his support. Foiled in their effort to overpower Crabbe's men, the Boers promptly decided to assail the convoy. This, guarded by 60 District Mounted Rifles and 100 men of the 4th Battalion West Yorkshire Regiment, under Major Crofton, was halted on the night of the 4th some forty miles south-east of Fraserburg. The Boers in great strength rushed on the British prize. All through the night fighting was fierce and sustained, and in the end the Boers were triumphant. They secured and destroyed the waggons. Though Colonel Crabbe promptly rushed to the scene he was unable to act. The waggons were wrecked, and the assailants too strong to be handled by his column unaided. He awaited the troops under Colonel Capper and Major Lund, and with them proceeded to trounce and disperse the rebels, and hunt them north-east of Fraserburg. The losses during these engagements were considerable, Major Crofton, another officer, and 11 men being killed, and 1 officer and 47 men wounded. On the 5th of February there was a tussle at Calvinia between Theron's men and Colonel Haig's, when the Boers were driven north with the loss of two killed and two wounded. Considerable loss on our side was sustained on the 6th. Colonel Doran, with 100 men, then on the hunt for Gelhenhuis, a rebel leader, was assailed by the enemy during his return march to Calvinia. In the pitch darkness his little band had to fight a prolonged rearguard action to cover their withdrawal over the mountains. This conflict led to the loss of 3 officers and 7 men killed, 17 men being wounded.

The main body of rebels—some 600 of them—heartened by their capture of the convoy on the night of the 4th, assembled on the 16th thirty miles east-north-east of Fraserburg, with a view to earning fresh laurels. But their hopes were nipped in the bud. General French had his eye on them. The congregating evil must be arrested, and the columns under General Stephenson were disposed upon a general line from Nelspoort Station, by Beaufort West, to Rhenosterfontein (fifteen miles north-west of Beaufort West), Colonel Doran on the right, Colonel Capper and Major Nickalls in the centre, and Colonel Crabbe and Major Lund on the left. An advance to north-west towards Williston was begun on the 17th—but the Boers were shy. No sooner did they come in contact with our troops than they dispersed. Some were wounded and some captured on the 18th, among them being Judge Hugo, who subsequently died of his injuries; but the rest got off. Malan's group doubled round Doran's right flank and scuttled over the rail towards the midlands,

The Cape Colony

another gang fled north-west, and one J. T. Smith, with a rebel crew, broke through the blockhouse line, with some loss, to the north and then to the north-east of Victoria West.

The pursuit of Malan to the east now occupied the column under Major Wormald and two squadrons of the 9th Lancers. This force had already chased the remnants of Kruitzinger's band, under Wessels, out of the midlands well to the west. Colonel Haig, with Colonels Kavanagh and Williams, skirmished and hunted in the Calvinia and Van Rhynsdorp districts, and on the 13th Bouver's laager was rushed by Kavanagh's braves, and eleven prisoners, with horses, rifles, and ammunition, &c., were secured.

In the midlands the enemy straggled about on the hills for the most part of the month. The rebels daily found an increasing difficulty in procuring food and necessaries from their quondam sympathisers, and their diminished popularity served somewhat to damp their activities; but early in March Fouché and Myburg made a dash across the East London Railway, whither they were chased to the south of Steynsburg by Colonels Price and Baillie.



COLONEL CREWE

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CLOSE OF HOSTILITIES—MARCH, APRIL, AND MAY 1902

TRANSVAAL (EAST)

GENERAL B. HAMILTON, as we know, over mountainous country followed Botha to the neighbourhood of Vryheid. The Boer force consisted of a concentration of some 800 men who had been hustled from other districts of the Eastern Transvaal. A laager was located east of Vryheid on the 10th of March, and General Bruce-Hamilton having blocked all exits in the Ngotsi valley, proceeded to attack it. The manœuvre was rewarded. General Cherry Emmett, Botha's brother-in-law, and seventeen prisoners were taken, and Botha merely escaped by concealing himself in a kloof near the spot where his relative was seized. Eighteen more prisoners, some of importance in the fighting roll, were secured on the 18th.

On the 1st day of April, near Springs, a laager was suddenly discovered by a party of Queen's Bays and some National Scouts under Colonel Fanshawe of Colonel Lawley's column. Immediately the Boers in great strength attacked the small British force, and in the close and spirited fighting, which lasted from dawn till dusk, Major Walker was killed, and Captains Herron, Ward, and Lieutenant Hill were wounded. As an instance of the hand-to-hand nature of the combat it may be mentioned that the butt-ends of rifles as well as the blades of swords came into play. Two squadron leaders and ten non-commissioned officers and men were killed and five officers and fifty-nine men were wounded. This concentrated body of the enemy was commanded by Alberts and Pretorius. Commandant Prinsloo, who was with them, was wounded. The Boers lost twelve killed and forty wounded.

The middle of the month was spent by General B. Hamilton in sweeping from Middelburg to Standerton between the blockhouse lines. The hard-worked columns of Park and Williams and Spens were engaged in the undertaking, which was, though always hazardous, fatiguing as it was monotonous. One hundred and forty-five Boers were killed, wounded, or captured in the course of the operations.

Beyers, a troublesome personage, had betaken himself to a fertile valley in the region of Pietersburg. He then proceeded to invest Fort Edward, a fortified post near Louis Trichardt, placing the small garrison of fifty souls in an unenviable quandary. To their rescue went Colonel Denny (Northamptonshire Regiment) with some 500 men, but he was so strongly opposed at various points that he had to fall back on Dwars River without effecting his purpose. Colonel Colenbrander, hurrying from Klerksdorp however, succeeded. He completely surprised the enemy on the 29th and effected the relief of the Fort. Then Beyers himself had to be dealt with, and on the 8th of April Colonel Colenbrander and his warlike scouts, with the Inniskilling Fusiliers under Colonel Murray, started to ferret him out and attack him. Through the difficult and exhausting country, a wilderness of crags and steeps, the troops moved

Clearance of Orange River Colony

carefully, exercising the utmost perseverance and sagacity in stopping up all poorts or points of exit. They then secured a commanding position—one which the Boers had imagined to be inaccessible—and systematically delivered the attack. Their determination and dash and dexterity were marvellous. By night the Boers were driven out of their mountain stronghold, but only with great loss on both sides. Colonel Murray was seriously, Lieutenant Thompson slightly, wounded. Lieutenant Lincoln was killed. The enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners was 106. But Beyers himself escaped. Operations against him were continued in this region till May with excellent results, for though the Boer leader was not caught, his following was considerably reduced, and thus his power to be mischievous crippled

FINISHING CLEARANCE OF THE ORANGE RIVER COLONY

After the Majuba Day successes the lower part of the Orange Colony remained clear. Colonels Du Cane and Rimington in the region of Tafel Kop



CAPTAIN H. T. LUKIN



COLONEL DOUGLAS HAIG

(Photo by J. Edwards)

made some important captures. Among the prisoners were Adjutant Labuschaque and Viemann. Elsewhere, in the caves of the river bed, a large Boer supply depôt was discovered by Major Ross (Canadian Scouts). A Krupp, a pom-pom, a Nordenfeldt, ammunition, heliographs, and other valuable supplies were taken possession of or burnt. Another of Lord Kitchener's big drives took place, the troops and tactics being the same as before. The columns were encamped in the neighbourhood of Harrismith, and the impression was given that they would sweep towards the northern blockhouses. De Wet, finding that Elliot and Rimington pushed him north, consequently flew west round Elliot, and in the very direction desired. By the night of the 9th there was a complete line of troops from Lindley to Frankfort, De Wet and Steyn being

The Transvaal War

enclosed. Stray parties made rushes at Dunlop's and Scott's lines but were repulsed, and some Boers were made prisoners. On the 10th, all keeping touch, the advance continued. It was scorching weather, but the British stalwarts, under the blazing sun, maintained splendid courage and cheeriness. As an example of their endurance, it may be noted that Rawlinson's men on the 10th and 11th covered sixty miles. On the 11th the drive concluded, but not with the capture of the redoubtable one.

De Wet and Steyn, it appeared, had escaped west of the main Orange Colony Railway by crossing the Heilbron-Frankfort line at night at an hour when some of the British troops were expected to cross. Mentz, to escape Colonel Cox and Rimington's Australians, adopted the same tactics as De Wet's former ones. He rushed the Heilbron-Wolvehoek line on the night of the 10th of March by furiously driving a herd of horses against the line held by the Leinsters near Gothenburg. Though these leaders got off, in the course of the operations, 127 Boers were taken and Commandant Celliers was wounded.

De Wet and Steyn remained west of the railway line endeavouring, it was presumed, to get into communication with Delarey. That some Boers had evaded the big drive was evident by the fact that a convoy was attacked between Kronspruit and Frankfort. The enemy was, however, beaten off by the Mounted Infantry, who had some of their number wounded.

The members of the so-called Acting Transvaal Government—Messrs. Schalk Burger, Reitz, Lucas Meyer, Krogh, and Vanderwalt—proceeded on the 22nd of March, under flag of truce, from Balmoral to Kroonstad to interview Mr. Steyn, with Lord Kitchener's consent. The interview had reference to possible peace proposals. The delegates travelled by special train accompanied by Captain Marker, A.D.C. to Lord Kitchener, Major Leggett, Assistant Director of Railways, and four other staff officers. The meeting concluded a few days later, apparently without practical results. The commandos in the district were now much scattered and reduced, but on the last day of April, near Frankfort, Colonel Barker had the good fortune to capture Mamie Botha (a smart and resourceful ally of De Wet), his adjutant, and eleven Boers.

Early in May (the 6th) another rapid drive took place. A continuous line of column left Frankfort-Heilbron-Vredefort Road line quite unimpeded by wheel transport, and drove swiftly to Kroonstad-Liebenberg-Vlei line, which was reached in the afternoon. The British casualties were nil. The prisoners taken were 208. Ten Boers were killed. From opinions drawn from prisoners it was obvious that these "drives" were heartily dreaded, and the fact of being thus chased from their own district was a fruitful source of surrender.

TRANSVAAL (WEST)—MARCH

A new and original combined movement against Delarey was now conceived by Lord Kitchener. The Boers were dotted about recuperating in farms near Hartebeestefontein, and these had to be mopped up somehow before they had time to concert or to concentrate. The district was too vast for the usual cordon process, and there was great difficulty in arranging a plan which would dispose sufficient troops on the west. There, there were no blockhouse lines, but a line ran from the Vaal to Klerksdorp and thence up the Schoenspruit till it joined the Lichtenburg-Ventersdorp line. The programme was most concise. No wheeled transport and no guns were to be taken. The thing was to be

Transvaal (West)

accomplished "in the blink of an eye," so to say, at the rate of nearly eighty miles in twenty-four hours at most. On the night of the 23rd of March every one was to be under way, silent and secret as burglars, bold and resolute as lions. Kekewich, from Vaalbank, was to march west. Rawlinson, from Klerksdorp, with columns of Scott, Briggs, and Dawkins, was to march south of Hartebeestefontein straight through the enemy's lines—a thing the enemy would be at a loss till too late to understand—and arrive at dawn at a point thirty-nine miles to west. General W. Kitchener (with Keir, Lowe, and Cookson's columns) was to continue the line and march south of Rawlinson to a point some forty miles distant. Lord Basing, from south of the Vaal, was to fill in the more southerly place, and Colonel Rochfort was to form up to the south of him with his right resting on the Vaal. Thus working on the 24th in a line drawn from north to south, the columns were to start forth and then drive back the enemy against the Schoenspruit blockhouse line. . . . The midnight march was admirably executed under the brilliant rays of the moon, and a Boer convoy was even chased and captured by Dawkins' men by way of interlude! By dawn on the 24th, after a forty-mile march, the machinery was set in the appointed position. With sunrise the required revolution took place. The whole force turned right-about face and marched swiftly back again. It was not till 10 A.M. that Boers were discerned. Then, preparations were promptly made to welcome them, and Rawlinson's men, in spite of their sore and aching frames, advanced with alacrity. But the Dutchmen made haste to retreat. By arrangement a signal was fired to inform the British line that the quarry in force was sighted. Excitement prevailed. All got into the semi-crescent position—the military equivalent for "open arms." There were necessary gaps, however, before the troops could extend into touch on so vast an area, and these the Boers made for. But owing to the splendid activity of our men, the 2nd and 8th Mounted Infantry, the Scottish Horse, and others, the enemy failed to get away either their waggons or their guns. Lieutenant Herd (2nd Mounted Infantry), with the remnant of his company, pursued the fleeing band and expedited their race for the north, forcing them also to leave their valuables behind. They were now in the position of the traditional Derby dog—rushing helter-skelter, first north then south, not knowing where to find a loophole of escape. Finally, however, some of them abandoning everything did find it, and scurried towards Klerksdorp. The total results of this cleverly arranged movement, which concluded on the 25th, were 185 prisoners, 12 Boers killed; two 15-pounders, one 12-pounder, two pom-poms, a quantity of ammunition, over 1000 head of cattle, about 60 vehicles, and a lot of horses and mules captured.

That more of the enemy were not taken was accounted for by Reuter's correspondent, who stated:—

"One commando was disturbed very early near a spot where two columns had not yet extended into touch. One of these columns saw what appeared to be the next column getting into position on its flank, and pressed on in order not to be outdistanced, but the column on its right acted strangely, and soon it was discovered that the strange column was a Boer commando seeking to escape. As a pursuit would have resulted in making a larger loophole the enemy got away.

"In another place a large body was observed passing along our front, and it was greeted with a volley, whereon an officer in British uniform, complete in every detail, with 'K.F.S.' on the shoulder-straps, rode up and reported that it was a British column passing along to take up its allotted place in the line. The force was accordingly allowed to proceed on its way. The 'K.F.S.' officer, however, was a Boer and the column a Boer commando."

The Transvaal War

It was discovered after all that Delarey had not been within the radius of the big movement, and therefore General W. Kitchener, in hope still to entrap him, set to work to reconnoitre towards the Hart River. On the 31st of March Cookson and Keir struck track of guns, and presently they were attacked with great determination. A long running fight was continued for eight miles through the bush and scrub of the region. A position in the open was taken, and both parties set to work. Delarey, Kemp, and some 1500 Boers fought brilliantly, but were outmatched by the dogged courage of the newly raised R.H.A. Rifles, who let them advance within 200 yards, and then repelled them with steady gusts of rifle fire; by the staunchness of Colonel Evans' Canadian Rifles, of which one party under young Bruce-Carruthers held their ground till every man was either killed or wounded; and by the dash of the 28th Mounted Infantry, Damant's Horse, Kitchener's Fighting Scouts, and the 17th and 27th Mounted Infantry. The enemy after losing tremendously refused to continue the conflict, in spite of being frantically urged forward by their leaders.

The columns of Von Donop and Grenfell under General Kekewich on the 11th of April, in the region of Rooival, had a hot fight with the enemy. These eventually were repulsed by the Yeomanry, Scottish Horse, and South Africa Constabulary, who fought with their accustomed coolness and brilliancy. Forty-four Boers were left dead on the field and thirty-four wounded. Twenty prisoners were taken. Captain Salter (7th Imperial Yeomanry) and five men were killed and fifty-two wounded. Lieutenant Bull, 3rd Inniskilling Fusiliers, died of wounds. The pursuit of the band was vigorously taken up, and General Kekewich had the satisfaction of securing two guns, a pom-pom, ammunition, and waggons. Among the Boer dead was Commandant Potgieter of Wolmaranstad, one of Delarey's right-hand men. About this time Colonel Rochfort's column made a night raid on a laager at Schweizerreneke, and secured fifty-five prisoners, with waggons and stock.

The columns under General Ian Hamilton continued their systematic sweeping of the Western Transvaal, and after clearing the central area to east of Harts River they formed a line, and in conjunction with Colonel Rochfort from Bloemhof, moved west on the 7th of May. They reached the railway on the 11th plus 357 prisoners and practically all the waggons and stock of the commandos in the district. The total reduction, therefore, in Delarey's forces since his success at Tweebosch amounted to 860 men. The process of exhaustion had been steady and sure.

CAPE COLONY—MARCH

A spirited engagement took place at Buffelshoek between Fouché's commando and Colonel Price's men, with the result that Commander Odendaal and Captain Vanderwalt were killed and two Boers wounded. Major Wormald's and other columns meanwhile hunted Malan and Fouché in the region of the Camdeboos Mountains, where pursuit is difficult, sometimes impossible.

And then, when negotiations for peace were being made between the two nations, while all the sad events of the last three years were apparently coming to a happy conclusion, the British nation lost a man whose like, one may safely say, will never be found again. On the 26th of March, at Muizenburg, Mr. Cecil Rhodes breathed his last. He had long been ailing, therefore this misfortune was not unexpected, and the effect of his loss on public affairs was minimised by the fact that with characteristic foresight he had arranged all his



THE TRAIN CONVEYING THE REMAINS OF MR. RHODES SALUTED BY THE BLOCKHOUSE GUARDS
ON ITS WAY TO THE MATOPPO HILLS

Drawing by Ernest Prater

Cape Colony

business matters, so that in his absence they might proceed without a hitch. His Will, when opened, proved to be a document for all time, one which might be studied with advantage by every British boy whose hope it is to leave his country greater than he found it. To this man's life-work we have already alluded. Of his influence in the future it is impossible at present to write. Certain it is that his name is writ large wherever the glory of Great Britain's greatest finds a place. He gave minute directions regarding his last resting-place. Neither St. Paul's nor Westminster Abbey were wide enough for his free spirit.

"I admire the grandeur and loneliness of the Matoppos in Rhodesia, and I therefore desire to be buried in the Matoppos, on the hill which I used to visit and which I called the 'View of the World,' in a square to be cut out in the rock on the top of the hill, covered with a plain brass plate with these words thereon, 'Here lie the remains of Cecil John Rhodes,' and accordingly I direct my executors at the expense of my estate to take all steps and do all things necessary or proper to give effect to this my desire, and afterwards to keep my grave in order at the expense of the Matoppos and Buluwayo fund hereinafter mentioned. I direct my trustees, on the hill aforesaid, to erect or complete the monument to the men who fell in the first Matabele War at Shangani in Rhodesia, the bas-reliefs for which are being made by Mr. John Tweed, and I desire the said hill to be preserved as a burial-place; but no person is to be buried there unless the Government for the time being of Rhodesia, until the various states of South Africa, or any of them, shall have been federated, and after such federation the Federal Government, by a vote of two-thirds of its governing body, says that he or she has deserved well of his or her country."

His wishes were carried out with reverence and to the letter. His body was conveyed to Groote Schuur, where it lay in state till it was removed to the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town, where it lay all night. Next day the procession started for the Cathedral. All business was suspended. The streets were draped with black—the thoroughfares were lined with troops and sorrowing crowds. A more wonderful service, a more impressive ceremony, has never been seen in South Africa. Finally the remains started on their last voyage. Of this melancholy journey the correspondent of the *Standard* wrote:—

"Not the least striking feature was the reception given to the train by the garrisons of the blockhouses as we passed them in succession. As we glided slowly out of a station away ahead of us would stretch the long vista of the line, dotted here and there with the little fortresses. We would gather speed, and the sun glinted on steel as the garrison of the nearest blockhouse began to fix bayonets and fall in. Then as we swept swiftly forward the little squad of men came abreast of us, and the bayonets rose and fell symmetrically amid the solemn solitude. Then the blockhouse was whirled away behind us and lost to sight. So it went on for mile after mile, the fireman busy at his duties and the driver, one of the oldest servants of the railway department, steady and watchful at his post. Down into De Aar we swept at such speed that as we passed the blockhouses the saluting rifles seemed to rise and fall mechanically and without intermission."

Buluwayo was reached on April 8th, and the coffin placed in the Drill Hall and guarded by two Rhodesian volunteers with drawn swords. Finally it was borne, on the 10th, to its lonely bed in the almost inaccessible steeps that he loved.

Early in April the trial of Kruitzienger was concluded, and the prisoner was acquitted of the charges of murder or train-wrecking that were brought against him. He therefore fell into the category of prisoners of war. From intercepted despatches forwarded by the commandant to Scheepers it was discovered that he had seriously condemned the inhuman practices of his countrymen. The raiders continued their mischievous activities, the columns their incessant chases and hunts. Lovat's Scouts engaged Bezuidenhout at Kaal River on

The Transvaal War

the 26th of April, and in the scrimmage two of the rebels were wounded. On the 1st of May the town of Ookiep (in north-west of Cape Colony), which for some time had been invested by the Boers, was practically relieved by the appearance of reinforcements from Namaqualand under Colonels Cooper and Caldwell. These relieved the column at Klipfontein (fifty miles from Ookiep), and thus took the pressure off the neighbouring places.

Further particulars were given in the *Morning Post*:—"General Smuts demanded the surrender of Ookiep on 4th April. Colonel W. Shelton refused to entertain any terms whatever, saying that he would hold out to the bitter end. He must, however," the letter proceeded, "have a relief column if the place is to be saved, as he has 6000 people to feed and provisions for only three weeks. Colonel Shelton brought in the Mesklip and Nababeep garrisons with all their arms and ammunition successfully. Nababeep has since been looted. Springbokfontein made a gallant fight, but had to surrender to overwhelming numbers, our casualties being four killed and six wounded. It is reported that Concordia surrendered without firing a shot. Colonel Shelton ordered the Concordia Town Guard to Ookiep, but they refused to go. The Boers seem to be bent on doing as much damage as they possibly can. They have destroyed miles of railway and are burning the sleepers as they take them up. The dynamite which they seized at Garrakop, eight miles from Ookiep, they are now using to destroy the blockhouses by dropping charges on the roofs from the kopjes above. Colonel White and his column are at or entrenched near Gassies, and cannot get out. Anenous, Kookfontein, Steinkop, Ooboop, and all outlying stations are deserted. Two trains of refugees arrived at Port Nolloth this morning during a heavy shower of rain. Lilliesfontein refugees are also here, making the number over fifteen hundred. The inhabitants of Port Nolloth are feeling very uneasy, for they greatly fear that an attack will be made on the port; but our defences are perfect, and with the assistance of his Majesty's ship *Barracouta* we mean to give the Boers a warm reception. During a thunderstorm that broke over Ookiep a few days ago a party of Boers was seen on the mountain to the east of Ookiep making a blockhouse in good position, but Major Edwards with a small patrol soon put them to flight."

A member of the garrison of the Springbokfontein blockhouse, commanded by Lieutenant Dorrington, reported as follows: "The Boers were gallantly kept at bay for twenty-four hours, when they succeeded in making a rush on the village. They first made a raid on the Civil Commissioner's house, which they found locked, the magistrate, Mr. J. A. Van Renen, being at Ookiep at the time on his way back from Port Nolloth, where he had been to fetch his family. Lieutenant Dorrington, seeing a fire at the Residency from the blockhouse, thought the Boers were setting fire to the house. He ordered his men to open fire on them, whereupon the Boers rushed the kopje on the top of which the blockhouse was built, and demanded its immediate surrender. When Lieutenant Dorrington refused to surrender he was greeted with charges of dynamite. The Boers then crept under the hill, making it quite impossible for our men to fire on them, and began to place dynamite underneath the blockhouse. They again sent to tell the officer in command that if he did not surrender he and his men would be blown up. A message was sent back to them to say that he would surrender on condition that they did not harm his men. This was agreed to, and the men came out. They were all promptly lodged in prison. The same informant states that Mr. Stuart, the resident magistrate's clerk, Mr. Van Coernden's son, and two others were killed by charges of dynamite thrown on the top of the blockhouse from a kopje."

The Situation

A second letter, which was dated 12th April, announced that transports had arrived at Port Nolloth and that reinforcements were pouring into the town. A third letter was written on the following day, and it said: "Lieutenant Meyrick, with his party of N.B.S., has so far gallantly defended the viaducts and the mountain pass above Anenous. A native who has just come in reports that the Boers have, however, come round the mountain and destroyed the railway on this side of Anenous as far as the 37th mile. Mr. F. Phillips, of Concordia, son of the superintendent, arrived at Port Nolloth yesterday, having obtained a pass from the Boer Commandant Smuts. He states that the Boers who have got possession of Concordia are mostly Transvaal men. Ookiep is evidently giving the Boers a warm time, for many wounded are brought into Concordia, others going back to take their place. They say that they are quite determined to take Ookiep at any cost, and seem to have quietly settled down at Concordia. They have their doctor and chaplain, and hold services twice daily. The Commandant Smuts lives in the doctor's house, the doctor being absent in Cape Town. He has his secretary with him, a Frenchman, whom they have nicknamed 'Roberts,' and who has a great reputation for ability among them."

On the 27th of May Major Collett, with the Jansenville District Mounted Horse, encountered the Boers, who thought this a fine opportunity for attacking raw material. But the local force was tougher than they thought, and moreover Lovat's Scouts, who had been pursuing Malan for a long time, were at hand. These promptly came to the rescue, upon which the enemy fled, leaving Malan—one of the best of the Boer leaders—in their hands. Malan was one of the "irreconcilables," and he had rejected the offer of a safe conduct to attend the Vereeniging conference, which at this time was taking place with a view to the signing of peace.

THE SITUATION—APRIL AND MAY

It was officially computed that by May 1902 the British forces had been reduced through the South African war by 1055 officers and 20,520 men who died in South Africa, 1 officer and 131 men returned as missing and prisoners, 7 officers and 487 men who died after having been sent home as invalids, and 5531 invalided men who left the Service as unfit. These figures represent a total of 27,732. The following figures, taken from a table published by Colonel Henderson, Professor of Military Art and History at the Staff College, in his "Life of Stonewall Jackson," may be found interesting for purposes of comparison with the British losses:—

	Strength.	Killed and wounded.	Percentage.
Talavera, 1809. . . .	20,500	6,250	30
Albuera, 1811	8,200	3,990	48
Barossa, 1811	4,400	1,210	27
Salamanca, 1812	26,000	3,386	13
Quatre Bras, 1815	12,000	2,504	20
Waterloo, 1815	23,991	6,932	29
Firozshah, 1845	16,000	2,415	15
Sobraon, 1846	15,500	2,063	13
Chillianwallah, 1849	15,000	2,388	15
Alma, 1854	21,500	2,002	9
Inkerman, 1854	7,464	2,357	31

The Transvaal War

Of the Boer losses no exact total could be arrived at.

In April, a careful computation of the strength of the enemy in the field put it at about 10,000 men. The commando of Delarey and Kemp was the largest, their following being about 900 men; but concentration was marvelously quickly accomplished, and near at hand on the west were odd bands of perhaps a hundred, commanded by Potgieter, Klassen, and Cronje. Beyers, with less than four hundred, hung about Zoutpansberg, and other leaders near Lydenburg were practically dependent on fragments from their master's table, otherwise the escaped ones and twos from Botha's and De Wet's hunted forces. In the Eastern Transvaal, east of Springs, were Alberto, Opperman, and Van Niekirk, with small yet enterprising gangs. Klassen and Badenhorst were fairly well supported at Ermelo, and 200 Boers hung occupationless about Piet Retief. Minor leaders were sprinkled about the Orange Colony, clinging mostly to the sheltering region of the Brandwater Basin.

In the Cape Colony they were equally scattered. Malan and Fouché north of Murraysburg, Maritz and Bowers near Garees, Theron north of Calvinia, Van Reenan north-east, near Fraserburg, had each a small trail of troublesome rebels at his heels. Raking and combing was taking place everywhere. Since the 22nd of March, when the question of peace came to be discussed, the Boer forces had been reduced by about 860 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. A conference between Lord Kitchener and Lord Milner was held in Pretoria, the result of which was digested on the 20th by the Boer leaders, who then took themselves off to rejoin their commandos. Meanwhile Lord Kitchener maintained his vigilant tactics, knowing that the wily ones if given an inch would take an ell, and General Ian Hamilton in the west, General Bruce-Hamilton in the east, and Colonel Colenbrander in the north, continued their sweeping operations.

It was now decided that the Boer leaders, who had again met together at Klerksdorp on the 11th of April, were to reassemble on the 15th of May to deliberate among themselves and arrive at a decision as to the terms of surrender they would be prepared to accept. The conference, which opened at Vereeniging in due course, included the representatives of all the bodies of Boers throughout the two colonies. The delegates chosen by the conference at Vereeniging arrived at Pretoria on the 20th May. They were six in number, consisting of members of the two "Governments," with Generals Delarey and De Wet, accompanied by their secretaries. They were lodged in the house next to that occupied by Lord Kitchener. Lord Milner also arrived.

There was an interval of great suspense, which was shared by the whole civilised world. All parties watched the telegraph wires with bated breath, then on Saturday, May 31st, the great Boer War came to an end. The conference at Vereeniging had brought forth good results! The Peace Agreement, long anxiously looked forward to by both belligerents, was signed!

APPENDIX

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS—COMMENCED MARCH 12, 1902—
CONCLUDED MAY 31, 1902

THE following is the text of the draft agreement signed by the Boer representatives in Pretoria on the 31st of May after it had been approved by his Majesty's Government:—

His Excellency General Lord Kitchener and his Excellency Lord Milner, on behalf of the British Government, and Messrs. M. T. Steyn, J. Brebner, General C. R. De Wet, General C. Olivier, and Judge J. B. M. Hertzog, acting as the Government of the Orange Free State, and Messrs. S. W. Burger, F. W. Reitz, Generals Louis Botha, J. H. Delarey, Lucas Meyer, Krogh, acting as the Government of the South African Republic, on behalf of their respective burghers, desirous to terminate the present hostilities, agree on the following articles:—

1. The Burgher forces in the field will forthwith lay down their arms, handing over all guns, rifles, and munitions of war in their possession or under their control, and desist from any further resistance to the authority of his Majesty King Edward VII., whom they recognise as their lawful Sovereign. The manner and details of this surrender will be arranged between Lord Kitchener and Commandant-General Botha, Assistant Commandant-General Delarey, and Chief Commandant De Wet.

2. All Burghers in the field outside the limits of the Transvaal or Orange River Colony, and all prisoners of war at present outside South Africa who are Burghers, will, on duly declaring their acceptance of the position of subjects of his Majesty King Edward VII., be gradually brought back to their homes as soon as transports can be provided and their means of subsistence ensured.

3. The Burghers so surrendering or so returning will not be deprived of their personal liberty or their property.

4. No proceedings, civil or criminal, will be taken against any of the Burghers surrendering or so returning for any acts in connection with the prosecution of the war. The benefit of this clause will not extend to certain acts contrary to usages of war which have been notified by Commander-in-Chief to the Boer generals, and which shall be tried by court-martial immediately after the close of hostilities.

5. The Dutch language will be taught in public schools in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony where the parents of the children desire it, and will be allowed in courts of law when necessary for the better and more effectual administration of justice.

6. The possession of rifles will be allowed in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to persons requiring them for their protection on taking out a licence according to law.

7. Military administration in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony will at the earliest possible date be succeeded by civil government, and, as soon as circumstances permit, representative institutions, leading up to self-government, will be introduced.

The Transvaal War

8. The question of granting the franchise to natives will not be decided until after the introduction of self-government.

9. No special tax will be imposed on landed property in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to defray the expenses of the war.

10. As soon as conditions permit, a commission, on which the local inhabitants will be represented, will be appointed in each district of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, under the presidency of a magistrate or other official, for the purpose of assisting the restoration of the people to their homes and supplying those who, owing to war losses, are unable to provide themselves with food, shelter, and the necessary amount of seed, stock, implements, &c., indispensable to the resumption of their normal occupations.

His Majesty's Government will place at the disposal of these commissions a sum of £3,000,000 for the above purposes, and will allow all notes issued under Law 1 of 1900 of the South African Republic and all receipts given by officers in the field of the late Republics, or under their orders, to be presented to a judicial commission, which will be appointed by the Government, and if such notes and receipts are found by this commission to have been duly issued in return for valuable considerations, they will be received by the first-named commissions as evidence of war losses suffered by the persons to whom they were originally given. In addition to the above-named free grant of £3,000,000, his Majesty's Government will be prepared to make advances on loan for the same purposes free of interest for two years, and afterwards repayable over a period of years with 3 per cent. interest.

No foreigner or rebel will be entitled to the benefit of this clause.

The correspondence relating to the last stage of the South African War was published as a Parliamentary Paper. As the future policy of South Africa will be directed by the considerations which influenced the wording of the final agreement, the important part of the correspondence is quoted in its entirety. A series of brief despatches passed between Lord Kitchener and the Secretary of State for War between March 12 and April 11. The first despatch announced the desire of Mr. Schalk Burger, after receiving from Lord Kitchener a copy of the correspondence connected with the Dutch Government's negotiations, to obtain safe conduct in order to meet Mr. Steyn with a view to making peace proposals. The meeting of the Boer commanders, as is known, was arranged, and it took place at Klerksdorp. On April 11 Lord Kitchener received permission from the Secretary of State for War to accede to a request from the Boer representatives for permission to lay certain proposals before him. This Boer request was addressed to Lord Kitchener in the following terms :—

“After quoting at length the correspondence between his Majesty's Government and the Netherlands, they are of opinion that it is a suitable moment to do everything possible to put a stop to the war, and therefore decide to make certain propositions to Lord Kitchener which can serve as a base for further negotiations in order to bring about the desired end. They further decide that, in their opinion, in order to accelerate the desired aim and prevent misunderstanding, Lord Kitchener be requested to meet them personally, time and place to be appointed by him, in order to lay before him direct peace proposals, which they are prepared to submit, and in order to settle at once, by direct communication with him, all questions that may present themselves, and thereby to make sure that this meeting will have the desired result.”

PRELIMINARY OVERTURES.

Then followed the succeeding telegraphic correspondence.

FROM LORD KITCHENER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

PRETORIA, *April 12, 1902, 9.22 P.M.*

All Boer representatives met to-day and wished the following telegram sent :—

“The Boer representatives wish to lay before his Majesty's Government that they have an earnest desire for peace, and that they consequently decided to ask the British Govern-

Appendix

ment to end hostilities, and to enter into an agreement by which, in their opinion, all future war between them and the British Government in South Africa will be prevented. They consider this object may be attained by providing for following points :—

“ 1. Franchise.

“ 2. Equal rights for Dutch and English languages in education matters.

“ 3. Customs Union.

“ 4. Dismantling of all forts in Transvaal and Orange River Colony.

“ 5. Post, Telegraph, and Railways Union.

“ 6. Arbitration in case of future differences, and only subjects of the parties to be the arbitrators.

“ 7. Mutual amnesty.

“ But if these terms are not satisfactory they desire to know what terms the British Government would give them in order to secure the end they all desire.”

I have assured them that his Majesty's Government will not accept any proposals which would maintain independence of Republic, as this would do, and that they must expect refusal.

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR TO LORD KITCHENER.

WAR OFFICE, 13th April 1902, 2.30 P.M.

His Majesty's Government sincerely share the earnest desire of the Boer representatives for peace, and hope that the present negotiations may lead to that result ; but they have already stated in the clearest terms, and must now repeat, that they cannot entertain any proposals which are based upon the continued independence of the former Republics, which have been formally annexed to the British Crown.

FROM LORD KITCHENER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

PRETORIA, 14th April 1902, 6.10 P.M.

The High Commissioner and I met the Boer representatives this morning, when I communicated to them the substance of your telegram. We then endeavoured to induce them to make fresh proposals, but President Steyn, who throughout acted as their leading spokesman, immediately took the line that while the Boer Governments were competent to make peace they were not competent to surrender the independence of their country ; that only the people could do this—the people, as explained, meaning the Burghers still in the field. If he was to suggest anything involving the abandonment of independence, it would be a betrayal of their trust.

Schalk Burger and General Botha took precisely the same line. As no progress could be made the meeting was adjourned by mutual consent till this afternoon. The Boer representatives then suggested an armistice in order to consult their people ; but I pointed out, with Lord Milner's full concurrence, that we had not got nearly far enough in the direction of agreement to justify such a course. Finally it was agreed that I should send you the following message, which was read over several times, and fully agreed to by the representatives, to whom I have given a copy of it :—

“ A difficulty has arisen in getting on with proceedings. The representatives state that constitutionally they have no power to discuss terms based on the surrender of independence, inasmuch as only the Burghers can agree to such a basis ; therefore, if they were to propose, it would put them in a false position with regard to their people. If, however, his Majesty's Government would state the terms that, subsequent to a relinquishment of independence, they would be prepared to grant, the representatives, after asking for the necessary explanations, without any expression of approval or disapproval, would submit such conditions to their people.”

THE QUESTION OF INDEPENDENCE.

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR TO LORD KITCHENER.

WAR OFFICE, April 16, 1902, 2.20 P.M.

We have received with considerable surprise the message from the Boer leaders contained in your telegram of April 14.

The meeting was arranged at their request, and they must have been aware of our repeated declarations that we could not entertain any proposals based on the renewed independence of the two South African States. We were, therefore, entitled to assume that the

The Transvaal War

Boer representatives had relinquished the idea of independence, and would propose terms of surrender for the forces still in the field.

They now state that they are constitutionally incompetent to discuss terms which do not include a restoration of independence, but request us to inform them what conditions would be granted if, after submitting the matter to their followers, they were to relinquish the demand for independence.

This does not seem to us to be a satisfactory method of proceeding, or one best adapted to secure, at the earliest moment, a cessation of the hostilities which have involved the loss of so much life and treasure.

We are, however, as we have been from the first, anxious to spare the effusion of further blood, and to hasten the restoration of peace and prosperity to the countries afflicted by the war, and you and Lord Milner are therefore authorised to refer the Boer leaders to the offer made by you to General Botha more than twelve months ago, and to inform them that, although the subsequent great reduction in the strength of the forces opposed to us and the additional sacrifices thrown upon us by the refusal of that offer would justify us in imposing far more onerous terms, we are still prepared, in the hope of a permanent peace and reconciliation, to accept a general surrender on the lines of that offer, but with such modifications in detail as may be agreed upon mutually.

You are also authorised to discuss such modifications with them, and to submit the result for our approval.

Communicate this to High Commissioner.

FROM LORD KITCHENER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

PRETORIA, *April 17, 1902, 6.40 P.M.*

I communicated your telegram to the Boer representatives this morning. They immediately asked for adjournment to consider it. We met again at 2 P.M., when they pressed for the return of the Boer delegates and for an armistice to enable them to consult their burghers. I refused both on military grounds, but promised facilities for them to hold meeting of their Burghers. Lord Milner impressed on them necessity of coming back with definite powers and determination to make peace at once, which they promised to do. The meeting then broke up, and I had a short meeting with Generals Botha, De Wet, and Delarey, to arrange details of how they are to carry out meeting. These were settled satisfactorily, and they will probably leave to-morrow to get vote from their people.

FROM LORD KITCHENER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

PRETORIA, *April 18, 1902, 10.55 A.M.*

Have now arranged with the generals all details as to holding meeting, and representatives of both States will leave here to-night to carry out the arrangements.

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR TO LORD KITCHENER.

WAR OFFICE, *April 19, 1902.*

Yours of yesterday. We fully realise the necessity of giving the Boer leaders all due opportunity of consulting their commandos, but we trust that no arrangements will be come to which will make it necessary for you to suspend operations until some definite arrangement is in view. We are continuing to send reinforcements.

SURRENDER OF INDEPENDENCE.

FROM LORD KITCHENER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

PRETORIA, *April 19, 1902, 11.40 A.M.*

The Boer representatives have all left. The meeting of elected representatives from commandos is arranged to be held at Vereeniging on 13th or 15th May. I did my best to hasten, but it was found impossible. I am not allowing facilities for meeting of commandos in Cape Colony, and none will be there. I have arranged with Boer leaders that foreigners serving with them shall have no vote, and that votes will be by ballot. Each commando will be represented by two Burghers. It is thought probable that the meeting at Vereeniging will take two days, after which, if favourable decision is arrived at, Boer representatives will come here to arrange final settlement.

Appendix

FROM LORD KITCHENER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

PRETORIA, *May* 17, 1902, 6.55 P.M.

Following telegram just received :—

“From State Presidents Burger and Steyn to Lord Kitchener.

“We have the honour to communicate to your Excellency that, as a result of the Burghers assembling here, a commission has been appointed by our Governments to negotiate with your Excellency with a view to finishing the present hostilities. This commission consists of Louis Botha, Christian De Wet, Hertzog, Delarey, and Smuts. If your Excellency is agreeable to meet this commission we request you to appoint time and place of meeting.”

After consultation with Lord Milner I have sent following reply :—

“I have the honour to acknowledge your communication, and should be glad to be informed if the commission you announce have plenary powers to agree to terms for the cessation of hostilities. If so, Lord Milner and I will be prepared to receive them here. Colonel Henderson will arrange to put a train at their disposal directly they inform him when they wish to start.”

FROM LORD KITCHENER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

PRETORIA, *May* 18, 1902, 2.15 P.M.

Following is reply from Burger and Steyn :—

“In reply to your Excellency’s telegram of this morning, we have the honour to inform you that commission, appointed in accordance with instructions by the Burghers assembled, has power to negotiate with your Excellency, subject to ratification by the Burghers.”

After consultation with Lord Milner, I have informed the Presidents we will be glad to meet the commission here to-morrow.

LORD KITCHENER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

PRETORIA, *May* 19, 1902, 7.20 P.M.

Meeting took place at 11.30, and Boer commission made following proposals :—

1. We are prepared to surrender our independence as regards foreign relations.
2. We wish to retain self-government under British supervision.
3. We are prepared to surrender a part of our territory.

Lord Milner and I refused to accept these terms as basis for negotiation, as they differ essentially from the principles laid down by his Majesty’s Government. After a long discussion nothing was decided, and it was determined to meet in the afternoon. Commission met again at 4 P.M., when Lord Milner proposed a form of document that might be submitted to the Burghers for a “Yes” or “No” vote. There was a good deal of objection to this, but it was agreed finally that Lord Milner should meet Smuts and Hertzog with a view of drafting as far as possible an acceptable document on the Botha lines. They will meet to-morrow for that purpose. Lord Milner stipulated for the assistance of Sir Richard Solomon in the preparation of the draft documents.

FOR A “YES” OR “NO” VOTE.

FROM LORD KITCHENER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

PRETORIA, *May* 21, 1902, 4.50 P.M.

Commission are prepared to submit the following document to the Burghers assembled at Vereeniging for a “Yes” or “No” vote if his Majesty’s Government approves of its terms :—

“His Excellency General Lord Kitchener and his Excellency Lord Milner, on behalf of the British Government, and Messrs. M. T. Steyn, J. Brebner, General C. R. de Wet, General C. Olivier, and Judge J. B. M. Hertzog, acting as the Government of the Orange Free State, and Messrs. S. W. Burger, F. W. Reitz, Generals Louis Botha, J. H. Delarey, Lucas Meyer, Krogh, acting as the Government of the South African Republic, on behalf

The Transvaal War

of their respective Burghers desirous to terminate the present hostilities agree on the following articles :—

“1. The Burgher forces in the field will forthwith lay down their arms, handing over all guns, rifles, and munitions of war in their possession or under their control, and desist from any further resistance to the authority of his Majesty King Edward VII., whom they recognise as their lawful Sovereign. The manner and details of this surrender will be arranged between Lord Kitchener and Commandant-General Botha, Assistant Commandant-General Delarey, and Chief Commandant de Wet.

“2. Burghers in the field outside the limits of the Transvaal or Orange River Colony, on surrendering, will be brought back to their homes.

“3. All prisoners of war at present outside South Africa who are Burghers will, on their declaring their acceptance of the position of subjects of his Majesty King Edward VII., be brought back to the places where they were domiciled before the war.

“4. The Burghers so surrendering or so returning will not be deprived of their personal liberty or their property.

“5. No proceeding, civil or criminal, will be taken against any of the Burghers surrendering or so returning for any acts in connection with the prosecution of the war.

“6. The Dutch language will be taught in public schools in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, where the parents of the children desire it, and will be allowed in Courts of Law when necessary for the better and more effectual administration of justice.

“7. The possession of rifles will be allowed in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to persons requiring them for their protection on taking out a licence according to law.

“8. Military administration in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony will at the earliest possible date be succeeded by civil government, and, as soon as circumstances permit, representative institutions, leading up to self-government, will be introduced.

“9. The question of granting the franchise to natives will not be decided until after the introduction of self-government.

“10. No special tax will be imposed on landed property in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to defray the expenses of the war.

“11. A judicial commission will be appointed, to which Government notes issued under Law No. 1 of 1900 of the South African Republic may be presented within six months. All such notes as are found to have been duly issued in the terms of that law, and for which the persons presenting them have given valuable considerations, will be paid, but without interest. All receipts given by the officers in the field of the late Republics, or under their orders, may likewise be presented to the said commission within six months, and, if found to have been given *bonâ fide* for goods used by the Burgher forces in the field, will be paid out to the persons to whom they were originally given. The sum in respect of the said Government notes and receipts shall not exceed £3,000,000 sterling, and if the total amount of such notes and receipts approved by the commission is more than that sum there shall be a *pro rata* diminution. Facilities will be afforded to the prisoners of war to present their Government notes and receipts within the six months aforesaid.

“12. As soon as conditions permit, a commission, on which the local inhabitants will be represented, will be appointed in each district of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, under the presidency of a magistrate or other official, for the purpose of assisting the restoration of the people to their homes, and supplying those who, owing to war losses, are unable to provide for themselves with food, shelter, and the necessary amount of seed, stock, implements, &c., indispensable to the resumption of their normal occupations. Money for this will be advanced by the Government, free of interest, and repayable over a period of years.”

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S EMENDATIONS.

FROM MR. CHAMBERLAIN TO LORD MILNER.

COLONIAL OFFICE, *May 27, 1902, 3.45 P.M.*

I have to inform you that his Majesty's Government approve of the submission to the assembly at Vereeniging for a “Yes” or “No” vote the document prepared by the commission, and forwarded by Lord Kitchener on 21st May to the Secretary of State for War, subject to the following alterations :—

Clauses 2 and 3 should be put together, and will run as follows :—

“All Burghers in the field outside the limits of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, and all prisoners of war at present outside South Africa, who are Burghers, will, on duly declaring their acceptance of the position of subjects of his Majesty King Edward VII.,



SURRENDERED BOERS AT BELFAST ANXIOUS TO JOIN THE NATIONAL SCOUTS AFTER BEING ADDRESSED

BY LORD KITCHENER

Drawing by F. de Harnen from Photographs

Appendix

be gradually brought back to their homes as soon as transport can be provided and their means of subsistence ensured."

The object of this alteration is to make clear that Burghers in the field outside the two States will, like the Burghers inside and the prisoners of war, declare their acceptance of the position of subjects. It was clearly not intended that they should be in any different position to their countrymen elsewhere.

We have also inserted words to explain that return must be gradual.

Clause 5. We add at end of clause the words :—

"The benefit of this clause will not extend to certain acts contrary to usages of war which have been notified by Commander-in-Chief to the Boer generals, and which shall be tried by court-martial immediately after the close of hostilities."

Clauses 11 and 12 must be omitted and the following clause substituted :—

"As soon as conditions permit, a commission, on which the local inhabitants will be represented, will be appointed in each district of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony under the presidency of a magistrate or other official, for the purpose of assisting the restoration of the people to their homes and supplying those who, owing to war losses, are unable to provide themselves with food, shelter, and the necessary amount of seed, stock, implements, &c., indispensable to the resumption of their normal occupations.

"His Majesty's Government will place at the disposal of these Commissions a sum of £3,000,000 for the above purposes, and will allow all notes issued under Law 1 of 1900 of the South African Republic, and all receipts given by officers in the field of the late Republics, or under their orders, to be presented to a judicial commission, which will be appointed by the Government, and if such notes and receipts are found by this commission to have been duly issued in return for valuable considerations, they will be received by the first-named commissions as evidence of war losses suffered by the persons to whom they were originally given.

"In addition to the above-named free grant of £3,000,000, his Majesty's Government will be prepared to make advances on loan for the same purposes free of interest for two years, and afterwards repayable over a period of years with 3 per cent. interest. No foreigner or rebel will be entitled to the benefit of this clause."

In making this communication to the delegates you must inform them that if this opportunity of an honourable termination of hostilities is not accepted within a time fixed by you the conference will be considered at an end, and his Majesty's Government will not be bound in any way by their present declarations.

Lord Kitchener should have a copy of this telegram.

THE SUBJECT OF BANISHMENT.

FROM MR. CHAMBERLAIN TO LORD MILNER.

COLONIAL OFFICE, *May 27, 1902, 5.10 P.M.*

We understand that the terms of surrender offered in my telegram of to-day are confined to Burghers of the Orange Free State and South African Republic at the date of the outbreak of the war. His Majesty's Government are unable to make any pledges on behalf of the Governments of the Cape or Natal as to the treatment of rebels. You have no doubt kept in mind that any favourable terms accorded by either of these Governments will have to be sanctioned by the Legislature of the Colony.

His Majesty's Government must place it on record that the treatment of Cape and Natal colonists who have been in rebellion and who now surrender will be determined, if they return to their colonies, by the Colonial Governments and in accordance with the laws of the colonies, and that any other British subjects who have joined the enemy will be liable to trial under the law of that part of the British Empire to which they belong.

The Cape Government have informed his Majesty's Government that the following are their views as to the terms which should be granted to British subjects of Cape Colony who are now in the field, or have surrendered, or have been captured since the 12th April 1901 :—

"With regard to rank and file, Ministers advise that upon surrender they shall all, after giving up their arms, sign a document before Resident Magistrate of district in which surrender takes place acknowledging themselves guilty of high treason, and that the punishment to be awarded to them, provided they shall not have been guilty of murder or other acts contrary to usages of civilised warfare, shall be that they shall not be entitled for life to be registered as voters or to vote at any Parliamentary, Divisional Council, or Municipal election. Legislation will be required to give effect to this recommendation.

The Transvaal War

With regard to Justices of the Peace and Field-Cornets of Cape Colony and all other persons holding an official position under Government of Cape Colony, or who may occupy post of commandant of rebel or Burgher forces, Ministers advise that they shall be tried for high treason before the ordinary tribunal of country or such special court as may be hereafter constituted by law, the punishments for their offence to be left to the discretion of court, with this proviso, that in no case shall penalty of death be inflicted."

The Natal Government are of opinion that rebels should be dealt with according to the law of the colony.

FROM MR. CHAMBERLAIN TO LORD MILNER.

COLONIAL OFFICE, *26th May 1902*, 6.50 P.M.

Have any promises been made to Boers by you with regard to the leaders liable to banishment under the proclamation of 7th August, some of whom have been specially named in notices issued subsequently? This proclamation, you will recollect, was the result of a strong representation from Lord Kitchener, and supported by minute of Natal Government of 25th July. The exact terms were finally settled by you. If you now think that this proclamation should be disregarded I have no objection to make.

FROM LORD MILNER TO MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received Colonial Office 3.30 P.M., *27th May 1902*.)

Referring to your telegram of 26th May. No promises have been made or asked for. The Boers are no doubt aware that legislation is required to give effect to banishment, and feel that we would not introduce such legislation if Article 3 of proposed agreement is accepted. This is obvious, and it follows that if surrender comes off banishment will be tacitly dropped. I was in favour of banishment proclamation, and was prepared to go even further, as I thought, and I still think, that resistance of Boers had ceased to be legitimate at that stage, and that it was our duty to impose special penalties upon those responsible for adoption of guerilla methods by which the country was being ruined and by which alone the struggle could be kept up at all.

So far from regretting the proclamation I believe it has had great effect in increasing the number of surrenders, and in inducing the Boers still in the field to desist from further fighting. That has certainly been Kitchener's opinion, as he has always pressed and given the greatest publicity to the lists of banished leaders. But it would be a mistake if the Boers now give in in a body and live as British subjects to continue a prescription which would only keep up bitter feelings and tend to prevent the country from settling down.

Kitchener agrees entirely.

FROM LORD MILNER TO MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Sent 7.55 P.M. Received Colonial Office 7.45 P.M., *27th May 1902*.)

My telegram of to-day, No. 1.

I made it clear, I hope, that what I said applied only to banishment, not to sale of farms. Smuts did allude to this point in committee, though not to banishment, but I gave him an emphatic negative, and the subject was then dropped.

THE FIRST DRAFT AGREEMENT.

FROM LORD MILNER TO MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Despatched 11.10 P.M., *May 28*. Received Colonial Office 5.5 A.M., *May 29, 1902*.)

Referring to your telegram No. 1 of May 27. Commander-in-Chief and I met the Boer delegates again this morning, and I communicated to them the alterations and additions to their draft contained in your telegram under reply, and informed them that his Majesty's Government approved of the draft so altered being submitted to the Burghers at Vereeniging for a "Yes" or "No" answer. I added that if this opportunity of an honourable termination of hostilities was not accepted within a time fixed by us the conference would be considered at an end, and his Majesty's Government would not be in any way bound by the present declarations. I handed them at the same time a copy of draft agreement in accordance with your instructions. There was no discussion of it. Commander-in-Chief stated that before fixing definitely the time by which we must receive

Appendix

an answer he would like to know their opinion. He thought forty-eight hours would be ample, but he did not wish to rush them.

The delegates, who it was agreed should return to Vereeniging this evening, asked for an adjournment before giving an answer as to time. To this we agreed.

Before they left I read to them a statement based on your telegram of 27th May, No. 2, and was obliged to modify slightly your message in order to bring it into harmony with the latest communication I have received from the Cape Government on the subject, according to which fresh legislation will not be necessary; but essential points, viz., the degree of punishment to be awarded and the classification of rebels, were given absolutely in your words.

The delegates asked for a copy of my statement, which I handed to them. The meeting then adjourned.

This afternoon we met delegates again for a few minutes. They asked us to give them until Saturday night for their answer, to which we agreed. We then shook hands and parted.

They returned at 9 P.M. to Vereeniging.

FROM LORD MILNER TO MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Despatched 6.5 P.M., 30th May. Received Colonial Office 8.30 A.M., 31st May 1902.)

After handing to Boer delegates a copy of draft agreement which his Majesty's Government are prepared to approve with a view of terminating the present hostilities, I read to them the following statement and gave them a copy:—

His Majesty's Government must place it on record that the treatment of Cape and Natal Colonists who have been in rebellion and who now surrender will, if they return to their colonies, be determined by the Colonial Governments and in accordance with the laws of the colonies, and that any British subjects who have joined the enemy will be liable to trial under the law of that part of the British Empire to which they belong.

His Majesty's Government are informed by the Cape Government that the following are their views as to the terms which should be granted to British subjects of Cape Colony who are now in the field, or who have surrendered, or have been captured since April 12, 1901:—

“With regard to rank and file, they should all, upon surrender, after giving up their arms, sign a document before the Resident Magistrate of the district in which the surrender takes place, acknowledging themselves guilty of high treason, and the punishment to be awarded to them, provided they shall not have been guilty of murder or other acts contrary to the usages of civilised warfare, should be that they shall not be entitled for life to be registered as voters or to vote at any Parliamentary, Divisional Council, or Municipal election. With reference to Justices of the Peace and Field-Cornets of Cape Colony and all other persons holding an official position under the Government of Cape Colony, or who may occupy the position of commandant of rebel or Burgher forces, they shall be tried for high treason before the ordinary court of the country or such special court as may be hereafter constituted by law, the punishment for their offence to be left to the discretion of court, with this proviso, that in no case shall penalty of death be inflicted.”

The Natal Government are of opinion that rebels should be dealt with according to the law of the colony.

THE SIGNING OF THE TERMS.

FROM LORD KITCHENER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

PRETORIA, May 31, 1902, 5.15 P.M.

It is now settled that the Boer representatives will come here immediately, and also the High Commissioner from Johannesburg. It is possible that the document will be signed to-night. I have received from them a statement saying that they accept and are prepared to sign.

FROM LORD KITCHENER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

PRETORIA, May 31, 1902, 11.15 P.M.

Negotiations with Boer delegates. The document containing terms of surrender was signed here this evening at 10.30 P.M. by all Boer representatives, as well as by Lord Milner and myself.

The Transvaal War

FROM LORD MILNER TO MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

PRETORIA, *June 1, 10.15 A.M.*

The agreement, as amended by his Majesty's Government in your telegram of May 27, was signed just before 11 P.M. last night by Lord Kitchener and myself and ten Boer delegates, six representing the Transvaal and four Orange Free State. A resolution of Burgher assembly at Vereeniging authorising them to sign was put in by them before signing it. Names of signatories are the same as those in original draft sent in Lord Kitchener's telegram, except that the initials had been corrected in some cases and Mr. Steyn's name was omitted. He was too ill to come up, and had already taken his parole. The order of signatories is chiefly the same, except that De Wet signed first of the Orange River Colony delegates, Hertzog next, and then Brebner, the reason being that De Wet was nominated "Acting President" by Steyn on retiring.

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE AFTER THE BATTLE OF COLENZO, DECEMBER 15, 1899

Since the conduct of General Sir Redvers Buller in regard to the Relief of Ladysmith has been much discussed, it seems necessary for the sake of the completeness of this Record of the War to reproduce, without comment, the Official Correspondence which followed the defeat at Colenso. General Buller himself forwarded the Despatches to the Press Association, accompanied by the following letter:—

"17 LOWDNES SQUARE, W., *July 7, 1902.*

"I send you the enclosed document in the exact form in which it has been supplied to me by the Secretary of State for War for publication, and I shall be much obliged if you will kindly circulate it to all newspapers, together with this letter, as I wish to supplement the document by the remark that I was delighted to receive the answer of the Secretary of State for War of the 16th December 1899, because it assured me that forces which I had been apprehensive were pledged in another and less important direction would be at my disposal for operations in Natal. Thanking you in anticipation, I am, sir, yours, faithfully,
"REDVERS BULLER, *General.*"

FROM SIR R. BULLER TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

"CHIEVELEY CAMP, *December 15, 1899.*

"A serious question is raised by my failure to-day. I do not now consider that I am strong enough to relieve Ladysmith. Colenso is a fortress which, if not captured by a rush, could, I think, only be taken by a siege. Within the eight miles from the point of attack there is no water, and in this weather that exhausts infantry. The place is fully entrenched. I do not think we saw either a gun or a Boer all day, but the fire brought to bear on us was very heavy. The infantry were willing enough to fight, but the intense heat absolutely exhausted them. I consider I ought to let Ladysmith go and to occupy a good position for the defence of South Natal, and so let time help us. But I feel I ought to consult you on such a step. Twenty thousand men, I consider, faced us to-day; both in arms and in position they had the advantage. They admit, indeed, that they suffered severely, but my men are dispirited because they have not seen a dead Boer. My losses have not been very heavy; much heavier, indeed, I could have made them, but the moment I failed to get on the run the result would have been the same. I was beaten. I now feel I cannot say that with my available force I can relieve Ladysmith, and I suggest that for me to occupy a defensive position and fight it out in a country better suited to our tactics is the best thing that I can do."

Appendix

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR TO GENERAL SIR R. BULLER.

“WAR OFFICE, *December 16, 1899.*”

“The abandonment of White’s force and its consequent surrender is regarded by the Government as a national disaster of the greatest magnitude. We would urge you to devise another attempt to carry out its relief, not necessarily *viâ* Colenso, making use of the additional men now arriving if you think fit.”

FROM SIR R. BULLER TO SIR G. WHITE.

“*December 16, 1899.*”

“I tried Colenso yesterday but failed ; the enemy is too strong for my force, except with siege operations, and these will take one full month to prepare. Can you last so long ? If not, how many days can you give me in which to take up defensive position ? After which I suggest you firing away as much ammunition as you can and making best terms you can. I can remain here if you have alternative suggestion, but unaided I cannot break in. I find my Infantry cannot fight more than ten miles from camp, and then only if water can be got, and it is scarce here.”

NOTE.—In his subsequent message of 17th December Sir R. Buller said the above message had been signalled correctly, but asked to make the following corrections :—

“Strike out from ‘If not how many’ down to ‘after which’ inclusive, and substitute ‘How many days can you hold out?’ Add to end of message, ‘Whatever happens recollect to burn your cipher, decipher, and code-books, and all deciphered messages.’”

Message of 16th December, as altered by that of 17th December 1899 :—

“I tried Colenso yesterday but failed ; the enemy is too strong for my force, except with siege operations, and these will take one full month to prepare. Can you last so long ? How many days can you hold out ? I suggest you firing away as much ammunition as you can and making best terms you can. I can remain here if you have alternative suggestion, but unaided I cannot break in. I find my Infantry cannot fight more than ten miles from camp, and then only if water can be got, and it is scarce here. Whatever happens recollect to burn your cipher, decipher, and code-books, and all deciphered messages.”

FROM SIR G. WHITE TO SIR R. BULLER.

“*December 16, 1899.*”

“Yours of to-day received and understood. My suggestion is that you take up strongest available position that will enable you to keep touch of the enemy and harass him constantly with artillery fire, and in other ways as much as possible. I can make food last for much longer than a month, and will not think of making terms till I am forced to. You may have hit enemy harder than you think. All our native spies report that your artillery fire made considerable impression on enemy. Have your losses been very heavy ? If you lose touch of enemy, it will immensely increase his opportunities of crushing me, and have worse effect elsewhere. While you are in touch with him, and in communication with me, he has both of our forces to reckon with. Make every effort to get reinforcements as early as possible, including India, and enlist every man in both colonies who will serve and can ride. Things may look brighter.

“The loss of 12,000 men here would be a heavy blow to England. We must not yet think of it. I fear I could not cut my way to you. Enteric fever is increasing alarmingly here. There are now 180 cases, all within last month. Answer fully ; I am keeping everything secret for the present till I know your plans.”

RECIPIENTS OF THE VICTORIA CROSS

(Continued)

King Edward VII. was pleased to confer the decoration of the Victoria Cross on the following officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, whose claims were submitted to his Majesty's approval, for their conspicuous bravery in South Africa, as stated against their names:—

Captain H. N. Schofield,¹ Royal Field Artillery.—At Colenso, on December 15, 1899, when the detachments serving the guns of the 14th and 66th Batteries Royal Field Artillery had all been killed, wounded, or driven from them by infantry fire at close range, Captain Schofield went out when the first attempt was made to extricate the guns, and assisted in withdrawing the two that were saved.

Private C. Ravenhill, 2nd Battalion Royal Scots Fusiliers.—At Colenso, on December 15, 1899, Private Ravenhill went several times, under a heavy fire, from his sheltered position as one of the escort to the guns, to assist the officers and drivers who were trying to withdraw the guns of the 14th and 66th Batteries Royal Field Artillery, when the detachments serving them had all been killed, wounded, or driven from them by infantry fire at close range, and helped to limber up one of the guns that were saved.

Lieutenant (now Captain and Brevet-Major) J. E. I. Masterson, 1st Battalion Devonshire Regiment.—During the action at Wagon Hill on January 6, 1900, Lieutenant Masterson commanded, with the greatest gallantry and dash, one of the three companies of his regiment which charged a ridge held by the enemy and captured their position. The companies were then exposed to a most heavy and galling fire from the right and left front. Lieutenant Masterson undertook to give a message to the Imperial Light Horse, who were holding a ridge some hundred yards behind, to fire to the left front and endeavour to check the enemy's fire. In taking this message he crossed an open space of a hundred yards which was swept by a most heavy cross fire, and though badly wounded in both thighs managed to crawl in and deliver his message before falling exhausted into the Imperial Light Horse trench. His unselfish heroism was undoubtedly the means of saving several lives.

Privates R. Scott and J. Pitts, 1st Battalion Manchester Regiment.—During the attack on Caesar's Camp, in Natal, on January 6, 1900, these two men occupied a sangar, on the left of which all our men had been shot down and their positions occupied by Boers, and held their post for fifteen hours without

food or water, all the time under an extremely heavy fire, keeping up their fire and a smart look-out, though the Boers occupied some sangars on their immediate left rear. Private Scott was wounded.

Sergeant W. Firth, 1st Battalion West Riding Regiment.—During the action at Plewman's Farm, near Arundel, Cape Colony, on February 24, 1900, Lance-Corporal Blackman, having been wounded and lying exposed to a hot fire at a range of from four to five hundred yards, Sergeant Firth picked him up and carried him to cover. Later in the day, when the enemy had advanced to within a short distance of the firing line, Second Lieutenant Wilson being dangerously wounded and in a most exposed position, Sergeant Firth carried him over the crest of the ridge, which was being held by the troops, to shelter, and was himself shot through the nose and eye while doing so.

Corporal J. J. Clements, Rimington's Guides.—On February 24, 1900, near Strijdenburg, when dangerously wounded through the lungs and called on to surrender, Corporal Clements threw himself into the midst of a party of five Boers, shooting three of them with his revolver, and thereby causing the whole party to surrender to himself and two unwounded men of Rimington's Guides.

Captain N. R. House, New South Wales Medical Staff Corps.—During the action at Vredefort on July 24, 1900, Captain House went out under a heavy cross fire and picked up a wounded man and carried him to a place of shelter.

Sergeant H. Hampton, 2nd Battalion Liverpool Regiment.—On August 21, 1900, at Van Wyk's Vlei, Sergeant Hampton, who was in command of a small party of Mounted Infantry, held an important position for some time against heavy odds, and when compelled to retire saw all his men into safety, and then, though he had himself been wounded in the head, supported Lance-Corporal Walsh, who was unable to walk, until the latter was again hit and apparently killed, Sergeant Hampton himself being again wounded a short time after.

Private E. Durrant, 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade.—At Bergendal, on August 27, 1900, Acting-Corporal Wellar having been wounded, and being somewhat dazed, got up from his prone position in the firing line, exposing him-

¹ See Author's remarks, Biographical Record, vol. vi.

Recipients of the Victoria Cross

self still more to the enemy's fire, and commenced to run towards them. Private Durrant rose, and pulling him down endeavoured to keep him quiet, but finding this impossible he took him up and carried him back for 200 yards under a heavy fire to shelter, returning immediately to his place in the line.

Private C. Kennedy, 2nd Battalion Highland Light Infantry.—At Dewetsdorp, on November 22, 1900, Private Kennedy carried a comrade, who was dangerously wounded and bleeding to death, from Gibraltar Hill to the hospital, a distance of three-quarters of a mile, under a very hot fire. On the following day, volunteers having been called for to take a message to the commandant across a space over which it was almost certain death to venture, Private Kennedy at once stepped forward. He did not, however, succeed in delivering the message, as he was severely wounded before he had gone twenty yards.

Farrier-Major W. J. Hardham, 4th New Zealand Contingent.—On January 28, 1901, near Naauwpoort, this non-commissioned officer was with a section which was extended and hotly engaged with a party of about twenty Boers. Just before the force commenced to retire Trooper M'Crae was wounded and his horse killed. Farrier-Major Hardham at once went under a heavy fire to his assistance, dismounted and placed him on his own horse, and ran alongside until he had guided him to a place of safety.

Sergeant W. B. Traynor, 2nd Battalion the Prince of Wales's Own (West Yorkshire Regiment).—During the night attack on Bothwell Camp on February 6, 1901, Sergeant Traynor jumped out of a trench and ran out under an extremely heavy fire to the assistance of a wounded man. While running out he was severely wounded, and being unable to carry the man by himself he called for assistance. Lance-Corporal Lintott at once came to him, and between them they carried the wounded soldier into shelter. After this, although severely wounded, Sergeant Traynor remained in command of his section, and was most cheerful, encouraging his men till the attack failed.

Lieutenant F. B. Dugdale, 5th Lancers.—On March 3, 1901, Lieutenant Dugdale, who was in command of a small outpost near Derby, having been ordered to retire, his patrol came under a heavy fire at a range of about two hundred and fifty yards, and a sergeant, two men, and a horse were hit. Lieutenant Dugdale dismounted and placed one of the wounded men on his own horse; he then caught another horse, galloped up to a wounded man and took him up behind him, and brought both men safely out of action.

Lieutenant F. W. Bell, West Australian Mounted Infantry.—At Brakpan, on May 16, 1901, when retiring through a heavy fire after holding the right flank, Lieutenant Bell noticed a man dismounted and returned and took him up behind him. The horse, not being equal to the weight, fell with them. Lieutenant Bell then remained behind and covered the man's retirement till he was out of danger.

Sergeant James Rogers, South African Constabulary.—On the 15th June 1901, during a skirmish near Thabanchu, a party of the rearguard of Captain Sitwell's column, consisting of Lieutenant F. Dickinson, Sergeant James Rogers, and six men of the South African Constabulary, was suddenly attacked by about sixty Boers. Lieutenant Dickinson's horse having been shot, that officer was compelled to follow his men on foot. Sergeant Rogers seeing this, rode back, firing as he did so, took Lieutenant Dickinson up behind him, and carried him for half a mile on his horse. The sergeant then returned to within four hundred yards of the enemy and carried away, one after the other, two men who had lost their horses, after which he caught the horses of two other men, and helped the men to mount. All this was done under a very heavy rifle fire. The Boers were near enough to Sergeant Rogers to call on him to surrender: his only answer was to continue firing.

Lieutenant W. J. English, 2nd Scottish Horse.—This officer with five men was holding the right of a position at Vlaktefontein on July 3, 1901, during an attack by the Boers. Two of his men were killed and two wounded, but the position was still held largely owing to Lieutenant English's personal pluck. When the ammunition ran short he went over to the next party and obtained more; to do this he had to cross some fifteen yards of open ground under a heavy fire at a range of from twenty to thirty yards.

Private H. G. Crandon, 18th Hussars.—On July 4, 1901, at Springbok Laagte. Privates Berry and Crandon were scouting towards a kopje when the Boers suddenly opened fire on them at a range of one hundred yards. Private Berry's horse fell and became disabled, and he was himself shot in the right hand and left shoulder. Private Crandon at once rode back under a heavy fire to his assistance, gave up his horse to the wounded man to enable him to reach shelter, and followed him on foot having to run for one thousand one hundred yards, all the time under fire.

Sergeant-Major Alexander Young, Cape Police.—Towards the close of the action at Ruiter's Kraal, on the 13th of August 1901, Sergeant-Major Young, with a handful of men, rushed some kopjes which were being held by Commandant Erasmus and about twenty Boers. On reaching these kopjes the enemy were seen galloping back to another kopje held by the Boers. Sergeant-Major Young then galloped on some fifty yards ahead of his party, and closing with the enemy shot one of them and captured Commandant Erasmus, the latter firing at him three times at point blank range before being taken prisoner.

Lieutenant L. A. E. Price Davies, D.S.O., King's Royal Rifle Corps.—At Blood River Poort, on September 17, 1901, when the Boers had overwhelmed the right of the British column, and some four hundred of them were galloping round the flank and rear of the guns, riding up to the drivers (who were trying to get the guns away) and calling on them to

The Transvaal War

surrender, Lieutenant Price Davies, hearing an order to fire on the charging Boers, at once drew his revolver and dashed in among them, firing at them in a most gallant and desperate attempt to rescue the guns. He was immediately shot and knocked off his horse, but was not mortally wounded, although he had ridden to what seemed to be almost certain death without a moment's hesitation.

Driver F. G. Bradley, 69th Battery Royal Field Artillery.—During the action at Itala, Zululand, on the 26th September 1901, Major Chapman called for volunteers to carry ammunition up the hill. To do this a space of about one hundred and fifty yards swept by a heavy cross fire had to be crossed. Driver Lancashire and Gunner Bull at once came forward and started, but half-way across Driver Lancashire fell wounded. Driver Bradley and Gunner Rabb without a moment's hesitation ran out and caught Driver Lancashire up, and Gunner Rabb carried him under cover, the ground being swept by bullets the whole time. Driver Bradley then, with the aid of Gunner Boddy, succeeded in getting the ammunition up the hill.

Private W. Bees, 1st Battalion Derbyshire Regiment.—Private Bees was one of the Maxim-gun detachment which at Moedwil on the 30th September 1901 had six men hit out of nine. Hearing his wounded comrades asking for water he went forward, under a heavy fire, to a spruit held by Boers about five hundred yards ahead of the gun, and brought back a kettle full of water. In going and returning he had to pass within one hundred yards of some rocks also held by Boers, and the kettle which he was carrying was hit by several bullets.

Lieutenant L. C. Maygar, 5th Victorian

Mounted Rifles.—At Geelhoutboom, on the 23rd November 1901, Lieutenant Maygar galloped out and ordered the men of a detached post, which was being outflanked, to retire. The horse of one of them being shot under him, when the enemy were within two hundred yards, Lieutenant Maygar dismounted and lifted him on to his own horse, which bolted into boggy ground, causing both of them to dismount. On extricating the horse, and finding that it could not carry both, Lieutenant Maygar again put the man on its back and told him to gallop for cover at once, he himself proceeding on foot. All this took place under a very heavy fire.

Surgeon-Captain T. J. Crean, 1st Imperial Light Horse.—During the action with De Wet at Tygerskloof, on the 18th December 1901, this officer continued to attend to the wounded in the firing line, under a heavy fire at only one hundred and fifty yards' range, after he had himself been wounded, and only desisted when he was hit a second time, and, as it was at first thought, mortally wounded.

Surgeon-Captain A. Martin-Leake, South African Constabulary. — During the action at Vlakfontein, on the 8th of February 1902, Surgeon-Captain Martin-Leake went up to a wounded man and attended to him under a heavy fire from about forty Boers at a hundred yards' range. He then went to the assistance of a wounded officer, and while trying to place him in a comfortable position was shot three times, but would not give in till he rolled over thoroughly exhausted. All the eight men at this point were wounded, and while they were lying on the veldt Surgeon-Captain Martin-Leake refused water till every one else had been served.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE
TRANSVAAL WAR



A STOCK FARM.

After a Photo in the Natal Government Collection, by permission.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE TRANSVAAL WAR

BY

LOUIS CRESWICKE

AUTHOR OF "ROXANE," ETC

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

VOL. VIII

SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS FUTURE

EDITED BY

LOUIS CRESWICKE

LONDON
THE CAXTON PUBLISHING CO.

Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & CO.
At the Ballantyne Press

PREFACE—VOL. VIII.

EVERYONE who has followed the story of the War in South Africa from start to finish will assuredly have acquired a keen and lasting interest in the land which has been won by the expenditure of so much blood and treasure. Earnestly will he discuss in his mind all questions connected with the development of the New Dominions of the King, and vigilantly will he watch every action of the Government in regard to them.

In order rightly to estimate the difficulties to be overcome and the issues to be hoped for, and to follow these questions with complete apprehension, it is necessary to be familiar with their aspect in every possible light. To this end, the Editor has invited the co-operation of various well-known Authorities, each of whom has kindly contributed his opinion on matters coming within his special experience.

The Publishers claim, therefore, that in this Volume is collected the cream of modern thought, furnished at first-hand by those whose mastery of their subject, and whose interest in the Empire, render them competent to instruct in the intricacies of the South African problems, with which for some time to come we must stand face-to-face. That these writers do not on all points entirely agree is a matter for congratulation, as readers are thus enabled to view the political panorama from every reasonable standpoint, and weigh the pros and cons of their arguments with perspicuity and without prejudice.

At the present juncture, when Mr. Chamberlain, the greatest of Colonial Secretaries, is visiting South Africa, the Publishers are convinced that this Volume is the most valuable book on the new Colonies that has yet been offered to the Public.

CONTENTS—VOL. VIII.

EMIGRATION	PAGE I
By His Grace THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, P.C., K.T. ; Author of "Imperial Federation," "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria," &c.	
SOUTH AFRICAN FEDERATION: VIEWS OF COLONIAL PREMIERS	16
By E. B. OSBORN, Author of "Greater Canada."	
LAW AND LANGUAGE	23
By M. J. FARRELLY, LL.D., Barrister-at-Law ; Advocate of the Supreme Court of Cape Colony.	
THE AFRICANDER PARTY: ITS ORIGIN, ITS GROWTH, ITS AIMS	38
By the Hon. A. WILMOT, Member of the Legislative Council, Cape Colony ; Author of "History of Our Own Times in South Africa," &c., &c.	
RHODESIA: SOME PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS	55
By E. F. KNIGHT, Author of "Where Three Empires Meet," "The Cruise of the <i>Falcon</i> ," &c.	
PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES	72
By JAMES STANLEY LITTLE, Author of "South Africa," "The Progress of the British Empire in the Nineteenth Century," "The United States of Britain," &c. &c.	
THE FUTURE OF THE MINING INDUSTRY	86
By F. T. NORRIS.	
THE AGRICULTURAL OUTLOOK	113
By THE EDITOR.	
WOOL-GROWING	133
By ALLEN G. DAVISON, Chief Inspector of Sheep for Cape Colony.	
SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS	140
By W. BLELOCH, Author of "The New South Africa."	
HEALTH RESORTS OF SOUTH AFRICA	157
By ERNEST GRAHAM LITTLE, B.A., formerly Porter Scholar, of the Cape University ; M.D. University of London ; Member of the Royal College of Physicians ; Physician, with charge of the Skin Department, at St. Mary's Hospital ; Senior Assistant Physician to the East London Hospital for Children and Dispensary for Women, Shadwell ; late House Physician at St. George's Hospital and at the City of London Hospital for Diseases of the Chest.	
COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS	174
By WILLIAM EGLINGTON, Editor and Proprietor of "The British and South African Export Gazette."	
THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTABULARY: VIEWS OF MAJOR-GENERAL BADEN-POWELL	186
APPENDIX: MR. CHAMBERLAIN AND THE BOER GENERALS	189

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS—VOL. VIII

COMMERCIAL MAP OF SOUTH AFRICA *At Front*

1. COLOURED PLATES

	PAGE		PAGE
A STOCK FARM	<i>Frontispiece</i>	LORD MILNER	80
CHURCH STREET, PRETORIA—THE APPROACH TO THE TOWN	20	A KAFFIR VILLAGE	120
AT THE HEAD OF UMGENI FALLS, HOWICK, NATAL	40	PEELING BARK ON A WATTLE PLANTATION IN NATAL	132
THE OUTLET BELOW VICTORIA FALLS, ZAM- BESI RIVER	64	BLOEMFONTEIN	160

2. FULL-PAGE PLATES

	PAGE		PAGE
THE DOCKS, CAPE TOWN	8	GENERAL VIEW OF THE SURFACE WORKS OF A RAND GOLD MINE (KNIGHT'S)	104
THE LOW VELDTS FROM BOTHA'S HILL	48	PRITCHARD STREET, JOHANNESBURG	108
A HUNTER'S WAGGON, RHODESIA	56	MILL (OR BATTERY) OF A GOLD MINE (SALIS- BURY AND JUBILEE, JOHANNESBURG)	112
THE RESETTLEMENT OF THE TRANSVAAL—A BOER FAMILY RETURNING TO THEIR FARM	72	TEA FARM, SHOWING COOLIES PICKING	124
WASHING PLANT OF DE BEERS DIAMOND MINES AT KIMBERLEY	88	A SUGAR-MILL IN NATAL (CENTRIFUGAL ROOM)	128
CYANIDE WORKS (NEW COMET MINE) AT JOHANNESBURG	92	JOHANNESBURG MAIL TRAIN AT THE FOOT OF MAJUBA	144
MINES ON THE LINE OF REEF AT JOHANNES- BURG	96	COMMISSIONER STREET, JOHANNESBURG	148
DRIVING AN "END" IN MAY CONSOLIDATED MINE, JOHANNESBURG	100	MORNING MARKET AT JOHANNESBURG	152
		MORNING MARKET AT KIMBERLEY	168
		CHURCH STREET EAST, PRETORIA	176

3. PORTRAITS

	PAGE		PAGE
SIR HENRY M'CALLUM, K.C.M.G.	12	HON. SIR ARTHUR LAWLEY, K.C.M.G.	32
HON. SIR W. F. HELY HUTCHINSON	16	SIR H. J. GOOLD-ADAMS, C.B., C.M.G.	44
RIGHT HON. SIR J. GORDON SPRIGG, K.C.M.G.	24	THE COLONIAL CONFERENCE	184

4. MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS IN THE TEXT

	PAGE		PAGE
FIVE-MILE SPRUIT, RHODESIA	56	MAP—RHODESIAN GOLD-FIELDS	111
CAPE TO CAIRO RAILWAY	58	WELLWOOD FARM	114
RHODESIAN NATIVES WASHING CLOTHES	63	FARM IN THE KARROO PROPER	118
MACHECKIE RAILWAY BRIDGE	65	VERMONT MERINO EWES	122
THE WANKIE EXPEDITION	68	PURE NEGRETTI MERINO RAM	126
RHODESIAN MINING—THE DOBIE MILL	70	ANGORA GOAT (YOUNG EWE)	130
PROSPECTING FOR GOLD	87	FLOCK OF FAT CROSS-BRED MERINO AND FAT-TAILED SHEEP	133
THE INFANCY OF A GOLD MINE	90	ANGORA GOATS (YOUNG RAMS)	135
SECTION OF A GOLD MINE	93	FAT-TAILED HAIRY AFRICANDER SHEEP	136
HEAD-GEAR OF THE WITWATERSRAND GOLD- MINING CO.	100	ANGORA GOAT (RAM)	138
KAFFIR COMPOUND	102	BRIDGE OVER THE TUGELA	142
CYANIDE WORKS	104	STATION YARD, DURBAN	146
GENERAL VIEW OF SURFACE WORKS	106	MAP OF CAPE GOVERNMENT RAILWAY	152, 3
MAP—TRANSVAAL GOLD-FIELDS	109	MAP—BRITAIN IN AFRICA	199

Chronological Table

- 19.—Colonel Allenby captured thirty-two of the enemy near Heidelberg.
- 20.—Colonel Damant attacked by 800 Boers. Two officers killed, three wounded. Boers repulsed.
- 21.—Capture of Smuts' convoy, near Bothwell, by Colonel Mackenzie.
- 22.—Seven hundred Cape raiders attacked columns of Colonels Wyndham and Crabbe. Were driven off with loss of five killed and twenty wounded.
- 23.—Successful attack on Grobelaar's laager by General B. Hamilton.
- 24.—Colonel Du Moulin surprised laager near Jagersfontein. Captured two Field-Cornets and twenty other Boers.
- 25.—Colonel Firman's camp at Tweefontein rushed by huge force under De Wet.
- 28.—Successful engagement near Burghersdorp by Colonel Price. Field-Cornet Jan Venter killed

JANUARY 1902.

- 3.—Capture of General Erasmus by General Bruce-Hamilton.
- 10.—Surprise of laager near Ermelo by Colonel Wing and capture of forty-two prisoners.
- 12.—More captures by General B. Hamilton.
- 13.—Fight for a convoy by De Villiers. Gallant charge of Munster Fusiliers.
- 16.—Capture of laager and twenty-four prisoners by Lord Methuen.
- 18.—Execution of Scheepers on various charges of murder at Graaff Reinet. Night expedition to Witbank. General Hamilton secured more prisoners.
- 21.—Colonels Park and Urmston engaged party of Boers under Muller and Trichardt, occasioning stampede of Boer Government from Houtenbek.
- 24.—Important captures by General Plumer's troops. Thirty burghers secured by Colonel Fry, West Yorkshire Regiment. Attack on Pietersburg repulsed. Volunteer Town Guard distinguished itself.
- 25.—Capture of Viljoen near Kruger's Post by detachment of Royal Irish under Major Orr.
- 26.—Successful engagement on the Modder by Major Driscoll's column.
- Huge laager at Nelspan dispersed by General Bruce-Hamilton's force.
- 27.—Colonel Du Moulin killed in a night attack on his camp. Enemy repulsed by Major Gilbert (Sussex Regiment).
- 30.—Colonel Rawlinson's troops after tremendous march surprised Manie Botha's laager and made valuable captures.
- 31.—Capture of convoy at Groothoop by Colonel Rimington.

FEBRUARY 1902.

- 2.—De Wet's commando gallantly charged by New Zealanders, Queensland Imperial Bushmen, and South African Light Horse. Enormous captures.
- 4.—Capture and destruction of British convoy by Boers in Cape Colony. Major Crofton killed.
- 5.—Surprise and capture of Commandant S. Alberts' laager by Scottish Horse under Major Leader.
- 6.—Major Vallancey dispersed Beyers' commando. Gigantic movement to entrap De Wet started.
- 7.—De Wet, by brilliant manoeuvre, ruptured the British cordon and escaped.
- 8.—Big capture from Potgieter's laager by Colonel von Donop's force.
- 13.—Bouvers' laager in Cape Colony rushed by Colonel Kavanagh's men.
- 18.—Capture of Judge Hugo in Cape Colony. Boers cut off and surrounded a portion of squadron of Scots Greys south-east of Springs.
- 20.—Two laagers surprised by Colonel Park's troops; 164 prisoners taken.
- 21.—Capture of laager at Buffelskloof by Colonel E. Williams' column.
- 24.—Some East Griqualand rebels surrendered to Colonel Stanford.
- 25.—Determined attack on Colonel von Donop's convoy by Delarey and Kemp. Waggon lost. Escort, which made gallant defence, overpowered. Five British officers and fifty-three men killed; six officers and 123 men wounded; others taken prisoners.
- 26.—Jacob's laager captured by Colonel Driscoll.
- 27.—Anniversary of Majuba. Combined operations for driving Boers against Harrismith-Van Reenan's

The Transvaal War

blockhouse line. Manie Botha killed ; 600 Boers killed, wounded, or prisoners. Splendid defence by New Zealanders under Major Bauchop and New South Wales Mounted Infantry under Colonel Cox.

- 28.—Capture of Boers near Steynsdorp by Captain Holgate (Steinacker's Horse).

MARCH 1902.

- 6.—Colonel Ross (Canadian Scouts) made valuable captures in a cave near Tafel Kop.
- 7.—Successful attack by Delarey on Lord Methuen's force at Tweebosch. Lord Methuen seriously wounded and taken prisoner.
- 11.—Close of big drive in Orange River Colony ; 127 Boers taken. Commandant Celliers wounded.
- 12.—Many prisoners captured by Colonel Ternan and Colonel Pilcher.
- 13.—Little garrison of fifty men at Fort Edward surrounded by Beyers' commando.
- 15.—Attack on laager near Vryheid by General Bruce-Hamilton. General Cherry Emmett captured.
- 16.—Rebels at Sliphock captured by Captain Bowker.
- 17.—Some of Bezuidenhout commando captured in Cape Colony by Colonel Baillie.
- 18.—Lieutenant Williams, a notorious train-wrecker, captured by National Scouts.
- 21.—Colonel Harrison sent out from Pietersburg small force under Colonel Denny to relief of Fort Edward. Advance opposed by Boers.
- 23.—Arrival at Pretoria of so-called Acting Transvaal Government to discuss the terms of peace.
- 26.—Death of Cecil John Rhodes.
- 28.—Colonel Colenbrander from Krugersdorp moved to Pietersburg and from thence accomplished relief of Fort Edward.
- 29.—Total defeat of Beyers and dispersal of investing commando.
- 30.—Serious railway accident at Barberton.
- 31.—Delarey defeated in engagement with Colonels Keir and Cookson. R.H.A. Rifles, Canadian Rifles,

and 28th Mounted Infantry distinguished themselves.

APRIL 1902.

- 1.—Laager surprised by 2nd Dragoon Guards near Springs. Four officers wounded.
- 3.—State funeral of the late Mr. Rhodes at Cape Town.
- 4.—Ookief invested by Commandant Smuts.
- 8.—Successful attack on Beyers' laager near Pietersburg by Colonels Colenbrander and Murray.
- 9.—Conference between Transvaal and Orange Free State leaders at Klerksdorp in regard to negotiations for peace.
- 10.—Burial of Cecil John Rhodes in the Matoppos.
" They left him alone in his glory."
- 11.—Meeting of Boer representatives at Klerksdorp in relation to Peace movement. Colonel Kekewich defeated Boers in Western Transvaal and captured two guns and a pom-pom.
- 12.—Laager at Schweizerreneke surprised by Colonel Rochfort. Fifty-five prisoners taken.

MAY 1902.

- 1.—Relief of Ookiep by British troops under Colonels Cooper and Caldwell.
- 2.—Lieutenant Murray (District Mounted troops) killed at Tweefontein by Boers in kharki.
- 6.—Pieter de Wet sentenced by Treason Court to pay a fine of £1000 or undergo two years' imprisonment.
- 9.—Patrol attacked by Boers near Middeburg, Cape Colony. Captain Hinks killed.
- 15.—Members of the late Governments met together to discuss Peace proposals.
- 17.—Surrender of Hinton, the notorious train-wrecker.
- 20.—Delegates of late Governments arrived at Pretoria to arrange terms of surrender.
- 27.—Malan mortally wounded and captured by Jansenville District Mounted Horse (under Major Collett), and Lovat's Scouts.
- 30.—Peace Agreement signed.

COMPOSITION OF COLUMNS

COMPOSITION AND STRENGTH OF COLUMNS ENGAGED IN MAJOR-GENERAL BRUCE-HAMILTON'S OPERATIONS IN SOUTHERN ORANGE RIVER COLONY.¹

LIEUT.-COLONEL DU MOULIN'S COLUMN.

30th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (31-32).
31st Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (153-177).
39th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
"N" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
1st Royal Sussex Regiment (436).

COLONEL ROCHFORD'S COLUMN.

9th Bn., Imperial Yeomanry (302-274).
17th Mounted Infantry (331-358).
17th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
"G" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
28th Co., Army Service Corps (11).

LIEUT.-COLONEL BYNG'S COLUMN.

5th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (129-109).
23rd Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (123-75).
66th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (104-95).
32nd Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (91-93).
South African Light Horse (503-642).
17th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
Pompom Section, 1 pompom.
3rd Brigade Field Hospital (5).
13th Brigade Field Hospital (11).

LIEUT.-COLONEL W. H. WILLIAMS' COLUMN.

1st Mounted Infantry (203-241), 1 M.G.
50th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (120-91).
60th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (121-110).
43rd Battery, R.F.A., 1 5-inch Howitzer.
"D" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
20th Bearer Company (8).

COLONEL MONRO'S COLUMN. (Afterwards in Cape Colony.)

Bethune's Mounted Infantry (273-500), 2 M.G.
56th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (80), 3 M.G.

57th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (92-95).
58th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (71-56).
59th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (77-80).
39th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
"Z" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.

LIEUT.-COLONEL A. MURRAY'S COLUMN. (Afterwards in Cape Colony.)

Lovat's Scouts (152-182).
"M" Battery, R.H.A., 2 guns.

LIEUT.-COLONEL WHITE'S COLUMN. 28/6/01. (Since broken up.)

16th Lancers (469-329).
29th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (132-114).
49th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (141-100).
39th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
"X" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
9th Bearer Company (8).

COLONEL HENRY'S COLUMN.

22nd Mounted Infantry (446-325).
24th Bn., Imperial Yeomanry (373-270).
82nd Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
Pompom Section, R.F.F., 1 pompom.
2nd Gloucestershire Regiment (271), 1 M.G.
23rd Bearer Company (9).

KIMBERLEY COLUMN.

74th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (125-135).
Kimberley Light Horse (94-99).
Dennison's Scouts (81-85).
Mounted Infantry, Royal Welsh Fusiliers (20-24).
Vol. Northumberland Fusiliers (102).
3rd Leinster Regiment (100).
38th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
2nd Royal Scots Fusiliers (38).
Diamond Field Artillery (13-19), 1 M.G.

COLUMNS ENGAGED IN MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES KNOX'S OPERATIONS IN CENTRAL ORANGE RIVER COLONY.

COLONEL PILCHER'S COLUMN.

7th Corps Mounted Infantry (891-860), 2 M.G.
6th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry (642-582).

MAJOR PINE COFFIN'S COLUMN.

Mounted Infantry, Suffolk Regiment (119-112).
Mounted Infantry, South Wales Borderers (105-107).
Mounted Infantry, Berkshire Regiment (88-116).
Mounted Infantry, West Riding Regiment (114-117).
"O" Battery, R.H.A., 2 guns.

14th Battery, R.F.A., 4 guns.
"M" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
36th Co. Army Service Corps (37).
13th Brigade Bearer Company (8).

LIEUT.-COLONEL THORNEYCROFT'S COLUMN.

21st and 22nd Sqds. and 18th Battalion. Imperial Yeomanry (740-780).
Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry (168-339).
Burmah Mounted Infantry (185-230).
76th Battery, R.F.A., 4 guns.
"X" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
Royal Army Medical Corps (14).

COLONEL HENRY'S COLUMN. KIMBERLEY COLUMN.

¹ This table represents the columns as they were disposed at Midsummer 1901.

The Transvaal War

COLUMNS ENGAGED IN MAJOR-GENERAL ELLIOT'S OPERATIONS IN NORTHERN ORANGE RIVER COLONY.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL BROADWOOD'S COLUMN.

7th Dragoon Guards (581-584), 1 M.G.
6th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (123-126).
42nd Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (29-105).
44th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (107-122).
46th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (108-102).
78th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (59-70).
Gun Section, Imperial Yeomanry (17-23),
2 M.G.
82nd Battery, R.F.A., 4 guns.
20th Brigade Bearer Company (21).
86th Co., Army Service Corps (17).
17th Co., Army Service Corps (11).
Royal Engineers (7).

COLONEL BETHUNE'S COLUMN.

1st Dragoon Guards (384-510), 1 M.G.
3rd Dragoon Guards (317-390).
7th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (99-98).
8th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (99-87).
28th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (92-90).
"Q" Battery, R.H.A., 4 guns.
Elswick Battery, 1 gun.
"K" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
2nd Somerset Light Infantry (196).
4th Field Troop, Royal Engineers (39).
19th Co., Army Service Corps (29).
Royal Army Medical Corps (19).

LIEUT.-COLONEL COLVILLE'S COLUMN.

2nd Division Mounted Infantry (300-340).
2nd Johannesburg Mounted Rifles (106-130).
63rd Battery, R.F.A., 4 guns.
"O" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
2nd East Surrey Regiment (345), 1 M.G.
No. 1 Auxiliary Co., Army Service Corps
(13).
2nd Brigade Field Hospital (16).
2nd Brigade Bearer Company (4).

COLONEL RIMINGTON'S COLUMN.

3rd Regiment, 5th Contingent, New South
Wales Mounted Rifles (734-854), 4 M.G.

41st Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (106-113).
77th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (91-96).
106th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (102-115).
Prince of Wales Light Horse (501-504),
2 M.G.
"G" Battery, R.H.A., 4 guns.
"G" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
"R" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
30th Co., Army Service Corps (14).
20th Brigade Field Hospital (23).

LIEUT.-COLONEL DE LISLE'S COLUMN.

6th Regiment Mounted Infantry (392-457),
2 M.G.
South Australians (326-398).
62nd Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
"A" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
2nd Co., Army Service Corps (16).

COLONEL E. C. KNOX'S COLUMN.

10th Hussars (566-668), 1 M.G.
12th Lancers (663-771), 1 M.G.
21st Bn., Imperial Yeomanry (259-316).
"A" Battery, Royal Australian Artillery,
4 guns.
2nd East Surrey Regiment (274).
"U" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
17th Co., Royal Engineers (7).
40th Co., Army Service Corps (15).
4th Brigade Field Hospital (25).

LIEUT.-COLONEL WESTERN'S COLUMN.

No. 1 Co., Royal Irish Rifles Mounted
Infantry (103-130).
No. 2 Co., Royal Irish Rifles Mounted
Infantry (99-137).
Mounted Infantry, Royal West Kent Regi-
ment (61-76).
Driscoll's Scouts (422-489).
62nd Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
"M" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
1st Oxfordshire Light Infantry (120).
1st Royal Irish Fusiliers (120).
2nd Division Field Hospital (17).
17th Co., Army Service Corps (15).

COLUMNS ENGAGED IN LIEUT.-COLONEL WESTERN'S OPERATIONS ON THE VAAL RIVER.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL G. HAMILTON'S COLUMN.

5th Dragoon Guards (373-340), 1 M.G.
13th Hussars (544-578), 1 M.G.
"Q" Battery, R.H.A., 2 guns.
64th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
"F" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
1st East Lancashire (363), 1 M.G.
7th Co., Army Service Corps (7).
3rd Field Troop, Royal Engineers (29).
2nd Brigade Bearer Company (27).

LIEUT.-COLONEL WESTERN'S COLUMN.

COLONEL ALLENBY'S COLUMN.

6th Dragoon Guards (475-488), 3 M.G.
2nd Dragoons (506-533), 1 M.G.
"O" Battery, R.H.A., 4 guns.
83rd Battery, R.F.A., 1 gun.
87th Battery, R.F.A., 1 5-inch Howitzer.
"E" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
1st Inniskilling Fusiliers (683), 1 M.G.
1st Field Troop, Royal Engineers (27).
6th Field Hospital (10).
6th Bearer Company (13).

COLONEL HENRY'S COLUMN.

Composition and Strength of Columns

COLUMNS ENGAGED IN CLEARING THE EAST OF THE ORANGE RIVER COLONY.

MAJOR-GENERAL B. CAMPBELL'S COLUMN.

1st Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (134) } Total
2nd Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (160) } horses,
3rd Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (114) } 536.
4th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (139) }
2nd Battery, R.F.A., 4 guns.
"T" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
2nd Scots Guards (688).
1st Leinster Regiment (402).

COLONEL HARLEY'S COLUMN.

36th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (142-153).
53rd Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (138-138).
62nd Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (82-35).
Unallotted Imperial Yeomanry (343-121).
Mounted Infantry, Manchester Regiment
(96-114).
Tempest's Scouts (38).
36th, Southern Division, R.G.A., 1 5-inch.
77th Battery, R.F.A., 4 guns.
"T" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
1st South Staffordshire Regiment (787).
2nd Manchester Regiment (645).
2nd Grenadier Guards (62).

COLUMNS ENGAGED IN OPERATIONS IN THE SOUTH-WEST TRANSVAAL.

LIEUT.-GENERAL LORD METHUEN'S COLUMN.

13th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (128).
14th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (130-154).
15th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (140-162).
16th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (130-141).
100th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (36-35).
101st Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (142-148).
102nd Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (105-
116).
Gun Section, Imperial Yeomanry (15-24),
2 M.G.
37th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (99-115).
38th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (96-105).
39th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (119-124).

40th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (95-91), 1
M.G.
43rd Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (113-116).
73rd Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (105-153).
51st Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (81-106).
Mounted Infantry, Bedfordshire Regiment
(63-72).
Bechuanaland Rifles (64-90).
4th Battery, R.F.A., 6 guns.
37th Battery, R.F.A., 2 5-inch Howitzers.
R.F.F. Artillery, 2 guns.
"H" Section Pompoms, 2 pompoms.
Pompom Section, R.F.F., 2 pompoms.
1st Northumberland Fusiliers (146).
1st Loyal North Lancashire (334).
3rd South Wales Borderers (146).

MAJOR-GENERAL BABINGTON'S COLUMN.

14th Hussars (98-105).
Mounted Infantry, Royal Welsh Fusiliers
(29-35).
Imperial Light Horse (162-229).
4th New Zealand Rifles (216-280).
6th Imperial Bushmen (193-260).
103rd Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (135-144).
107th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (145-153).
37th Battery, R.F.A., 1 5-inch Howitzer.
68th Battery, R.F.A., 4 guns.
Elswick Battery, 1 gun.
Pompom Section, R.F.F., 2 pompoms.
Signallers, R.F.F. (7).
1st Royal Welsh Fusiliers (522).
11th Co., Royal Engineers (9).
7th Co., Army Service Corps (21).
9th Brigade Field Hospital (20).
12th Bearer Company (11).

COLONEL SIR H. RAWLINSON'S COLUMN.

2nd Mounted Infantry (352-439).
8th Mounted Infantry (375-428).
"P" Battery, R.H.A., 2 guns.
38th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
37th Battery, R.F.A., 1 5-inch Howitzer.

LIEUT.-COLONEL HICKIE'S COLUMN.

"P" Battery, R.H.A., 2 guns.
78th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
Pompom Section, 2 pompoms.
103rd Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (108-113).
107th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (99-109).
Kitchener's Horse (29-51).
Roberts' Horse (114-118).
Imperial Light Horse (369-439).
2nd Cheshire Regiment (182), 1 M.G.
11th Field Troop, Royal Engineers (7).
7th Co., Army Service Corps (24).
29th Co., Army Service Corps (6).
9th Brigade Field Hospital (14).
12th Bearer Company (10).

BRIGADIER-GENERAL DIXON'S COLUMN.

7th Bn., Imperial Yeomanry (151-164).
1st Scottish Horse (451-543).
8th Battery, R.F.A., 4 guns.
28th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
37th Battery, R.F.A., 1 5-inch Howitzer.
"G" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
1st King's Own Scottish Borderers (469),
1 M.G.
1st Derby Regiment (411), 1 M.G.

The Transvaal War

"B" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
 "Z" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
 2nd Cheshire Regiment (179).
 2nd Field Troop, Royal Engineers (14).

LIEUT.-COLONEL E. C. WILLIAMS' COLUMN.

2nd New South Wales Mounted Rifles (526-536).
 3rd New South Wales Bushmen (229-244).
 21st Bn., Mounted Infantry (432-415).
 78th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
 Elswick Battery, 1 gun.
 "A" Batt., Royal Australian Artillery, 2 guns.
 "B" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
 "D" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
 2nd Cheshire Regiment (192).
 Australian Medical Corps (23).
 7th Co., Royal Engineers (7).

10th Co., Army Service Corps (24).
 12th Field Hospital (32).
 10th Bearer Company (12).
 7th Co., Royal Engineers (4).

BRIGADIER-GENERAL G. HAMILTON'S COLUMN.

COLONEL ALLENBY'S COLUMN.

GENERAL BARTON'S COLUMN.

108th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (100).
 Mounted Infantry (200).
 81st Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
 1st Cameron Highlanders (700).

MAJOR G. WILLIAMS' COLUMN.

11th Bn., Mounted Infantry (323-403).

COLUMNS ENGAGED IN OPERATIONS BETWEEN THE DELAGOA AND NATAL LINES.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL PLUMER'S COLUMN.

5th Queensland Imperial Bushmen (340-361).
 6th New Zealand Mounted Rifles (419-406).
 18th Battery, R.F.A., 4 guns.
 "Q" Section Pompoms, 2 pompoms.
 1st Royal Munster Fusiliers (264).
 2nd and 11th Cos., Royal Engineers (37).
 13th Brigade Field Hospital (18).
 14th Brigade Field Hospital (16).
 Elswick Battery, 1 gun.
 2nd Dorset Regiment (500), 1 M.G.
 26th Co., Royal Engineers (20).
 11th Field Hospital (9).
 18th Field Hospital (10).
 20th Co., Army Service Corps (20).
 45th Co., Army Service Corps (16).

LIEUT.-COLONEL GREY'S (afterwards LIEUT.-COLONEL GARRATT'S) COLUMN.

6th Queenslanders (307-302).
 7th New Zealanders (489-504), 1 M.G.
 9th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
 73rd Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
 "C" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
 1st East Lancashire (309).
 15th Field Hospital (22).
 91st Co., Army Service Corps (22).

MAJOR-GENERAL W. KITCHENER'S COLUMN.

5th West Australian Mounted Infantry (160-194).
 6th West Australian Mounted Infantry (195-186).

BRIGADIER-GENERAL BULLOCK'S COLUMN.

5th Corps, Mounted Infantry (758-894).
 Gough's Mounted Infantry (590-742), 3 M.G.
 Johannesburg Mounted Rifles (318-366).
 Commander-in-Chief's Bodyguard (182-310),
 2 guns and 1 pompom.
 74th Battery, R.F.A., 4 guns.
 "J" Battery, R.H.A., 6 guns.
 "F" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
 2nd Imperial Light Horse (138-170), 1 M.G.
 53rd Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
 16th Southern Division, R.G.A., 1 5-inch.
 10th Mountain Battery, R.G.A., 1 gun.
 "S" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
 1st Devonshire Regiment (833), 2 M.G.
 24th Bearer Company and Field Hospital (9).
 23rd Co., Royal Engineers (10).

LIEUT.-COLONEL PULTENEY'S COLUMN.

1st Royal Dragoons (345-349), 1 M.G.
 6th Inniskilling Dragoons (370-400), 2 M.G.
 66th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
 "P" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
 1st Scots Guards (854), 1 M.G.
 Royal Engineers (48).
 11th Field Hospital (19).
 9th Bearer Company (21).

COLONEL RIMINGTON'S COLUMN.

COLONEL ALLENBY'S COLUMN.

COLONEL E. C. KNOX'S COLUMN.

COLUMNS ENGAGED IN BRIGADIER-GENERAL PLUMER'S OPERATIONS IN SOUTH-EASTERN TRANSVAAL.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL PLUMER'S COLUMN. |

COLONEL E. C. KNOX'S COLUMN.

COLONEL RIMINGTON'S COLUMN.

Composition and Strength of Columns

MAJOR-GENERAL BEATSON'S OPERATIONS.

MAJOR-GENERAL BEATSON'S COLUMN.
5th Victorian Mounted Rifles (740-721).
9th Battery, R.F.A., 4 guns.
2nd Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry (366).

2nd Seaforth Highlanders (178).
26th Co., Royal Engineers (23).
20th Field Hospital (26).
84th Co., A.S.C. (18).

COLUMNS ENGAGED IN LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR BINDON BLOOD'S OPERATIONS IN THE EASTERN TRANSVAAL.

MAJOR-GENERAL BABINGTON'S COLUMN.
19th Hussars (279-268), 1 M.G.
83rd Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
10th Mountain Battery, R.G.A., 1 gun.
"J" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
1st King's Royal Rifle Corps (637), 1 M.G.
43rd Co., Army Service Corps (16).
12th Field Hospital (21).
9th Co., Royal Engineers (12).

COLONEL CAMPBELL'S COLUMN.
18th Hussars (543-470).
53rd Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
14th Southern Division, R.G.A., 1 5-inch.
Pontoon Troop, R.E. (10).
2nd Rifle Brigade (587), 1 M.G.
12th Brigade Field Hospital (30).
Army Service Corps (10).

LIEUT.-COLONEL BENSON'S (R.A.) COLUMN.

18th Mounted Infantry (466-513).
19th Mounted Infantry (362-430).
2nd Scottish Horse (503-647).
21st Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
81st Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
61st Battery, R.F.A., 1 5-inch Howitzer.
10th Mountain Battery, R.G.A., 1 gun.
"C" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
"R" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
1st Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (724).
23rd Co., Royal Engineers (23).
8th Bearer Company (22).
31st Co., Army Service Corps (19).

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SPENS' COLUMN.

5th Lancers (153-132).
4th Mounted Infantry (457-534).
4th Mountain Battery, R.G.A., 2 2.5-inch.
10th Mountain Battery, R.G.A., 1 12-pr.
"S" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
2nd Royal Berkshire Regiment (570), 3 M.G.
19th Co., Royal Engineers (23).
19th Bearer Co. (29).

COLONEL PARK'S COLUMN.

4th Division Mounted Infantry (123-137),
1 Krupp gun.
53rd Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
"P" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
1st Royal Irish Regiment (613), 1 M.G.
40th Co., Army Service Corps (8).
4th Division Field Hospital (4).

LIEUT.-COLONEL DOUGLAS' COLUMN.

3rd Mounted Infantry (349-446).
84th Battery, R.F.A., 4 guns.
"L" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
1st Royal Scots (704), 1 M.G.
23rd Co., Royal Engineers (17).
19th Field Hospital (22).
19th Bearer Company (11).

MAJOR-GENERAL W. KITCHENER'S COLUMN.

LIEUT.-COLONEL PULTENEY'S COLUMN.

MAJOR-GENERAL BEATSON'S COLUMN.

LIEUT.-COLONEL COLVILLE'S COLUMN.

COLONEL GARRATT'S COLUMN.

COLUMNS ENGAGED IN OPERATIONS ON THE PIETERSBURG LINE.

MAJOR McMICKING'S COLUMN.

20th Bn., Mounted Infantry (374-317).
75th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
2nd Lincoln Rifles (179).

LIEUT.-COLONEL WILSON'S COLUMN.

Kitchener's Fighting Scouts (417-399).
Bush Veldt Carabineers (21-22).

12th Mounted Infantry (13-13).
2nd Gordon Highlanders (104).

LIEUT.-COLONEL GRENFELL'S COLUMN.

Kitchener's Fighting Scouts (364-361).
12th Mounted Infantry (193-194).
2nd Wiltshire Rifles (363).
85th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
"A" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.

OPERATIONS IN THE STANDERTON-HEIDELBERG DISTRICT.

LIEUT.-COLONEL COLVILLE'S COLUMN.

LIEUT.-COLONEL GREY'S COLUMN.

The Transvaal War

COLUMNS ENGAGED IN OPERATIONS IN CAPE COLONY.

COLONEL DORAN'S COLUMN. (Late LIEUT.-COLONEL HENNIKER'S.)

Warren's Mounted Infantry (181-191).
11th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (134-131).
23rd Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (141-148).
24th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (125-94).
"M" Battery, R.H.A., 2 guns.
Cape Colony Cyclists (4).

LIEUT.-COLONEL CRABBE'S COLUMN.

P. A. Guards (193-205).
Marshall's Horse (120-139).
99th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (53-63).
104th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (58-60).
105th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (53-69).
111th Sqdn., Imperial Yeomanry (47-53).
85th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
2nd Royal Fusiliers (78).
Cape Medical Staff (13).

LIEUT.-COLONEL GORRINGE'S COLUMN.

Cape Defence Force (263).
Cape Police (212).
Tasmanian Imperial Bushmen (92).
5th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
"O" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
Total horses (1401).

LIEUT.-COLONEL CREWE'S COLUMN.

Kaffrarian Rifles (301-374), 2 machine guns.
Queenstown Volunteer Rifles (78-137).
44th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
"Y" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.

CAPTAIN LUND'S COLUMN.

9th Lancers (132).
Brabant's Horse (209).
Imperial Yeomanry (278).
"A" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
Total horses (828), and 1 machine gun.

LIEUT.-COLONEL SCOBELL'S COLUMN.

9th Lancers (303-332).
Cape Mounted Rifles (203-356).
Cape Mounted Royal Artillery, 3 guns.
Cape Cyclists (9).
Royal Engineers (2).

LIEUT.-COLONEL WYNDHAM'S COLUMN.

17th Lancers (387-412), 1 machine gun.

LIEUT.-COLONEL HON. A. D. MURRAY'S COLUMN.

COLONEL MONRO'S COLUMN.

NOTE.—Where two figures appear, the first refers to effective men, the second to effective horses.

FORCE EMPLOYED AT VLAKFONTEIN (584) ON MAY 29TH.

(a) Left (afterwards rear), under MAJOR CHANCE, R.A.

28th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
"G" Section Pompoms, 1 pompom.
7th Bn., Imperial Yeomanry (230).
1 Co., 1st Derbyshire Regiment.

(b) Centre, under BRIGADE-GENERAL DIXON.

8th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
37th Battery, R.F.A., 1 5-inch Howitzer.
2 Cos., 1st King's Own Scottish Borderers.
1 Co., 1st Derbyshire Regiment.

(c) Right, under LIEUT.-COLONEL DUFF.

8th Battery, R.F.A., 2 guns.
1st Scottish Horse (200).
2 Cos., 1st King's Own Scottish Borderers.

MAJOR-GENERAL BEATSON'S COLUMN (on 12th June).

5th Victorian Mounted Rifles (780-806).
9th Battery, R.F.A., 4 guns.
"B" and "E" Sections Pompoms, 2 pompoms.
1st Royal Munster Fusiliers (347).
26th Co., Royal Engineers (23).
20th Field Hospital (26).
84th Co., Army Service Corps (20).

Of which the following were detached to
Wilmansrust (22) under MAJOR MORRIS,
R.F.A. :—

5th Victorian Mounted Rifles (350).
Pompom Section, 2 pompoms.

COMMERCIAL MAP OF SOUTH AFRICA





SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS FUTURE

EMIGRATION

BY HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, P.C., K.T.

Author of "Imperial Federation," "The Life and Times of Queen Victoria," &c.

EMIGRATION of white men and women to South Africa—how can we best secure this? The abiding difficulty at the Cape and throughout the states that will form the future South African Confederation is the colour question. The "colour" is not that of the gold to be found so often in many places, but the question of the white and the black races dwelling in the same country.

Dutchman and Englishman will in time form one race. There is nothing to part them. They are European cousins. They both come from North Europe. The blood of the Dutchman runs in the veins of the Englishman. The parent stock of the Dutch gave off many a swarm wherewith to people the East Anglian shores. England has been fed and fought by the Dutch since those old days. We have received many of their sturdy countrymen into London. Any one who does not know the number and influence of the Dutch in comparatively recent times in our metropolis should pay a visit to the Austen Friars, the place where the monks of St. Augustine had their headquarters in the city, and see the fine old church the Dutch built, and in which they still worship. We remember well the stiff battles of Charles II.'s time. We know the names of Van Tromp and De Witt as well as any Dutchman. We have learned to respect our Dutch cousins, both on sea and land.

And their religion? There is nothing there to separate us. Has the Presbyterian form of religion kept Scotland separate? No, save in the pride of her ancient history. No Scotsman has any objection to marry an English lass, especially if she has herself more than will give both of them something better than oatcake. And the Dutch Reformed Church is much like the Presbyterian. There

South Africa and its Future

is nothing that can in its tenets form any bar to the mixing of the British and Dutch people in South Africa. To be sure, a "nachtmaal" is not precisely a Church of England convocation or congress. It approaches much nearer to a Scottish communion service in out-of-the-way Highland parishes. There is nothing aggressive or exclusive in the staid and sober faith of our Dutch friends. And this being so, Scotsmen especially have intermarried often with the Boers.

As trustee of a Highland estate, some time ago my consent was asked to the granting of a leasehold to a Scottish gentleman, who had returned from the Transvaal. The only objection the lawyer who asked the question mentioned as existing against this man was that he was said to have married a native. Some canny objectors had written a letter saying that this ought to form a bar to any grant of land to the man, though he had originally come from the district. Who was the lady? was the next inquiry. Was she a Hottentot Venus? Did she "bang her hair" in too negroid a fashion? Would she introduce among the dim lights of the North the terrible practices of her people? Would the quiet village be scandalised by strange feasts and weird howlings? No, by no means. What was she, then? Why, nothing but a nice flaxen-haired, rather squab-featured, but withal comely Boer girl! So she entered into her Highland possession, had a door "stoop," or something like a bit of raised verandah flooring put outside the entrance, but found, poor soul, that it was rather a dripping place of observation in her adopted climate. Nevertheless, the last news of her is that she is a happy, "sonsie" mother, and has some children, who don't speak Dutch as their common language, but only a few low Dutch words, with very Highland accent.

But this is said to be only the case where a Scotsman marries a Boer. There is apparently something in the Scot that makes him look after his family more carefully than does the average Englishman or Irishman. It is therefore only the Scot, as it is said, both in Africa and in Canada, whose children, if he marry one of another race, do not desert the accents of their forefathers on the paternal side. As a rule the children become much what the mother is. I have seen the children of a naval man who had married an Indian woman on the Pacific Coast become almost like the small fish-eating savages around them. They were willing to do a little work for a spurt, and then relapsed into dirt and laziness. So in the north-west of Canada it is only an Orkney or Aberdeen east-coast Scot who can keep his family to civilised life, if he marry a Cree or member of any other Indian tribe. The Frenchman's children, by an Indian mother, take to hunting only. Even with the Scots in Old Canada

Emigration

the same rule holds good, at least wherever a Celt has married a French Canadian. There are numbers of families below Quebec, on the north side of the river St. Lawrence, whose names are Highland. They are the descendants chiefly of Fraser's Highlanders, one of the regiments employed during the war against the French in 1748-49. When the soldiers obtained grants of land on the conclusion of the war they married French-Canadian women. Their descendants now can seldom speak one word of English or of Gaelic. They speak nothing but Canadian French patois. It is the mother's influence, with rare exceptions, that tells. So it is in South Africa. In some districts it is as with Fraser's Highlanders, in Province Quebec. You may visit farm after farm, especially those whose owners have Irish names, and you will not find any person in the house, or on the land belonging to the farm, who can speak a word of either English or Irish! It may be doubted if there would have been much loyalty taught to any government by the use of the Erse tongue. The "Taal" may inculcate a certain amount more of respect for paternal and government authority. Yet if theory distinguishes between Briton and Boer, or Englishman and Africander, Nature does not, and you find that the mingling of the races is a practical principle acted on regularly wherever the races are brought together. We may congratulate ourselves that this is so. The mixed race will be a magnificent one, with the size, courage, and tenacity of the Dutch, and the gentleness, bravery, and power of government and of cohesion of the Britisher. There are no handsomer women anywhere than there are among the Dutch ladies of Cape Colony. Many of their sons are sent to English public schools and universities, and though there are, alas, only too many who live under British institutions and who do not become British, there is no reason why, in course of time, they should not become as good citizens of a British Commonwealth as have the Vanderbilts and Van Horns and Roosevelts, and many others of Dutch name and lineage in New York State, for New York was New Amsterdam, and a very flourishing Dutch colony. On the banks of the Hudson you may still see thoroughly Dutch houses, built in the old days. What New Yorker would now change his nationality, though of Dutch descent? The freedom they have in the United States their cousins will also have in South Africa. They will mix with the English, whose language most of them speak already. They will do so all the more readily as time passes, in that they can never feel themselves to be anything but the equals of the British in all save in numbers.

It was for the benefit of the union between England and Scotland that the Scots won Bannockburn and many another hard fight

South Africa and its Future

besides. They could point to their victories as the English could to theirs. And so with those of Dutch race at the Cape. They can point to famous names of good soldiers, who have inflicted defeat on the best British troops. And for this they will be all the greater friends hereafter. Unless each partner in business or in marriage can bring something into the common pot, there is not so happy a sense of helpfulness and mutual aid given, as there is when this union is a more equal one. There is another and a most weighty consideration which will tend to the union of the European races. This is the common necessity each has to strengthen the other against any possible predominance of the blacks. The danger in this matter will arise more in the warmer regions of the north of the future confederation than in the more temperate south. Time has proved that the white races can do well in the Cape. They increase rapidly. The climate is most favourable. The physical character of the races does not in any way deteriorate. On the contrary, it improves. They gain, as the Americans say, in "avoirdu pois." An "avoirdu pois" Dutchman at the Cape, whose ancestors have been "avoirdu poisoning" there for two centuries, is a better all-round, and very round man, than is his compatriot in race at home among the canals and tulip gardens of Holland. But the black holds his own in weight and in numbers even in the temperate climate of the Cape Colony. Farther north, where the temperature is hotter, it is certain that he will be a better man than the white. The only exception to this can be in the mountain districts, where at high elevations in the plateaus there is probably a possibility that the white man's children may thrive. In general, however, in all the low ground north of the Transvaal, and in many districts there, the "Kaffir" will be more favoured by the climate than will be the white invader. The Europeans will partially subject them, and partially they will remain, deteriorated in morals, but by no means likely to remain only the obedient servants that they are expected to be. There are many who now say that the next big trouble in South Africa will be with the blacks. This apprehension, if there be any reason in it, is another incentive for the whites to combine to make settlements secure and numerous, where they can defy any movement among the blacks. It is an additional incentive to us in the old land to see what we may do to make this union of the whites as British in feeling, as liberty loving, as British institutions can make it. The Boers in fighting have not lost their freedom. They have only lost one form of collective and separate independence. Individually their independence is far better guaranteed under British than under Dutch Africander forms of government.

But a great help to their seeing and understanding of this

Emigration

will be the predominance, not the domination, of the English language. In the schools English history and its modern expansion in the colonies should be taught. Half of the dislike of England shown in the Republic and among the people in the United States arises from the teaching of the school-books, which indoctrinates the young American with the idea that as all tyranny known to his American fathers was centralised and expressed in Lord North's Stamp Act and the Tea Duties, so the modern Britisher must still be imbued with the ideas of Lord North, and taxation without representation must go hand in hand with British rule. The young Africander must be taught that we of the old country have learned our lesson. He must know that each of the British self-governing colonies is a separate nation in alliance of its own free will with the mother-land. He must know that even in the wildest dreams of Africanderism the most separatist of the separatists desired the naval stations of the Cape to remain one of the chief resorts of the British fleet. Now that Germany and France have their foot on South African soil, "marching" with the states of the new confederation to be, the youth of the states must be taught to know our forms of government and the history of them, so that they may judge if they would rather be under the German or French flag. To be under any separate new flag would of course be to court danger from the powerful countries, who could cut off their trade from the harbours, were it not for the protection afforded by the British fleets. Union and education are therefore the passwords to success.

How can we better help these forces than by well-devised emigration? Our Dutch friends have given us a good example. They imported in the eighteenth century 5000 children from Amsterdam. They knew what they were about. That was at a time when horses were sent round in a ring to tread corn, that the labour of threshing it might be saved. It was a time when, near the outlying settlements to which the children were sent, there were lions and elephants to be met with—real live animals—recognisable by the Noah's ark toys of the children, whose delight at the sight of the creatures was not always shared by their parents! How different is all now! For thousands of miles, up and down the country, life is as safe as in most parishes in England. The only thing to fear is probably an enraged ostrich, and these can easily, even on an ostrich farm where the huge birds are reared for their feathers, be kept out of the children's way. The little ones had a long time of it on board ship, three months in some cases; and glad they must have been to see the coast-line rising as they neared the Bay, and the long flat top of the precipitous Table Mountain, with

South Africa and its Future

a white wreath of mist looking like snow against the delicate blue of the sky, on its rocky summit level. They were not all kept in the white town at the base of the beautiful mountain whose ever-changing hues were a delight to them. The children were wisely distributed, that they might take a liking to the place where they were trained, and should have a feeling of home love for the part of the country they would know while yet young. And so it should be done by us in these later times when we have more need of the spread of our own tongue and traditions in this great land. Careful location is indeed necessary, but there are so many good locations, especially along the south coast, that we need not be too timid or too dilatory. Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, two good bays to the northward to which railways must ultimately come—more settlements again along the coast in temperate regions to the east, are wanted, where latitude 34 shows that no great heat can be feared—these are the “plums” for position. And when you turn the corner of that long stretch of coast lying along latitude 34, you must look out for higher sites than those on the sea-beach for the young people. And of these higher sites there are plenty. If Durban be too relaxing there is Pietermaritzburg inland, and so of most of the ports and bays. Leaving the coast and going inland by the railways into the “Orange” and Transvaal, we at once meet the main difficulty of “location” in the want of water. The Transvaal seems like a gigantic turtle-back, and whereas in Australia you may meet with water if you dig 1500 feet or more, where there is no appearance of it on the surface, we must wait for such revelations in the Transvaal. The territories are fed by few good rivers, and these are apt to be either raging torrents or dry gravel beds. But there are “fontains” in many places, and there is no reason why a fair sprinkling of girls’ and boys’ institutions should not be comfortably located both in Transvaal and “Orange,” where along the river of that name there is a more certain supply of water. The Vaal is of course the largest stream for irrigation in the north. Very little has been done to husband the water of any of the African rivers ; and the chief work to be done in matters of material improvement is the adequate damming and storing of the waters of all the principal streams. The winter floods, copious and overwhelming, have been allowed to run to waste. Water and wives must for a long time be the chief wants of South Africa.

Lucas gives briefly the main features of the country now under our flag. From the south coast to the Zambesi in the neighbourhood of the Victoria Falls is 1200 miles. The land rises steadily from the sea as you get into the Hinterlands, and the mountain ranges run parallel to the sea. Behind these ranges there is everywhere an elevated plateau, and the highest plains are in the east.

Emigration

There also the rainfall is the greatest. "It is from the south or east that men come into Southern Africa, not from the west, where stretch the dreary deserts of Damara and Namaqua Land." North of the Karoo Desert the principal places are well situated for altitude. To the west Kimberley is 4000 feet above the sea. Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange State, is higher by 500 feet than is Kimberley. Mafeking has 4200 feet. Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, is the same as Bloemfontein. Johannesburg, though so near Pretoria, stands at 5600 feet. In the north, Matebele Land has an average of 2500 feet. It is possible that deep borings may find water in the new states where there is none at present. These heights are sufficient to explain how it is that even far to the north of Cape Colony European settlement may thrive, and children grow up strong and healthy. But "location" is everything.

Now, what has been done to foster immigration and settlement up to the present? Hardly anything has been done by Government. Sir Harry Smith, who commanded in the fiercest of the Kaffir wars, and after whose wife Ladysmith received its name, strongly urged the policy of settling soldiers in the Colony. Between the Fish and the Keiskamma rivers "military villages" were encouraged, the settlers "being army pensioners liable to be called on for the defence of the frontier." Then again in the Queenstown district Governor-General Cathcart proposed to settle two Swiss Regiments, but his plan was not supported. Then Sir George Grey, his successor, persuaded the home Government to send out 2300 of the Foreign Legion, as it was called, recruited for the Crimean War. They were to be called on for military service, if wanted, during a period of seven years, and they were to have pay for three years. Each man received his land free of rent, to become his own at the end of the seven years, if he had loyally fulfilled his engagements. The Government of the Cape helped by a grant of money. "At the beginning of 1857," says Lucas in his *Geography of the British Colonies*, "the German soldiers arrived and were settled, some at existing towns or stations, such as East London and King William's Town, some on selected sites, whose villages were yet to be built. Distributed through the eastern districts of the Colony, and through British Kaffraria, they held the lines of communication, as garrisons attached to, and having an interest in the soil. The divisional district of Stutterheim still bears the name of the officer in whose charge the soldiers came, and under whose immediate guidance they were settled on the land. The chief drawback to the scheme was that only a few of the emigrants brought wives with them. This defect Sir George Grey sought to remedy by proposing to import a number of German families to be located with and to

South Africa and its Future

supplement the military settlers. Some were brought over, but the total expenditure which was contemplated was too large to win the assent of the Imperial Government, and to subsidise an exclusively German immigration, seemed to the Secretaries of State less politic than to provide the existing German settlers with English or Irish wives. The Governor therefore sent on "a thousand of the unmarried soldiers to India, and those who remained behind developed into Cape Colonists, and fell into line with the civil population."

This experiment has succeeded so well that it is a wonder that it was not repeated. Considering the enormous disproportion in the old country between the number of men and the number of women, it would seem a comparatively simple matter to assist female emigration, especially when a Colony is young and able to absorb any number sent. Nor need any Colonial Government Department be alarmed that the worthless will be sent. There are plenty of useful and excellent women who would be glad to go. As yet the only woman contingents that have been sent out are the few dozen teachers who have proceeded to the concentration camps. A party of these hailing from Toronto and Ottawa were lately in England on their journey to the Cape. Every one who met these ladies was struck with the earnestness they showed and the ability they displayed in conversing on the subject of their hopes and expectations. They seemed a lot drafted from the best women instructresses in some New England State. But Ontario can well afford now to be compared with the best of the New England States in regard to her public instruction. Her schools of all kinds are excellent. A "send off" meeting was held in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey for a party of fifty. They were addressed by Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Peel. Now that peace has come and the camps will have been broken up, these women will doubtless find equally useful employment under the Education Department in the New Colonies. The Government here have a large "reservoir" to draw upon in the women who are employed in the telegraph and postal service in Great Britain. Any of these persons would immediately find a sphere of activity in the new lands. The population of these countries is certain to increase rapidly with the opening of the old mines and the successful exploitation of new. There are large centres of industry where there is no want of water, where there is a certainty of good mining success, and where communities will grow up anxious for good schools, and well able to pay for instructors and instructresses.

It is a curious thing that while at the Cape and elsewhere you find in the hotels plenty of Swiss and German and some French waitresses and housemaids, you find few English. Why? It must be



Photo: Wilson, Aberdeen.

THE DOCKS, CAPE TOWN.

Emigration

only from want of organisation. At Grahamstown, not far from the bay called Algoa by the Portuguese (whose thoughts went to Goa in India, and named Algoa and Delagoa as calling places for Goa ships) there has been an institution for instruction lately founded. Let me cite here the work of the South African Expansion Committee in their own words.

This Association is established to promote Protected Emigration, due regard being had to the interests both of the Emigrants and of the countries to which they go.

The Association pledges itself:—

- (a) To Emigrate only such Women and Girls as are of good character and capacity.
- (b) To select only such Men and Families as are suitable to the requirements of each Colony.
- (c) To secure for them proper Protection on the voyage, and adequate Reception on arrival.
- (d) If possible, not to lose sight of them for a year or two after their Emigration.
- (e) To raise a Loan Fund for necessitous cases, repayment being secured on detained wages.

It is recognised by prominent statesmen of all parties that the future of our South African possessions depends on their colonisation—not only by the large bodies of active and energetic men, who at the close of the war will find permanent employment there—but also by trained and capable women. Many situations and professions are already awaiting them, and as the country becomes more settled, fresh openings of all sorts will arise.

Women of proved suitability are prepared to go, when the right time comes, but a great barrier to all extensive development of this essential movement is lack of funds.

Financial support is needed for the following purposes:—

- (1) The establishment, on sound business principles, of Hostels at Cape Town¹ and at the chief centres, such as Durban, Pretoria, Kimberley, Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, Bulawayo, Salisbury, &c., where women and girls can be received for a few days on arrival, and where, if they have daily engagements, they may reside permanently. Each of these Hostels would be also an employment Bureau for every kind of women's work, and would require a capable salaried Lady Superintendent to manage the Home and the Employment Bureau, and to act as correspondent between Employer and Employed.
- (2) Provision for the proper care and guidance of women throughout the journey from the British Isles to their final destination in South Africa.
- (3) Grants in aid of passages from the British Isles to South Africa when the traveller cannot afford the whole cost, or loans to be repaid within a given period.

¹ The generosity of Mr. Rhodes and of the De Beers Company has made it possible to the influential South African Immigration Committee which has been formed at Cape Town to open a Hostel there already.

South Africa and its Future

(4) Preparation of women at the Leaton Colonial Training Home, Wellington, Salop.

(5) Secretarial Expenses.

British men and women must alike desire for our new territories, and for South Africa generally, the some ordered, wholesome, law-abiding traditions as are to be found in the Old Country ; and these can only be built up on a lasting basis, by rendering life possible there as here for suitable women, whether as teachers, nurses, secretaries, typists, telegraph or telephone clerks, sempstresses, or household assistants.

We would appeal for funds not only to help those who go to earn their daily bread, but also to enable the wives, the daughters, and sisters of settlers to join their belongings in the new country. Many a man could make a home for his wife or sister but for the initial cost of her passage and the difficulties of the journey for inexperienced women. Openings in the new territories are declined by men at the front, because they cannot bring out those dependent upon them at home. They need that the ocean be bridged for them by kindly forethought, by experienced and economical organisation, by suitable protection, and by carefully adjusted financial assistance.

It is surely not much to ask that those to whom domestic comfort is a matter of course, should contribute in these ways to make a home life possible for those upon whom the future of South Africa depends.

The Lady Knightley, of Fawsley, in regard to the preparation for women going to South Africa, says :—

“In laying before the public the scheme for assisting the emigration of women of all classes to South Africa, the Council are specially anxious to enlist the active co-operation of ladies in all parts of the country, and with a view to securing this assistance, they desire to draw the attention, of those who may be disposed to help, to various methods of forwarding the scheme, in the hope that some one or other of them may prove feasible.

“Ladies could insure that those desiring to emigrate should have the opportunity of fitting themselves for their new life by helping to provide instruction for them in various departments of practical life.

“1. Cooking, Dairying, Poultry-keeping.

“2. Breadmaking, Laundry-work.

“3. Needlework, Cutting out.

“4. Gardening, Fruit-packing, Bee-keeping.

“5. Ambulance, Nursing, Health teaching.

“In some parts of the country this will be best accomplished by arranging for attendance at County Council Classes for Technical Instruction, or by putting people in the way of gaining the Scholarships which some County Councils provide for dairying, others for nursing, &c. In other districts, where such Classes or Scholarships are not provided by the County Council, or where the Classes are inconvenient of access, it might be arranged for such instruction to be given in a country house. Good, old-fashioned, upper servants, of whom there are some left, might in some cases be glad to help in this way.

“An even better plan would be to arrange for girls and young women (especially those from towns) to pass a month or two in a farmhouse, where, under a capable farmer's wife, much of the required teaching would come naturally in the routine of the household. In this way a foundation might be laid which would render the traveller of far greater use on her first arrival

Emigration

in South Africa than would otherwise be the case, and also more able to acquire further knowledge should she obtain a situation on a poultry or other farm.

“The improved methods of poultry-keeping inaugurated by the National Poultry Organisation, 12 Hanover Square, should, if possible, be studied. Ladies might supply intending travellers with copies of its valuable leaflets.

“Some knowledge of gardening should be acquired, preferably through the medium of the Swanley Ladies’ Horticultural College. But should this prove too long and expensive a training, a good deal might be learnt from a head gardener if ladies would make it easy for such instruction to be given. The best methods of packing fruit should also be acquired, and in towns, ladies who are large customers of fruit salesmen might make interest with them for giving instruction.

“Ladies who are Members of County Bee-keeping Associations might be able to obtain for intending Emigrants some instruction from the Expert usually attached to such Associations. Mr. Theodore Bent has pointed out that in a country where wild bees do so well as they do in South Africa, tame bees ought to succeed, and as butter at present is somewhat scarce, honey might become a valuable article of food. The same remark applies to jam, and jam-making should be included in the subjects to be taught.

“If possible, intending travellers should attend some ambulance, health, and nursing lectures, which would prove a valuable possession in their future lives. Of course, such instruction would be a good deal better than nothing, but regular Ambulance Lectures, with an Examination to follow, would be far better, and in many instances ladies could use their influence in the country in getting such lectures arranged, not of course specially for Emigrants, but to give them the opportunity of attending. They might also, in some cases, pay the necessary fees. There are many ladies, especially among the younger ones, who have acquired a considerable knowledge of nursing, and who might do invaluable service by imparting to intending emigrants some acquaintance with, at all events, such rudiments of nursing as are comprised in changing sheets, improvised cradles, bed rests, and the hundred and one little dodges—if they may be so termed—which make the whole difference in illness, and which so many people are utterly ignorant of.

“It is hoped that it may be found possible for nurses to go out on the same ships with parties of emigrants, with a view to their giving nursing and ambulance lectures on the voyage.

“Ladies may also help by contributing to the libraries for use on board ship and at the Hostels, which it is intended to establish for the reception of emigrants on their arrival at Cape Town, and also in other South African Centres.

“Another form of assistance would be to undertake to pay for the instruction of emigrants in South African languages. Miss Alice Werner (20 Dry Hill, Park Road, Tonbridge) is holding classes for the study of the Zulu language, and also for Taal or Cape Dutch, at King’s College, Strand. Besides these, she is prepared to give lessons in some of the languages spoken in British Central Africa.

“Clothes are not unfrequently needed for intending emigrants. Working parties could be organised to provide new underclothing, which could also be purchased from institutions and bazaars. These working parties would also furnish a valuable opportunity for making known the scheme among the

South Africa and its Future

daughters of the farmers and tradesmen, who are just the class most likely to prove desirable denizens of the new Colonies.

"Useful but fashionable slightly-used clothes for middle-class women might also be collected.

"Ladies with friends in South Africa may also give valuable assistance by writing to tell them of the scheme, being careful to enclose a prospectus issued by the Association, so that there may be no mistake as to terms, conditions, &c. Ladies in Cape Town should be asked to confer with Mrs. Bairnsfather, Grange Avenue, Rondebosch, Cape Town, and with the Committee which has recently been formed.

"It should be known to all who are kindly willing to interest themselves in this undertaking that a Colonial Training Home has been established at Leaton, Wrockwardine, Wellington, Salop, the object of which is to give practical training in domestic work to ladies and girls wishing to proceed to the Colonies, to join their families or as Mothers' Helps. The training given is of the most thorough description, and no servants being kept, the pupils do all the work of the house. The course lasts for three or six months, and the terms are 15s. weekly for a single bedroom, 10s. for sharing a double one. But as only twelve pupils can be received at a time, it will be impossible by this means only, to train the many girls who, it is hoped, will be willing and anxious to avail themselves of the advantages offered by this scheme; and therefore it is that the Council confidently appeal for help on the simple but practicable lines indicated in the foregoing pages."

In application to the British Women's Emigration Association (South African Expansion), replies to the following questions have to be forwarded to the Hon. Secretary, South African Expansion, Imperial Institute, London, S.W. :—

1. Christian and Surname in full; Postal Address in full.
2. Date and Place of Birth; Religious Denomination.
3. (a) Parents or near relative living; (b) Home Address; (c) Father's Profession.
4. To which Colony do you wish to go?
5. Have you friends or relatives there with whom you are in correspondence? if so, give name and address.
6. What line of life do you propose to pursue in that Colony?
7. Have you hitherto had any experience in practical work?
8. Do you propose—(a) to invest capital? (b) to seek employment in (1) Poultry, Fruit, Vegetable Farming or Dairy? (2) Business, Boarding-house, Tea-shop, Dressmaking, Photography, &c.
9. If from a Colonial or other Training Home, give address.
10. Is your health good? (a Medical Certificate will be required); when were you last vaccinated?
11. Can you meet your travelling expenses, or are you likely to require a small loan?
12. Three references are required. Give name and address if possible of—(a) Minister of Religion or Justice of the Peace; (b) two ladies or other responsible persons.
13. Space to be left blank for Referee's signature.
14. Length of time Referee has known Applicant.



Photo: Elliott & Fry, London.

SIR HENRY M'CALLUM, K.C.M.G.,

Governor of Natal.

Emigration

The ordinary ocean fares are as follow :—

Union-Castle Line, from Southampton.

<i>Second Class.</i>	<i>Mail Steamer.</i>	<i>Intermediate.</i>
Cape Town . . .	25 to 29 guineas	23 to 26 guineas.
Port Elizabeth . . .	17 to 31 „	24 to 28 „
East London . . .	28 to 32 „	25 to 29 „
Natal . . .	29 to 33 „	26 to 30 „

<i>Third Class.</i>	<i>Mail Steamer.</i>	<i>Intermediate.</i>
Cape Town . . .	15 to 17 guineas	12 to 14 guineas.
Port Elizabeth . . .	16 to 18 „	13 to 15 „
East London . . .	17 to 19 „	14 to 16 „
Natal . . .	18 to 20 „	15 to 17 „

Aberdeen (Rennie) Line, direct from London.

Natal, First Class, £34 13s.; Second Class, £21.

Beira, „ £40 19s.; „ £26.

Intermediate Steamers carrying First Class only.

Natal, £25, 4s. Beira, £34.

Shaw Savill Line to Cape Town only, from London—

Third Class, £9, 9s. to £11, 11s. No Second Class.

Also White Star Line to Cape Town occasionally, from Liverpool.

Luggage allowed free; 20 cubic feet second class; 10 cubic feet third class, extra at 1s. 6d. per foot. By Aberdeen Line, 40 feet first class; 30 feet intermediate.

At the present time there are no assisted passages to Cape Colony. When these are granted, they enable an employer to obtain an employee by paying to the Immigration Office at Cape Town a portion of the passage money, the Government of Cape Colony paying the remainder. Women availing themselves of the advantage of a practically free passage are obliged to sign a contract, which is legally binding, to remain one year or longer, according to the agreement made with the employer.

NATAL.—Persons resident in Natal can obtain third class assisted passages from their female relatives and domestic servants through the Immigration Department in the Colony. Adults, £5; children, half-price.

Persons travelling under the auspices of the Association are grouped in reserved cabins under an escort. When larger parties are collected they will have the comfort of travelling with an experienced matron, whose authority they will be expected to uphold.

Hostels and Employment Bureaux are established for receiving travellers and for Registry Work at Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Salisbury. Reception and forwarding arranged at all seaports.

Employment for Elementary and High School Teachers, Trained Nurses, Typists, Dressmakers and Milliners, Useful Helps, Matrons, Business Hands, and Laundresses, can be obtained through the Correspondents of the Association.

South Africa and its Future

In Cape Colony and the larger towns of South Africa, the openings will be chiefly for all-round Domestics, and women in Professions and Business; up the country in the New Territories, for women who as Working House-keepers can utilise native labour. Teachers will be wanted in all the Provinces.

Employees will be sent out as soon as employers apply for them and Government Authorities consent. Women who intend to settle up-country should meanwhile perfect themselves in cooking and all household matters, adding a knowledge of dairy work, poultry, and bee-keeping.

Travellers going through the Association who have to sleep in London, can be received at 3s. 6d. per day. Three days' notice must be given.

Only women of good character, health, and capability, are accepted by the South African Expansion Committee, in whose hands the selection of women to South Africa has been placed. Protection is secured to them till they enter the situations found for them in the Colonies.

But fully as important as the emigration of adults will be the placing of children in well-selected places in South Africa. The object to be attained is to let children grow up in the country so that they may regard it as their own, and that their early home affection may be largely connected with their adopted land. The difficulty of the selection of children is as nothing compared with the difficulty of the selection of adults. Nor are the objections often raised in a new community against the importation of the last, heard against the first. A wide experience has shown that children are eagerly sought by farmers, and are "placed out" with ease. The remarkable success Dr. Barnardo has had in Canada, to which country he has sent between twelve and thirteen thousand children, has proved this. The number of failures has been only about 1 per cent. Nor is this a haphazard statement. Watch and ward have been kept over the fortunes of the youngsters. They have been carefully placed after due negotiation and correspondence, and each has been reported upon after settlement. The success obtained is best gauged by the ever-increasing number of applications for just such boys and girls as have been previously "located." Every year of late years there have been three great parties sent across the Atlantic, and the cry is ever for more to come. In spring, in midsummer, and in "the fall," the children have been taken out. Entrained on arriving in Canada, the farmers have come down to meet them at the various stations, and they have been at once taken to their new homes, where they have almost uniformly given satisfaction to their employers. They are growing up hearty, happy Canadians, and many hundred letters arrive from them at Stepney where they were trained, telling how they are "getting on." Every penny spent on their teaching in England has had a double return in making room when they go for another boy or girl to be similarly

Emigration

brought up, and in providing Canada and Britain with a small citizen "cut out of whole cloth," as the Americans say, ready to fight for the Empire whether in Canada, in Europe, or in Africa.

Now though the East End philanthropist has the greatest number from which to draw his recruits, he does not stand alone. There is Mr. Quarrier, near Alloa in Scotland, who is doing similar work. In London no child who knocks at the door of the many institutions is refused. Each is admitted, and the change in a year is marvellous. The child has already become a good little mechanic or workman of some kind or other. He is cleanly, disciplined, and has many an example ahead of him and around him, to make him follow in the good road on which he has been set. In London £5000 is now asked for by Dr. Barnardo for the African scheme. The greatest care is to be taken to watch over the children sent out. They are to be carefully placed where climate and water is good, and there, after a course of instruction in all that is most useful in South Africa, they will be placed out as in Canada with farmers, with miners, with mechanics, and with any who want them, if the employers can only show that a good home is provided. But until a good home is provided by the Colonists, they are to have a good home out there of their own. There are opportunities of education in the local farming pursuits that "make the mouth water," to have children thus placed. The pastoral work of dairying, as well as the healthy occupations of gardening and produce-raising will all be studied and taught on the spot. What a happy change from the crowded thoroughfares of the east of London! And if these children succeed, as they assuredly will, why should not the Government do a little useful work of the same kind as that undertaken by Dr. Barnardo and by Mr. Quarrier on its own account? Why not utilise for Africa some of the industrial school children? They, if settled together, and sent to English-speaking farmers, will not forget that they are English. They will not make their farms when they get them, after their useful school career, resound only with the expressive but illiterate "Taal" tongue. Good Saxon (even if shorn of a few h's) will be heard in their homesteads in the future. They will add a good reinforcement to those who know that freedom is not to be got by racial separation, and the condemnation of everything British. They will permeate the districts where they grow up to manhood and womanhood with the British idea and practice of common obedience to law and justice as the best security for freedom.

SOUTH AFRICAN FEDERATION

VIEWS OF COLONIAL PREMIERS

By E. B. OSBORN

Author of "Greater Canada"

I

UNIFICATION has always been an ideal of South African statesmen, and twice, at least, it has been within measurable distance of realisation. In 1858 Sir George Grey, who had federated the New Zealand settlements despite the intensity of their local jealousies, promulgated the first practical scheme of South African Federation. So well had he ruled the Kaffir tribes on the eastern border of Cape Colony, that the Free State, weary of warfare with the Basutos, made overtures for a federal alliance, and the proposition of the Volksraad was actually laid before the Cape Parliament by Sir George Grey, before the opinion of the British Ministry in regard to his scheme of federation on New Zealand lines and their sanction for the course actually pursued had been received. Sir George Grey was recalled; though on his arrival off the British coast he found that he had been reinstated by a new Secretary of State, the delay led to the loss of an excellent opportunity for carrying through a measure comparable in importance with the Act which brought about the legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada.

For many years after the failure of Sir George Grey's attempt, unification was a little-regarded counsel of perfection. It is true that the Duke of Buckingham, Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Disraeli Ministry of 1868, admitted that it would be politic to consider seriously any further overtures for a federal alliance from the Boers, but the Free State was no longer in the mood to make them, our annexation of Basutoland being resented, and the discovery of diamonds on its western border in 1867 having created fresh causes of irritation. When the second Disraeli Ministry came into power, and Lord Carnarvon, who had collaborated with the Canadian Fathers of Federation (he himself may be described as the Godfather of the Dominion), undertook the charge of colonial affairs, the plan proposed by Sir Henry Barkly for a confederation of South



Photo: Elliott & Fry, London.

HON. SIR W. F. HELY HUTCHINSON,
Governor of Cape Colony.

South African Federation

Africa, which should be the logical consequence of the grant of autonomy to Cape Colony, was cordially received. Unfortunately the Free State held aloof, the Cape Ministry remembered only too well the object lessons in anti-Imperialism received from Lord Carnarvon's predecessors, and a *grain de sable*—the tactlessness of Mr. Froude—caused a vast amount of friction. Even then, but for the revival at home of the belief that political quietism and a policy of non-interference with Colonial affairs would enable Great Britain to retain the commercial hegemony of the world, Lord Carnarvon's hopes might have been realised ; for he had grasped the all-important fact that South Africa was, and must always remain, a single-minded community, whenever the native question was discussed, and that this unity of opinion was a stronger motive for unification than any or all of those political or commercial considerations which had already led to the making of the Dominion, and seemed certain, sooner or later, to bring about the federation of the Australian Colonies.

In more recent years three men of commanding influence have, each in his own way, attempted to realise the ideal of unity. Mr. Kruger's attempt to lay the foundation of a Dutch confederacy, the future greatness of which would have been based (can we doubt it ?) on some form of slavery, may be dismissed as an instance of the adage, *corruptio optimi pessima*. Mr. Cecil Rhodes worked for a federation on the model of the United States ; since the Cape was half Dutch, the Transvaal was to be made half British, and the settlement of Rhodesia was to insure the preponderance of Imperial ideas in the Union of the future. He saw that the Boers must be persuaded to co-operate, and for that reason he allied himself to Mr. Hofmeyr, the unofficial leader of the Boer party in Cape Colony, who also had his federal scheme. Had the two Boer leaders agreed to work loyally together in their disloyalty, it is conceivable that they might have brought about an act of federation in the Boer interest, and have constitutionally demanded from Great Britain the removal of her garrisons from South Africa, a naval station at Simon's Bay being conceded in order to retain the essential measure of Imperial protection. Such, at any rate, seems to have been Mr. Hofmeyr's dream. But, instead of being content to widen and deepen the influence of the Afrikander Bond until such time as the term "suzerainty" should have been interpreted by the heirs to Mr. Gladstone's South African policy, Mr. Kruger decided to make use of his hoarded armaments, and the future of his great raid involved the failure of Mr. Hofmeyr's long-meditated plan of—shall we call it?—constitutional disloyalty. Nevertheless the twofold ideal of unity, which inspired the acts both of those who deserved and those who did not deserve to succeed, has survived

South Africa and its Future

all these vicissitudes, and was never more strong than at the present moment. Indeed it is obvious that not only the British and Dutch inhabitants of South Africa, but also all responsible politicians and competent publicists in Canada and Australia, are now of opinion that complete solutions of the three South African problems of primary importance—the settlement of the native question, agricultural development, and railway administration—can only be obtained through a Federal Parliament, a body which would combine a detailed knowledge of local conditions with the power of seeing each problem as a whole, and devising a general solution.

II

The foregoing contains the gist of many conversations with those who have a special knowledge of South Africa and South African affairs. The opinions of Sir Albert Hime, the Prime Minister of Natal, who may certainly claim to speak in this matter on behalf of the South African loyalists, were expressed as follows in an interview with the writer :—

“I am convinced that the majority of South Africans are anxious to see a ‘United South Africa,’ and I believe they will see it before long. I cannot, of course, speak for the Dutch; but I am sure that every ‘Britisher’ in Natal and in Rhodesia, and nine out of every ten ‘Britishers’ in the rest of South Africa, are in favour of federation. The great problems of South African development can only be completely solved by a central authority. The native problem, for example, which is the most serious of all, is a case in point. The difficulty of obtaining a sufficient supply of native labour—a difficulty only to be overcome by increasing the wants of the natives—is only one phase of this problem, but it will supply an illustration of the necessity of considering the interests of the whole country in dealing with such matters. As things are arranged at present, the planters and farmers of Natal have a reasonable cause of complaint in the fact that all their available supply of native labour is drawn away to the Rand mines. I may add that the solidarity of South African opinion in regard to the treatment of the natives—all white men in South Africa are agreed, for example, that they must never have the franchise, and that no attempt should be made to create a navvy class in South Africa to compete with the natives in the unskilled labour market—is a great unifying influence. The matter of agricultural settlement is another problem which should be considered with reference to the general interests of the whole country. There is an impression current in certain quarters that immigration should be diverted into the new Colonies. But once

South African Federation

the conception of a United South Africa is grasped, it is obvious that a new British settler in Natal will do as much for the maintenance of British supremacy as a new British settler in the Transvaal. If South Africa is not to become a country of two or three large cities in a huge, sparsely settled territory, the problem of agricultural development should be dealt with on the broadest lines, and in the interest of the whole country. Natal has no intention whatever of pursuing a selfish policy in regard to the work of procuring settlers or of obtaining a share of the Transvaal traffic."

Asked to express his opinion as to when the "United South Africa" of his hopes would come into being, Sir Albert Hime naturally enough refused to suggest a date. "But I am strongly of opinion that federation should take place before the new Colonies receive self-government, or, at any rate, concurrently with that event. That would be the safest course; for it is quite possible that the new Colonies, after they had received autonomy, would refuse to join. Once they have attained the privileges of self-government as part and parcel of a 'United South Africa,' I do not think there would be any special friction; if there was, it would gradually disappear as local jealousies grew less."

"Though I do not regard the question of South African Federation as a matter of merely academic interest," continued Sir Albert Hime, "yet I think it would serve no useful purpose to discuss the details of a federal scheme at the present moment. But, for my own part, I do not regard the arguments of Mr. Cecil Rhodes in favour of making Cape Town the federal capital as conclusive. In a speech at Bulawayo, Mr. Cecil Rhodes summed up those arguments in a forcible manner, and his bequest of Groote Schuur as a residence for the Premier of the United South Africa that is to be, is an additional argument of considerable weight. But I am inclined to think that the fact that the Cape Peninsula is, as Mr. Rhodes said, the seaside sanatorium of South Africa, would not compensate for the remoteness of Cape Town from the centre of the new federation. And, again, if Cape Town were chosen there would be a tendency to make too much of Cape politics, and the spirit of Cape politicians might tend to dominate the Federal Parliament. Johannesburg would be a bad choice. Living will always be costly there, and the influence of cosmopolitan capitalists might be exerted with bad results. Of course we should be glad to have the capital in Natal, but I do not expect we shall have that honour. All things considered, Bloemfontein would perhaps be the best choice. Or we might follow the example of the United States, Canada, and Australia, and settle the claims of the existing capitals by creating a new city for our federal capital."

South Africa and its Future

III

Sir Edward Barton was at first unwilling to express an opinion on a subject "in which many with better knowledge have a deep interest." "But I am confident," he continued, "that before many years have passed away we shall see a Federated South Africa, and that no South African will wish to return to the old order of things once that federation has come into being. I still believe that the form chosen for the constitution of the Australian Commonwealth was the best available, and I think that it would be better suited to South Africa than the Canadian form. But whichever form is chosen, the whole community will benefit by federation.

"We in Australia have had great difficulties to overcome, and a certain amount of friction has necessarily arisen between the States and the federal authority, but the history of the United States and of the Dominion shows that such difficulties and friction cannot be avoided, but can always be surmounted. With the exception of a few discontented persons, I think nobody in Australia would be in favour of a return to the old order of things, and it is already clear that the local jealousies which hampered Australian progress are vanishing. When I was in British Columbia nine years ago, I tried hard to find a man who believed that the act of confederation should be undone; but I could not discover such a person. There may be a few 'Blue Noses' in Nova Scotia who would like to see confederation abolished, but I never met one. In either case, the fact that Annexationists are few—too few to be counted—in Canada, explains my failure. And once South African Federation is an accomplished fact—and though the racial antithesis, as was the case in Canada, renders the accomplishment more difficult than in Australia, where a difference in opinion as to fiscal policy was the chief obstacle—I am very sure that the vast majority of South Africans, whether British or Dutch, will refuse to contemplate a change to the old state of local jealousies. The sooner South African Federation comes, the better for South Africa."

Asked to answer the question: Should federation come before the new Colonies receive self-government, or concurrently with that event? Sir Edward Barton replied that in his opinion either course would create difficulties for the future.

"Australian Federation," he continued, "came out of the will of the people. The result of a referendum proved that a majority of the people was in favour of federation, and all the States consented to the terms thereof. Now if the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies, communities that have enjoyed a form of self-



CHURCH STREET, PRETORIA THE APPROACH TO THE TOWN.

Drawn by Donald E. McCracken

South African Federation

government in the past, had not free choice of assent or refusal, and joined the South African Federation under compulsion (no matter how slight a measure of compulsion), constitutional difficulties might spring up in the hereafter. Disputes might arise between the federal authority and these two States, and they would say, 'We were not asked for our consent, we had not complete freedom of choice.' In any case, representation must be given to them, and it would be awkward if two out of the five Federal States or Provinces were trying to overthrow the federation. I do not say this would happen, but the possibility of such an emergency should be seriously considered. It would be safe, I think, to work and wait for a majority in favour of federation; more especially as there has existed and still exists, as I am informed, a strong feeling that the interests of both peoples in South Africa would be furthered by such a measure."

IV

Neither Mr. Seddon nor Sir Wilfrid Laurier granted the writer's request for an expression of opinion in regard to the possibility or probability of South African Federation. Mr. Seddon, though he is always ready to advise the various Provinces of the Empire in commercial matters, is averse to interfering in other people's politics. Moreover the word "federation" has a discomfortable sound in the ears of his New Zealand constituents; to a few it suggests Rossetti's "might-have-been," to most its echo is a more or less decided "certainly not."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who has suffered much from the too imaginative interviewer, both in the United States and in France, makes it a principle not to be interviewed. But a day or two after he had courteously declined to grant the writer's request, he was good enough to allude to the subject of South African Federation in a speech at Edinburgh, from which the following excerpt is taken: "In my humble opinion," said the Canadian Premier, with reference to the attempt of Mr. Rhodes to secure the unification of South Africa, "Mr. Rhodes made one mistake. He made the mistake of being too impatient. Had he allowed time for development, had he allowed the Dutch population to get reconciled to the idea of British citizenship, they would have had much sooner than will be the case the federation of South Africa, *which is the only future of that great country.*"

To judge from the spirit of his utterances in Canada on the subject of South Africa, it would appear that Sir Wilfrid Laurier's opinions as to the best means of working towards the end of South

South Africa and its Future

African Federation do not materially differ from those of Sir Edmund Barton. He believes that the free consent of the new Colonies should be obtained, and that the policy pursued with regard to Manitoba by the "Fathers of Confederation"—a policy of which he disapproved at the time, a policy which led to a long series of disputes between Manitoba and the Dominion Government—should not be pursued in the case of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies. It will be remembered that the "Red River Settlement" received Provincial status on condition of becoming a member of confederation, and that the terms of membership were accepted under compulsion, and in the hope that they could be bettered.

LAW AND LANGUAGE

BY MR. M. J. FARRELLY, LL.D.

Barrister-at-Law ; Advocate of the Supreme Court of Cape Colony

I.—THE ROMAN DUTCH LAW AND THE LAW OF ENGLAND

THE Roman Dutch Law—the body of legal principles and enactments codified under the later Roman Empire by the Emperor Justinian, as modified by legislation of the States-General and decisions of the tribunals of Holland up to the end of the eighteenth century—the date of the British occupation of Cape Colony—constitutes the Common Law of all British South Africa from the Zambesi to the sea. Indeed its sway stretches farther north, if we include the province of Northern Rhodesia.

The recent annexation to the Empire of the territories of the two Boer Republics must necessarily have many effects not alone in the sphere of politics, but also in that of law. But no unsettling of the general principles of private law, regulating the rights and duties of the citizens in private relations, can be the result. The invariable practice of the Imperial Government—the only possible one to prevent inextricable confusion of personal status and property rights—has always been to enforce, as the unaltered law of the land, any system of European Law already in operation in territories annexed or ceded to the Empire, being already a portion of the dominion of any State of the European Family of Nations. In this respect the Imperial Government but follows the general practice of other European States: a practice so uniform that it may almost be regarded as a portion of the Law of Nations, of that custom of the European race which for a century we are accustomed to speak of as International Law. The committee of the Privy Council, which, as regards the Empire outside of Europe, may be viewed as the Imperial Court of Appeal, has therefore to adjudicate on systems of law more numerous than these that come before any other tribunal in the world. Not alone questions to be determined under the Common Law of England, but suits to be decided under that law, as modified by the legislation of the self-governing Colonies, come under the cognisance of that unique tribunal. From

South Africa and its Future

the Channel Islands, whose people boast that they were never conquered by England, are heard appeals, based on the *Grand Coutumier de Normandie*, unknown in France since the French Revolution. The French Law of Lower Canada, still administered under British authority, is lifeless and unknown in the Paris which gave it birth. Similarly the Roman Dutch Law of the United Provinces, now enforced in the former over-sea possessions of Holland, has long ago been swept away in Low Countries, surviving as the law of the land only in the British possessions, in South America, in Ceylon, and in South Africa. With one result, arresting the attention of the historical student, that in our own day British tribunals accept, as of the highest authority—in many matters most vitally affecting the status and property of British citizens from the Lion's Head to the Line, the recorded opinions of a Pretorian prefect of the Roman Empire in York—the brightest of the five stars of the *Loi des Citations*.

The tribunals of the Empire constitute a museum of former systems of law, flourishing far from their parent springs. But every change is not necessarily progress. The marked liking of British colonists, born in the United Kingdom, for the Roman Law under whose sway they have passed is a very instructive phenomenon. Wisdom, they seem to think, did not die with the fashioners of that "codeless myriad of precedents, that wilderness of single instances" which, evolved according to imperturbable theory from the bosom of the English judiciary, is known as the Law of England.

This preference is the more impressive, seeing that on many vital matters, not mere abstractions of jurisprudence, the Roman Dutch Law differs from the English systemless system.

The personal status of all residents in the new British Colonies falls under rules quite different from the English rules as to capacity to enter into and to perform contracts, as to property rights, and as to family relations. Results of some importance may chiefly be expected from the fact that, since the annexation and the transformation of the Republics into British Colonies, the presumption in law that British immigrants intend to adopt a new domicile, and subject themselves and their property to a new legal system, must necessarily be stronger than when residence was being taken up in the territory, then foreign, of two Boer Republics. In the future, not alone, as hitherto, contracts of service and contracts as regards property, but the relationship, personal and as affecting property, of marriage and succession, will fall under the jurisdiction of a High Court administering primarily the Law of Rome. The Court will apply the Law of England to those latter conditions only in cases in which they consider that, in accordance with the principles of Private



Photo: Russell, London.

RIGHT HON. SIR J. GORDON SPRIGG, K.C.M.G.,

Prime Minister of Cape Colony.

Law and Language

International Law, the English system is applicable—the presumption now being that, as a general rule, it is not applicable.

As regards the capacity of adults to enter into and be bound by contract, the most striking difference between the English and Roman Dutch systems is the survival, under the latter, of a modified form of the Roman Interdiction of the Prodigal. Under certain circumstances, on application of friends or relatives, such an order can issue. Again, contracts of service made out of South Africa are not binding unless entered into again before a public official in South Africa.

In respect to the tenure of property, more especially of property in land, the differences which exist are all in favour of Roman Dutch Law. An admirable system of registering titles to land, whether of ownership or mortgage, exists in South Africa, as on the Continent of Europe, where that most valuable legacy from the Roman Empire has remained unchanged in principle to our day. No tedious scrutiny of documents attesting title to land is necessary, as it is in England. The official register is sufficient proof of ownership. Transfer is rapid and inexpensive. Again, unavoidable calamity, amounting to a condition of impossibility of beneficial occupation, excuses from the necessity of payment of rent of land. Such excuse is not known to the Law of England.

Unlike the Law of England, but like the Law of Scotland, desertion by either party to a marriage furnishes ground for absolute divorce, with right of re-marriage. The system, flowing directly from the Roman Law, both in Scotland and South Africa, is understood to work satisfactorily, comparatively few divorces being sought for.

II.—THE MODERN LAW OF SOUTH AFRICA

Leaving the general principles of the law affecting personal status, family relations, and property rights, the difference between the Law of England and that of South Africa practically disappears as regards Europeans in social relations. In the whole field of Commercial Law, and in that of the Law of Crimes and Punishments, the Law of England has practically been adopted in all the States and Colonies. The origin of this state of the law is, of course, to be found in the fact that the Roman Law conceptions were out of harmony with modern commercial conditions and the competition of the World Market ; and also that their code of Crimes and Punishments has become inappropriate to the later forms of European civilisation.

Several features of South African legislation require more special

South Africa and its Future

notice. The Transvaal Law may be taken as typical of that of the other States, and political and economical conditions make the law of the late Republics of most importance and interest to the British public. The most salient topics are those dealt with by the Law of Mines, the law as to the natives, and the Law of Universal Military Service.

The law as to minerals, including not alone gold and silver, but all precious metals and precious stones, is based on State ownership. It is expressly declared: "The right of mining for and disposal of all precious stones and precious metals belongs to the State."

The State, however, does not undertake the work of mining, but grants, under certain conditions, that privilege to various classes in the community. The Government is authorised by law to proclaim a specified area to be public "diggings." Thereupon, certain rights are reserved to the owner of the farm wherein the area is situated. These rights are in effect to select certain portions of the proclaimed area as mining "claims" belonging to the owner, and to mark off these portions. The remainder of the area is then open to appropriation by the public, the first comer having the first right. Shortly before the war of 1899, in consequence of scenes of disorder attending the marking off of these "claims" by the general public, steps were taken to introduce a system of assigning the mining areas by lot among the residents in each district.

The taxation of the mineral grounds was, and is, based on a dual system. The one is taxation, by means of levying a monthly due, called a "claim licence," in the mere possession of a mining area, called a "claim," whether or not the area is being developed. The other principle, superadded to the first, was that of taxing the profits of each mine. Before the war this latter tax amounted to five per cent.

In relation to gold mining, in one very important respect the Law of the Transvaal, like that of Cape Colony, is in striking opposition to the rules of civilised law all over the world. The famous I. D. B. (Illicit Diamond Buying) enactments passed to protect diamond mining in Kimberley have a parallel in the I. G. B. (Illicit Gold Buying) provisions of the Transvaal Law. It is incumbent on the possessor of rough diamonds to prove his innocence. Similarly, under the Gold Law of the Transvaal, "Any one who is found in possession of amalgam or unwrought gold, or uncut precious stones, and can give no proof that he obtained possession of the same in a lawful manner," is punishable with fine and imprisonment. For a third offence, the amount of fine and imprisonment with hard labour is at the discretion of the Court, and

Law and Language

forfeiture of the unwrought gold, or uncut precious stones, follows conviction.

It is true that in England, for instance, a similar exception is in force with reference to the possession of explosives, a measure intended to prevent Anarchist outrages. But the difference is very great between the two classes of cases. The manufacture and sale of explosives is not the staple industry of England, as the production of gold and diamonds is in South Africa. The chief occupation of the industrial population of England is not affected; the provision remains only one of some inconsiderable exceptions to the general rule, that every one is presumed innocent until he is proved guilty.

The law relating to natives, under which head are included all the coloured races, is equally strange to those familiar only with the Law of England. The so-called Pass Law provides that every native in districts or towns inhabited by Europeans—everywhere, in fact, except in the native villages—must be in possession of an official passport, showing he is registered in an official State registry. Other regulations limit the action of the native—the Curfew regulations, compelling Kaffirs in town districts to remain indoors after sunset. Municipal rules, prohibiting Kaffirs from walking on the footpath of the street, and special rules of the Criminal Law affect them. The lash is presented as the penalty for various offences. The death penalty is inflicted for Kaffir outrages on women of the European race. By the imposition of a Hut Tax, payable annually, the Kaffir is induced to labour; an occupation which, if left to himself, he prefers to leave to women.

The Law of Universal Military Service, applying to all Europeans who are burghers—a law of all the States of South Africa—furnishes another point of divergence from the Law of England. In the Transvaal all burghers over the age of sixteen and up to the age of sixty are under the military command of the elected Field Cornet of the district. In time of war the age begins at fourteen and has no fixed limit for ending. This, be it noted, is not a case of conscription; it is a levy *en masse*, taken as a normal condition of life. Burghers on commando are exempt from civil process, and are exempt from the obligation of paying claim licenses for the period they are on commando.

III.—RECENT BRITISH MODIFICATIONS

It is, of course, in the present stage of our information impossible to state fully the various modifications which have been introduced in the new Colonies since the British annexation two years ago.

South Africa and its Future

Some changes worth noticing have, however, been published.

In Private Law, the chief change of which we have information appears to have been the abolition of the Orphan Chamber of Roman Dutch Law—a State department concerned with the administration of infants' estates. The change, however, seems only to have been one of administration and title, the duties of the abolished Chamber being transferred to the Attorney-General's Department.

As regards the Gold Law, an enactment by the late Republic of a war-tax on the gold output of from forty to fifty per cent. has been abolished. The British tax on the mines has been fixed by proclamation at ten per cent. on the profits of each mine. The system of claim licenses—taxation on the possession of mining areas—is continued.

Minor modifications of the details of the Native Pass Law have also been announced, including the restriction of the number of cases, and of the power of magistrates to sentence Kaffirs to the punishment of the lash.

The Law of Military Service appears to remain up to the present unmodified. Indeed, a recent decision in the newly established British High Court of the Transvaal has very rigidly construed a provision of the Gold Law, protecting burghers on commando from liability to pay license dues. The Court refuses to allow to Uitlanders the same privilege as that allowed to burghers in arms. The Uitlander, according to that decision, is liable to pay these arrears accruing during the war to the present British administration.

IV.—PRINCIPLES OF IMPERIAL POLICY—OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF THEIR BEING CARRIED OUT

Before considering specific suggestions as to actual legislation required in the new Colonies, it is necessary to set clearly before us what are the objects to be aimed at by Imperial statesmen. Most of the errors of the past century of Imperial rule in South Africa are traceable to the fact that no steady and consistent policy has been adopted for any definite period. With every change of government in the United Kingdom the British policy in South Africa altered. As I have written elsewhere, it swung with bewildering inconsistency, according to whether an Imperialist or a Little Englander Government was in power, from an expansionist to a "retrenchment" policy. Alternately negrophilist and anti-Kaffir, alternately conciliatory to the Dutch and aggressively British. "Nothing more fixed than the certainty of Imperial change, unless, indeed, it were the cruelty of Imperial ingratitude."

Law and Language

I shall take it, then, that consistency is the least we may expect as the result of the late war. The maintenance of the integrity of the world-wide Empire, plainly bound up with the retention of South Africa, involving the possession of the only secure sea-route to Australia and India; the upholding of the banner of European justice and humanity in Africa, the British portion of the mission of the European race the world over—to this end, the fusion of all strains of the European people in a new nationality to form a constituent part of the Empire—these I take to be the objects of Imperial statesmen in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and of all loyal citizens of the Empire.

Now, these principles being fixed, we have next to consider what are the dangers threatening the successful carrying out of a policy based on these principles.

The first, and most formidable, danger is that arising from the existence in all the Colonies of South Africa of a Separatist party among the Boer section of the population, usually described as the Young Afrikaner party. Its origin is due to many historic causes; among which not the least has been the unwise and vacillating policy of the Imperial Government. That party is by no means extinct as a result of the late war. No matter what professions are made in the Land of Diplomats, it has to be reckoned with for our time and generation. It relies for the ultimate success of its policy of substituting a Boer-ruled independent State for British citizenship of the Empire on many causes. In the first place, the stubborn tenacity of the Boer people, and their slowness to abandon any long-held purpose. Again, on their military skill, their religious fanaticism, their conviction that they are the Lord's elect, and that His sword will smite not in vain. Yet again, and most of all, on the enormous birth-rate among the Boers—families of twelve sons being not uncommon. Boer ignorance of the power and purpose of the Empire—of the real character of that federation of freemen—figures also in their calculations; and as well the barrier against fusion of the European strains kept up by the use of that *patois* of the Hollander tongue, the South African *Taal*. Lastly, their main reliance is on future inefficiency of the Imperial administration—marred by negrophilist British missionaries and English society nepotism and favouritism—on the see-saw of British party politics, and on the prospects of the Empire becoming involved in war with some great European Power.

The next danger is that arising from the presence on the gold-fields of the Transvaal of vast agglomerations of cosmopolitan finance owning most of the mineral wealth of the State. On many points, the interest of these groups is not the same as those of the Imperial

South Africa and its Future

Government and those of the rank and file of the British settlers. Taxation of the mines for Imperial purposes, such as those of State-aided British immigration and State-constructed irrigation works, cannot be in the interest of the mining groups. The lowering of the wages of the white miners is clearly in their interest; while opposed to the prospects of welfare of British miners and British merchants in the towns, to those of the professional classes, and, above all, to the interests of British agricultural settlers, whose occupation cannot be profitable for many years to come unless their market is at their door. Mining profits remitted to Berlin and Paris, instead of going to the pockets of resident British miners, cannot benefit the British agricultural settler. Again, the truck system, by which employers supply goods to their workers (a system illegal in England), while it may increase the profits of the mining groups, would be destruction of the trade of the British dwellers in the towns. This aspect of the question is rendered more serious by the fact that practically all the press of South Africa is owned or controlled by the financiers of the mining groups.

Lastly, a danger which has existed for generations is that arising from the existence of a body of sentiment in the United Kingdom which, for want of a better word, is called negrophilism. This sentiment is usually voiced by British missionaries, and advocates an impossible black man and brother theory. Its effect on British legislation and administration in South Africa caused the first dissension of moment between Boers and British at the time of the abolition of negro slavery in 1836. The whole theory is felt by all Europeans of South African experience to be based on a flat contradiction of the facts of life and the teaching of the 250 years of European contact with the South African native—Bushman, Hottentot, or Kaffir. Allied with this is the colour-blindness of some Anglo-Indians, who favour the disastrous measure of flooding South Africa with Asiatics from India.

V.—LINES OF LEGISLATION TO CARRY OUT THE IMPERIAL POLICY

Having defined the Imperial policy in South Africa to be the maintenance of the integrity of that federation of freemen which is the British Empire, the upholding of the banner of European justice and humanity in the Dark Continent, and for the promotion of these ends the fusion of all strains of the European race in one community, let us now consider the general lines of State action requisite to carry out that policy.

All parties loyal to the Empire are agreed that the first requisite

Law and Language

from the standpoint of the Imperial welfare is the promotion of the immigration of British agriculturists to South Africa. The enormous birth-rate of the Boer people will prevent any prospect of fusion between British and Boers—anything, in fact, but the swamping of the British element—unless this immigration be organised by the State. The life of the gold and diamond mines cannot last longer—so those qualified to speak are agreed—than a few generations. With the exhaustion of the mines, the British population, if confined to the towns, would inevitably disappear. Again, the Boers being essentially country folk, could never have that close association with the British necessary for the coalition of a united people, unless the British are settled as agriculturists. A most encouraging precedent of the success of State-organised immigration of British settlers on the land is to be found in the State-aided immigration of 1820 into the Eastern Province of Cape Colony.

Exactly as in Egypt and in India, agriculture, to be prosperous and to extend over large areas, is impossible in South Africa unless with the aid of State-constructed irrigation works. The water supply, both from rainfall and underground natural reservoirs, is ample; but engineering skill is required to enable these sources to be utilised all the year round. The recently published report of Mr. W. Willcocks shows what favourable prospects exist for the carrying out of a general system of State irrigation works.

One word of warning is necessary. The general impression, so sedulously created for many years past, of the unsuitability of South Africa as a sphere for British immigration, is, as Mr. Rudyard Kipling has pointed out, only a part of a political propaganda, intended to exclude British influence. It may be entirely ignored.

The next requisite of State action is the promotion, by legislation and administration, of the development of the present and future goldfields, and other mineral fields, in such manner as may tend to further the general ends of the Imperial policy as already described. The taxation of the mines should be so adjusted as to favour British immigration and the creation of a prosperous and loyal British community. The development of new fields should be encouraged; adequate sums should be raised for public objects; the minerals, expressly declared to be property of the State, should be primarily regarded as a fund for State purposes, not one for the creation of millionaires or the undue enriching of shareholders in Hamburg or Paris or Vienna. The welfare of the mass of British residents in the towns engaged in trade should be considered in legislation affecting the gold mines.

In view of the presence of an overwhelming majority of the

South Africa and its Future

subject Kaffir race, all Europeans should be trained to arms, on the model of the laws already in existence in the two new Colonies. From an Imperial, as distinguished from a European standpoint, this measure is equally necessary. The Boers are born soldiers: a nation in arms. No reliance on a professional army or professional police can afford any assurance of stability for the Imperial rule. The Boers would regard such a régime as merely one of transitory military domination.

An efficient system of education, from primary school to university, should be organised and carried out. In the new Colonies great progress has already been made in this direction, and a recently published address by Mr. W. Sargent, the Director of Education, shows that the principles to be kept in mind are clearly apprehended.

A sane and consistent policy with regard to the status of the Kaffir and other non-European people should be adopted and adhered to. The Boer position, that the Kaffir is not in justice entitled to equality, social or political, with Europeans, should be upheld, as that plainly sanctioned by European experience of two centuries and a half.

Efficiency should be insisted on as the test for appointment in the public service. Salaries on an adequate scale should be given, bearing in mind the standard of payment usually obtaining in gold-bearing districts. The obstacles in the way of making efficiency the test of appointment should be clearly understood, and as far as possible guarded against; the persistence of Young Afrikander Separatist ideals, and the readiness of the propagandists to accept office under the Imperial Government; the danger of undue weight being given to the influence of the great capitalists; the equal danger of the intrigue, favouritism, and nepotism of London society—of which so much was heard at the late Committee of Inquiry into the training of army officers—being brought to bear on appointments to office in the new Colonies.

The language question—that of the degree of recognition necessary or expedient of the Dutch language in the courts and public offices—is so important that it is better to consider it separately.

VI.—THE LANGUAGE QUESTION

The question of the degree of recognition of the Dutch language in the new Colonies to be accorded by the new administration is one of the most difficult, and at the same time one of the most urgent and altogether inevitable, presented by the altered situation, the result of the late war. It is one of the cases where not to decide is



Photo Russell, London.

HON. SIR ARTHUR LAWLEY, K.C.M.G.,

Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal.

Law and Language

to decide. Let us endeavour to understand the conditions of the problem, bearing steadily in mind the objects to be aimed at by the Imperial policy.

No responsible statesman in the United Kingdom or in the Colonies can desire to take any step other than conciliatory to Boer sentiment, provided the main object of creating a united and prosperous European community is obtained. Anything like a persecution of the Boer tongue or traditions would not only be unjust, but most unwise. At the same time, Imperial statesmen must remember that British-descended citizens of the Empire in South Africa hold that their sentiment and their opinion is not to be taken as a matter to be ignored. Now, Imperialist sentiment in South Africa is united as to the desirability of having only one official language, and of doing away with the dual language system introduced in Cape Colony twenty years ago.

Limiting any action of the Imperial Government, must necessarily be the conditions as to the recognition of Dutch agreed upon with the Boer generals as one of the terms of peace. These conditions were that the Dutch language is to be taught in the schools, in cases where the parents of the children desire it ; and in the courts of law in cases where, in the opinion of the court, the ends of justice will be furthered by its use. The wish of the parents and the discretion of the law-courts are, therefore, to be arbiters. The peace terms, in this matter, seem wholly reasonable ; but the main question of a dual language remains unaffected.

Let us first deal with the cause of much misapprehension in the United Kingdom in this matter. Here I will quote from an article of mine published some time before the peace agreement :—

“ There is no question here of the suppression of the language of a people. The language of the Boer people of South Africa is a patois called the Taal, based on the seventeenth-century Hollander Dutch, with a mixture of many strange words, Kaffir and English, and with the omission of most grammatical inflexions. In that happy tongue you are permitted to say : ‘ I is.’ It is needless to say there is no literature in this patois, as there is in the Hollander Dutch of this century. Now, it is only to Hollander Dutch that it is proposed to accord equal audience as an official language. The official recognition of Hollander Dutch dates from 1882 in the Cape Colony, and is a result of the political propaganda of the Afrikaner Bond. It was openly announced and hailed as the ‘ thin end of the wedge ’ to prevent the fusion of the Boer and British strains of the European people, and to drive the British into the sea. It is almost as grotesque a misrepresentation to call this claim for the official recognition of Hollander Dutch a popular demand, as if, in regard to

South Africa and its Future

modern Italy, we were told that the peasants of Umbria or the Marches were hungering and thirsting for the recognition of Augustan Latin as entitled to equal audience with Italian in the courts and public offices of Italy.

“The veld Boer does not understand Hollander Dutch. He only hears the Hollander tongue, or, rather, the seventeenth-century predecessor of it, in the text from the seventeenth-century Dutch Bible read out in the churches on Sundays by the predikant, or in the hymns, once chanted by his forefathers of the Lowlands, who worsted Alva, persecutor of the Saints of the Lord.

“It will clear the air greatly if people at home will realise what is the force behind this Hollander Dutch language movement. It is the Young Afrikaner party.

“For sixty years English was the sole official language in South Africa. The experiment of two official languages is one of only twenty years' duration, and has not been crowned with any conspicuous success, unless racial cleavage, political and social, be counted as such.

“No other course can so speedily promote the fusion of all Europeans. Judging by the trend of events, the future among the European people belongs to one or two of the great languages. It is significant that, at the present moment of time, with a knowledge of English and French, one can travel the world. The fusion of European strains, so happily accomplished in the United States of America, is admittedly due to the determined enforcement of a single language as the sole official language of the Republic. Immigrants of all European nationalities learn to speak and write English—their children of the next generation become Americans. As a London Consul-General of the United States pointed out to me, the reunion of the European race, as a political measure on a vast scale, has been first accomplished in the American Commonwealth. Never since the pre-historic time of the root-origins of our language, never since the corporate unity of the Roman Empire, has there been so vast a breaking down of barriers between Europeans.

“The matter is one of political expediency, not of æsthetics. The unity of the European people is a greater historic fact and present reality than any of those brief heritages of common life for a few short centuries of one or other sections of the race, giving rise to the national tongues. Personally, one may sympathise with the scholar's preference for a survival of Latin as the language of Europe, as it was during the Roman Empire, as it was during the Middle Ages, and as it would have remained but for the outburst of Nationalist particularism during the sixteenth century. One may lament, with a loyal European like Talleyrand, what that outburst has cost Europe; led by the ambition of the House of Capet in

Law and Language

France, of the Tudor in England, and the princes of North Germany, plunderers of the Teutonic knights. No doubt it is true that thousands of millions of pounds and millions of lives have been wasted by that particularism—strange step-child of the unifying Renaissance. From the æsthetic side, it is vain to argue whether Keltic be a purer tongue, more passionately expressive, Spanish more majestic, or Italian liquid music. The sieve of the gods seems hitherto to let through, for the world of the European race, only two of the great tongues—French and English.”

In a word, for all æsthetic purposes, let the various harmonies of all the tongues of the European race continue to enrich the choir, enshrining memories of the past. But for the political field of action the trumpet of command and order should sound a note clear from its being single.

Any incidental inconvenience, such as must arise to the first generation of immigrants to the American Commonwealth, must only be treated as transitory, and, as far as possible, provided against. Very few Europeans who do not know English have business in the law-courts or public offices. In the years preceding the late war, only five out of every hundred cases in the Transvaal law-courts were between people not conversant with English. For this small minority, in all the public offices and the courts, competent interpreters can be provided.

VII.—LEGISLATIVE MEASURES

It may be well that I should add some suggestions as to the measures which I at present hold should be taken to put into force the general lines of legislation, already sketched out as suitable for the carrying out of the Imperial policy as already defined. But it should be understood that these suggestions are only intended as furnishing material for discussion. In the absence of fuller information as to future needs and emergencies, it would be unwise to finally advocate concrete measures. What is, in my mind, of importance is not any specific measure, but the principles of Imperial policy on which I have insisted. If it can be shown to me, in the future discussions on these matters, in which I hope to take part on my return to South Africa, that other measures are better suited to carry out the consistent policy I have defined, I shall be prepared to advocate such other measures.

In the first place, I think that in view of the wide divergence of opinion and interest, among the British residents quite as much as among the Boers, a consultative body, nominated by the High Commissioner, should be appointed to advise on any projected

South Africa and its Future

legislation. For some time, while the form of Crown Colony Government is continued, advice from such a body will be specially needful. Apart from the maintenance of law and order, the interests of the great mining groups, representation of shareholders resident in Europe is by no means necessarily the same as those of the rest of the British residents, or indeed those of the Imperial Government. Among such matters of divergence of interest may be enumerated the scale and method of taxation on the mines, no matter for what Imperial purpose—British immigration, State irrigation works, or university and general education. The maintenance of the present very high rate of wages of the European miners is another subject. British residents in the towns, shopkeepers, importers, professional men and their employees, are concerned in the maintenance of a high rate of wages for the miners, as the money is spent in the country, not in Paris or Berlin. Again, the introduction of the truck system, the supply of goods by the miners to their employees, European or Kaffir, while it would increase the profits of mining shareholders in Europe, would destroy the means of existence of the bulk of the British residents in the towns.

Amongst the Boers, there is almost as great divergence of interest between the wealthy farmers, desirous of keeping together their vast cattle ranches of 6000 acres, and the class of *Bijwoners* (tenants at will on an over-lord's land), whose interest would be favoured by the dividing up of cattle ranches, and the encouragement of small farmers who would be agriculturists.

For this reason, a consultation body should be thoroughly representative of all classes.

Direct legislation favouring British immigration of agriculturists is plainly necessary, and as well the creation of State irrigation works. Such steps, it is reassuring to know, have already been taken. Personally, I am in favour of village ownership of agricultural lands being instituted, a system with which the Boers are already familiar, in connection with the cultivation of the lands owned by the towns.

To promote the prosperity of British residents in the towns, and as well to secure a market for agricultural produce, the truck system should be prohibited by law; and the compound system, under which the Kaffir workmen in mines are not only supplied with goods but confined to barracks called "compounds," should also be prohibited. Neither system has hitherto been in force in the new Colonies.

As regards the Gold Law, the new British administration has established a tax of ten per cent. on the net profits of each mine, and has retained the previous system as well, of taxing the pos-

Law and Language

session of mining areas. It will require some time to see how the present method of levy affects the growth of the British population. Personally, I have not been convinced by the arguments in favour of the "claim license" system : it is held by its opponents that it tends to throw all the mining areas into the possession of the great mining groups, the areas being forfeited to the State in times of depression by poorer men who are unable to continue to pay. Suggestions deserving consideration have been made as to the advisability of the State developing gold areas already in the possession of the State.

As regards the arrears of claim licenses accruing during the war against the expelled British inhabitants, I have strongly advocated in the London press their entire remission. The Boer burgher on commando is held to be exempted ; it is difficult to see why the expelled British should not also be exempted.

Another measure which I have supported is that of the arming of all British civilians, for reasons already enumerated. An essential to the measure being successful, being loyally supported, is that, on the Boer model, the officers of the corps should be elected by their men. British colonists, with their traditions of liberty and independence, will never submit to being compulsorily placed on military service and subjected to the orders of officers whom they have not chosen.

No measure of greater political moment can be taken than the thorough organising of a system of education, from the university to the school. I am one of those who support the making of the Gold Reef city a great university centre.

As regards the Native Law, I advocate as little as possible alteration in the laws already in force. The Boer theory of the position of the Kaffir—as not an equal, but entitled to justice, under tutelage to a government directed by European ideals—is the sound one.¹

Asiatic immigration in any form, whether of British Indians from India, or Chinese from Hong-Kong or elsewhere, would be a measure fraught with disaster to the future of European civilisation. With the exception of some employers of labour in Rhodesia and Natal, South African opinion — British, Boer, even Kaffir — is opposed to Asiatic immigration. Even the employers referred to only desire to encourage the importation of Asiatics as manual labourers, not as owners of the land or traders in the towns.

¹ In the *Fortnightly Review*, August 1902. Ideal with this subject : "Negrophilism in South Africa."

THE AFRICANDER PARTY

ITS ORIGIN, ITS GROWTH, ITS AIMS

BY THE HON. A. WILMOT

Member of the Legislative Council, Cape Colony ; Author of "History of Our Own Times in South Africa," &c., &c.

ONE of the greatest statesmen whose experience and ability have assisted the Imperial Government declares that it was only after two years' residence that he understood the political problems affecting South Africa. Hundreds rush in where Milners fear to tread, and the little knowledge which induces superficial views and rash judgment on a merely *primâ facie* case are now at present, as they have been in the past, among the causes which impede the progress of a vast country which we hope will yet become a great federated dominion under the British crown.

It is because of the vital importance of going to the root of the political questions affecting South Africa that this paper is written.

The origin of the Africander party is traceable principally to discontent with British rule. The Cape Colony, as our readers know, was obtained by conquest in 1806, and by purchase from the Netherlands for six million pounds sterling in the year 1814. Mr. Paul M. Botha, Member of the Orange Free State Volksraad for Kroonstadt, states the case from the Dutchman's point of view, and tells us that as England said that South Africa was her country she ought to have governed it, instead of which she shirked responsibilities and was guilty of the most glaring inconsistencies. One day England blew hot and the next cold. "One moment she insisted on swallowing us, and the next moment she insisted on disgorging us." For example, the Orange Free State was declared British territory because a governor said, "You can never escape British jurisdiction." Then we were abandoned because the next governor said, "The country was a howling wilderness." The Transvaal was annexed, and Sir Garnet Wolseley declared: "The rivers will sooner run back in their courses than that England will give back the Transvaal." Shortly after that the Transvaal was

The Africander Party

retroceded, after Majuba, because the British Ministry said, "We have been unjust in annexing this country."¹

The slavery question, Mr. Botha tells us, was handled with astounding negligence and ignorance of the circumstances of the people. Although England was perfectly right in emancipating the slaves, yet the way it was done irritated, annoyed, and disgusted the people, and sowed seeds of distrust which have never been eradicated. England failed to carry out effectively her promises of compensation.

On the minor grievances, such as Slagter's Nek and other so-called injustices of England, Mr. Botha lays no stress. "It was a rough period, and rough measures were used by all Governments." He significantly adds that what he has heard of the cruelty of the Dutch East India Company's officials makes him think that anyhow British rule was heaven to that of the Dutch. Whatever a well-educated man like Mr. Botha may say, we know that the rank and file of the Dutch throughout South Africa are taught to "Remember Slagter's Nek." Nothing can be more unjust than to blame the British power for executing rebels, caught red-handed and sentenced to death in perfect accord with both evidence and law by a competent Court, whose members were themselves of Dutch extraction. Nevertheless this is one of the heavy popular grievances.

Mr. Botha says that England's weak and spasmodic policy in South Africa has made the Boer what he is to-day—distrustful and contemptuous of British statesmen. By further receding into the interior, and having to fight wild beasts and hordes of Kaffirs, the Boer became blown out with vanity at his own prowess, and more and more ignorant. Through this ignorance it is easier to mislead than to lead him. A man who plays upon his vanity and prejudices against England quickly obtains influence. A loud talker and blusterer gets a better hearing than a quiet reasoner. "I ascribe this to want of education and complete isolation on the veldt."

As a marked illustration in support of Mr. Botha's view which has come under the present writer's observation, let us tell what occurred shortly before the war to a nephew of the Speaker of the House of Assembly who had to travel through the Transvaal to look after some landed property. This gentleman, who spoke the Taal perfectly, met at one place about two dozen Dutchmen who were, like the Laird of Cockpen, "greatly ta'en up with the 'fairs of the State." The first question, "Can we beat the British?" was answered by a unanimous "Yes, we have done so before, and can, of course, easily do so again." Second. "Tell me, Carls,

¹ See "From Boer to Boer and Englishman," by Paul M. Botha. London: Hugh Rees, 1901.

South Africa and its Future

could we beat England and France united?" "Certainly," said every one, "there can be no doubt about it." But now interposed a new speaker. "How if we had to fight England, France, and Germany?" The reply was unanimous. "We can beat them all three." No wonder that the people of the Lord, as they believed themselves to be, took the bit between their teeth at the time of the ultimatum. Not even Paul Kruger could then have stopped the war, for they felt perfectly assured of victory.

With a religion which has not unfitly been described as a superstition based upon the Old Testament, there is profound ignorance accompanied by prejudice of the most deep-rooted character. Mr. Botha tells us that unfortunately the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, "greedy for the fat lamb, the fowl, and the purse," foster this ignorance. One Predikant had actually the audacity to tell his congregation that God *must* help His chosen people, otherwise He would lose His influence.

Mr. Botha defends his own people against charges of treachery, and gives it as his fixed opinion that a just and firm Government with uniformity of treatment will not only control and satisfy the Boers, but eradicate in time that feeling of distrust and fear which was engendered in their minds by the halting and unequal policy of England. He admits at the same time that it is to Britain that they owe peace, and that it was Britain that protected them from foreign invasion and saved them from continual civil strife. Then comes most important evidence. President Brand of the Free State recognised in the misgoverned Transvaal a subtle enemy. Indeed, it is scarcely remembered that in 1857 the burghers of the South African Republic invaded the Orange Free State territory and declared that it belonged to them. Paul Kruger was subsequently raised up, in the opinion of his followers, to be a Moses, whose mission was to deliver "De Africander Natie" from British bondage. Mr. Botha asks us to let him tear this veil of false romance away. "We know him," he tells us, "as an avaricious, unscrupulous, and hypocritical man, who sacrificed a whole people to his cupidity." Krugerism spread over South Africa, using the Bond, the press, and the pulpit to further its schemes.

Let it be fully understood—the Bond was the *fons* and *origo* of the South African war—Krugerism powerfully co-operating. The idea of the Africander Bond took root at the Paarl in the Cape Colony in the years 1879 and 1880. Of course, as we have seen, there was abundant preparation, but events in the Transvaal hastened proceedings. Enthusiastic, educated men, such as Reitz, Te Water, and the students of the Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch felt patriotic desires wildly coursing in their veins, but the



AT THE HEAD OF UMGANI FALLS, HOWICK, NATAL.

After Photo G. W. Wilson, Aberdeen.

The Africander Party

honour of formulating a definite plan of organisation belongs to the Rev. S. J. du Toit, who then edited *De Patriot* newspaper at the Paarl. *De Transvaalse Oorlog* was published by Messrs. D. T. du Toit & Co. of the Paarl in the year 1881. It was the retrocession of the Transvaal under the direction of Mr. Gladstone in the last-mentioned year that enabled the Bond to assume a very definite shape, and to obtain immense and widespread power.

Carl Borckenhagen, editor of the *Bloemfontein Express*, and F. W. Reitz, who succeeded Sir J. Brand as President of the Orange Free State, and was subsequently State Secretary of the Transvaal, earnestly joined the Bond. The former was a German, whose honest and intense hatred of England was apparent in all his leading articles, while the life-dream of the latter was to see the establishment of the Dutch Republican United States of South Africa.

Branches of the Bond were formed in the Cape Colony, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State, and in 1882 the first Congress of the Bond was held at Graaff Reinet. A very astute and profoundly able plotter was already at work in the person of Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, who had started "The Farmers' Protection Society" with the expressed purpose of watching over Dutch farmers, and stirring them up to take an interest in politics. Hitherto the Dutch bucolic mind had lain fallow. It was now to be cultivated in order that it might produce fruit at parliamentary elections, and, as a more powerful means to that end, "The Farmers' Protection Society" was amalgamated with the Bond in the year 1883. Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr then assumed the reins of management, and, as a Member in the House of Assembly for Stellenbosch, began to wield a power which at last developed into that of a colonial Earl of Warwick, or king-maker. Ministries were formed at his bidding, and cabinets accepted his control.

Certainly Mr. Hofmeyr very wisely and astutely modified the ostensible objects of the Bond, and he was helped to do so by the fact that the Hollander party in the Government at Pretoria became stronger than the Afrianders. Indeed, the Rev. S. J. Du Toit, the founder of the Bond, was worsted in the Transvaal by the men from the old country. But to make up for this, their march in the Cape Colony was so triumphant that the President of the Bond at the Paarl Congress in June 1900 was able to glory in the fact that since 1884 the Cape Colony had been ruled under responsible government almost exclusively by the aid of the Africander Bond. In 1885 there were twenty-five Bond Members of Parliament who held the balance of power, and there can be no doubt that Sir Thomas Upington, Sir Gordon Sprigg, and Mr. Rhodes sought and accepted their support.

South Africa and its Future

When Mr. Rhodes became Prime Minister in 1890 he was in harmony with the Bond, but certainly did not sympathise with its real object. Each party masked its idea, and each party thought that it was successfully using the other for its own objects. Objects diametrically opposite: Mr. Rhodes desired the supremacy of the British Imperial Power, and the Africander party really aimed at the formation of a Republican South Africa.

The Bond, says Mr. Theo. Schreiner ("The Africander Bond," &c., p. 29) was for many years the only organised political body in the Cape Colony, and it exercised a political tyranny which crushed all true political life and thought under its iron heel. While it deliberately refused to take the reins of Government, it constantly aimed at increasing the number of its Members in Parliament, and at making it impossible for any Ministry to exist without its support. Arguing apparently from facts, Sir Hercules Robinson, in his farewell speech at Cape Town in April 1889, went so far as to say that there was no longer any permanent place in South Africa for direct Imperial rule.

A Bond Congress was held at Kimberley in 1891, when Mr. Rhodes made a very bold but unsuccessful attempt to get the Dutch to join with the English of the Cape Colony against the iniquitous rule and anti-British policy of the South African Republic. Another Congress was held at Port Elizabeth, when there was an attempt made to capture the Bond by means of British friendship. Indeed the changed attitude of this Association deceived many people, as under the extremely able leadership of Mr. Hofmeyr it assumed the position of a great benevolent society, which desired all Colonists, both English and Dutch, to join it, in order to help forward the progress of South Africa. Nevertheless, it is very significant that the Rev. S. J. du Toit lost the high position he had previously held in consequence of his supposed anti-Transvaal sympathies, and at the same time the influence of the South African Republic greatly increased. "Blood is thicker than water." The close alliance of sympathy more and more knit together the Dutchmen of the States and of the Colonies.

But the Jameson Raid of 1895 removed every estrangement. Just before this event President Kruger showed his hand by venturing on a dangerous step, which really meant an open breach of the Convention. He closed the drifts, or fords, by which goods carried on the Cape and Natal railways entered the Transvaal, intending by this act to force traffic over his own Delagoa Bay line. He was informed by a joint ultimatum from the Imperial Government and the Cape Colony that his action could not be permitted, and he rescinded his declaration.

The Africander Party

It is not necessary to give a history of the Jameson Raid. No event since Majuba had so much played into the hands of the party in favour of an "Africander Natie." Cromwell's words when General Leslie's army left its strong position, "The Lord has delivered them into our hands," clearly expressed the sentiment which on this occasion animated the minds of Bond members. The Transvaal enormously increased its armaments, preparations for war virtually commenced, and the entire sympathy of the Africander party in the Cape Colony went out to their brethren of the South African Republic.

Mr. Hofmeyr was a leader who thoroughly deserved the title of "the mole," as he metaphorically burrowed under the political platform, and concealed his methods and aims with great subtlety. He saw the danger of pursuing openly the programme expressed in the motto of his party, and clothed the ideas of Africanderism in a constitutional garb. However, when considering the real aim of the Bond, we shall prove that this association never abandoned its original programme.

It must be admitted that, in some respects, there is an analogy between Daniel O'Connell, as leader of the Irish National party, and J. H. Hofmeyr, the "Ons Jan" of Africanderism. Both ostensibly were in favour of working only on constitutional lines, and both were defeated by extremists, who saw no other way of obtaining success than by recourse to arms. In the case of the Young Ireland party, with such leaders as John Michell, Smith O'Brien, and Gavan Duffy, a very futile insurrection was quickly crushed; while, so far as J. H. Hofmeyr was concerned, a much greater conflagration resulted. The great fire was really lit by him—at least he constantly added fuel to it—and when too late made futile efforts to extinguish the flames. O'Connell was much more honest, as he openly opposed the Young Irelanders, and retired broken-hearted from the arena.

Hofmeyr undoubtedly did not raise a finger to stop the furious onward march of his party. *Ons Land* indeed encouraged this movement, and the editor, Mr. Malun, was completely under the great leader's influence. Certainly at the end, as will be seen if the correspondence ever comes to light, Hofmeyr tried to stop the mad career of the Republics. No one saw more clearly than he did that it was absolute folly to fight the British nation, but his interference came too late.

O'Connell fought more straightforwardly. Never for a moment did he admit that the policy of force was justifiable; while, on the contrary, Hofmeyr had not the moral courage to step publicly into the arena and denounce it. He was always occult in his mode of

South Africa and its Future

fighting. Unfortunately, in posing as a friend, he became the most dangerous enemy of his own people.

The policy of the Africander Bond in the Cape Colony pandered to mean interests and base prejudices. The corn farmers and brandy producers were banded together in an unholy compact. Heavy duties of five shillings per hundred pounds on flour and half-a-crown on wheat were levied, while excise was abolished on spirits made from the grape, in order that members of the Bond who grew cereals and made very bad brandy might be benefited. The shameful result was that bread became dear and bad alcohol cheap. As a Nemesis the producers got into the hands of middlemen, and their condition was rather injured than improved. In the case of both wines and spirits, careless, unscientific methods were generally adopted, quantity was preferred to quality, and in many cases acetous fermentation resulted. Although spirit produced from the grape paid not a farthing of excise, and was carried at a non-paying rate on the railways, it was so miserably full of fusel oil and dangerous in character as to be discarded generally by the white population, and sent broadcast among the aboriginal natives for their degradation, demoralisation, and destruction. In a shameful manner Mr. Hofmeyr and the Bond politicians persistently resisted every proposed law for the restriction of the sale of bad alcohol among aboriginal natives, and indeed by insidious methods did all in their power to remove every barrier between the native and the deadly poison made carelessly in thousands of "pot stills" in the Dutch districts of the Western Province.

At the same time the true Phariseeism of this people was demonstrated by their fanatical observance of the Lord's Day, which they styled the Sabbath, and their absurd opposition to any Sunday trains, even when absolutely necessary in general public interests. Mr. Merriman, in one of his saner moments, reprobated this hypocrisy.

In South Africa the Native Laws Commission, which comprised such men as Sir Thomas Upington, Sir Thomas Scanlen, and Sir Jacob Barry, took evidence in a very complete form in the early eighties, and as a result reported unanimously in favour of prohibiting the sale of intoxicants to the aboriginal natives. Accordingly by Act of Parliament this recommendation was given full effect to in the Transkeian Territories. Subsequently the Drink Commission reported in favour of this prohibition being extended to natives throughout the Colony. In Bechuanaland and Basutoland, as well as in Natal, the law was adopted long ago, and invariably worked well; nevertheless, to the shame of the Bond organisation, it persistently preferred Mammon to God, and in the strongest manner opposed any legislation whose result would be to save the black man



Photo: Maull & Fox, London.

SIR H. J. GOOLD-ADAMS, C.B., C.M.G

Lieutenant-Governor of Orange River Colony.

The Africander Party

from destruction. Eventually an Act introduced by Sir James Rose Innes was maimed before it was allowed to pass, so that licensing Boards were only empowered to pass restrictive regulations on the sale of alcohol to the coloured races "short of total prohibition."

During the entire term of Bond rule in the Cape Colony not a sixpence could be obtained for the encouragement of emigration from the United Kingdom to the Cape Colony—nor would any land be ever granted for the purpose. "Africa for the Afrianders" has a very real and exact meaning, and this was shown to demonstration when even the petty vote for granting assisted passages to domestic servants and artisans was objected to and refused. These people might in many cases come from England, and therefore must be shut out.

The subtlety and diplomacy of the Bond were evinced in voting a grant for the British Navy, and Mr. Hofmeyr took many opportunities of posing as a loyal subject, but, as we shall prove in the context, the one great underlying principle of the organisation was to obtain the mastery in South Africa. All nationalities were invited to join. Africa must be made great by a union of all its people, but those who read between the lines and ascertained the real opinions of those who were guiding the movement knew perfectly well that although the Imperial power might be allowed at first to be a *faineant* king, the Mayor of the Palace with real authority was to be the people of Dutch extraction—the Afrianders—throughout Southern Africa.

We now come to the last days before the war, when Lord Milner could have been easily checkmated if Mr. Hofmeyr had been able to influence the Republican Governments. As every one knew, Mr. Kruger had positively promised equal franchise rights to British subjects at the retrocession of the Transvaal, and this promise was shamefully broken. In a constitutional manner the Uitlanders vainly endeavoured to obtain redress, and now appealed to the Imperial Government. The High Commissioner merely did his evident duty, when at the Bloemfontein Conference he insisted that at least a portion of the franchise rights promised should be given. No doubt Mr. Hofmeyr would have seen his opportunity here, and have consented in such a manner, and with such a purpose, as to really render British interference nugatory, but the Dutch Republicans had now the bit between their teeth. They were the Lord's people, they had made all their preparations, and were perfectly sure of victory. Mr. Kruger himself could not now stop the war, and the astounding ultimatum came forth from the little Republic to the great Empire: "Recall your troops and send no more, or we will punish you." If this gage had not been taken

South Africa and its Future

up the United Kingdom would have been forced to take a back seat as a third-class power among the nations of the world.

Having referred to the origin and growth of the Africander party, we must now consider its aims. It must be admitted that its originators were perfectly candid. We find them declaring in *De Patriot* in 1882, when referring to Confederation, that "There is just one hindrance, and that is the British flag. Let them take that away, and within a year the confederation under the free Africander flag will be established. The British must just have Simon's Bay as a naval and military station on the road to India, and give over all the rest of Africa to the Africanders. . . . It is we on top or they on top. They must be under or we under. . . . Two things are wanted, artillery for the Transvaal . . . to make their own ammunition and to be well supplied with cannon. Now that the war against the English Government is over (at Majuba Hill), the war against the English language must begin. By Anglifying the girls they infect the whole family life with the English speech."

We must now put into the box witnesses of a very important character whose testimony, so far as the aims of the Bond are concerned, is perfectly unexceptionable. These witnesses are Mr. Burgers, President of the South African Republic, Sir John Brand, President of the Orange Free State, Mr. Reitz, State Secretary of the South African Republic and previously President of the Orange Free State, and Mr. Steyn, Attorney-General and subsequently President of the Orange Free State. In 1875 President Burgers stated at a meeting held in Holland to consider the Delagoa Bay railway scheme, that he hoped to see a New Holland eight millions strong in South Africa, whence England shall have been expelled. It was President Brand who said, "Bartle Frere dreams of United South Africa under the British flag; and so do I, but not under the same flag." And when conducting a controversy with Kruger on the subject of a Customs Union, Sir John Brand, disgusted with treachery, cried aloud, "The Bond seeks to raise a Republican flag in a country with which we are at peace."¹

Mr. Theo. Schreiner, whose honesty and truthfulness no man in South Africa will deny, furnishes us with a circumstantial account of an interview between himself and Mr. Reitz in the early eighties.² Then Mr. Reitz was a judge at Bloemfontein, and was one of that band of Africander patriots whose aspiration and conduct remind us naturally of the aims, objects, and aspirations of the Young Ireland party under Smith O'Brien. After in vain trying to enlist Mr.

¹ See *Macmillan's Magazine*, May 1900.

² This is published in full in the *Weekly Times* of December 1, 1899, and is fully referred to in Wilmot's "History of Our Own Times in South Africa." See also "The Truth about the Transvaal" and various other publications.

The Africander Party

Schreiner as a recruit, Mr. Reitz asked him to state the reason of his refusal. The reply was, "Because the ultimate object aimed at was the overthrow of British power and the expulsion of the British flag from South Africa." "Well, what if it is so?" was the rejoinder, to which Mr. Schreiner replied, "You don't suppose, do you, that the flag is going to disappear without a tremendous struggle and fight?" "Well," said Mr. Reitz, "I suppose not, but what of that?"

Mr. Steyn, of the Orange Free State, made the following statement to the Rev. W. Tees, Presbyterian Minister in Durban:—

"Great Britain has been completely taken by surprise."

"Sir, this has been preparing since the year 1884."¹

"In both States?" asked the clergyman.

"Yes," was the reply, "in both, and in the Colony also. The Transvaal has been the arsenal, but those in the know in the Free State and in the Colony have worked in unison with Kruger. The object was to oust the British from South Africa, but it was not intended to do it all at once. The first step was the consolidation of the two Republics as a Sovereign International State, and later on an Africander rising at the right moment."

Mr. Tees then asked a very pertinent question. "Then do you mean to say that when President Kruger attended the Bloemfontein Conference he knew perfectly well that the proceedings were a farce, and that he really meant to fight?"

Mr. Steyn's reply was "Yes."

At a conference between the Governments of the South African Republic and Orange Free States held in 1887² relative to railways, we find Mr. Kruger declaring: "If you hook on to the Colony you cut our throat. . . . Let us speak frankly; we are not going to be dependent on England." Mr. Wolmarans, following, declared: "We have had much experience of her Majesty's Government, and we will and must shake ourselves free. We are still insufficiently prepared. We wish to get to the sea, especially with an eye to future complications—you know our secret policy." Subsequently the blunt soldier, General Joubert, said on the occasion of an Uitlander complaining to him of the constant breach of Article 14 of the 1884 Convention providing equality of treatment for the Uitlanders: "Equality! We don't want equality! We want to see who is to be boss in South Africa."

Apropos to this subject it is not uninteresting to note from the debates in the Volksraad of the South African Republic (see the *Johannesburg Star* of August 17, 1895) that the laws of the Trans-

¹ See *Daily News* of May 10, 1900.

² Reported in the *Times* of May 24, 1900.

South Africa and its Future

vaal were intended to make the acquisition of the franchise by Uitlanders morally impossible, and that at the end of one debate Mr. Otto merely became the mouthpiece of the Burghers when he said, without any rebuke from the chairman, "Come on and fight. I say, come on and have it out; and the sooner the better."

We must now put in documentary evidence to prove the real aims and objects of the Africander Bond. The declaration of the Rev. S. J. Du Toit, Judge Reitz, and Carl Borckenhagen is perfectly explicit. They declare that "The object of the Africander Bond is the establishment of a South African Nationality through the cultivation of a true love of this our fatherland. This object must be attained by the promotion and defence of the national language, and by Africanders, both politically and socially, making their power to be felt as a nation."

After the retrocession of the Transvaal the "Africander Natie" took a very definite shape, as we find the *Patriot* newspaper declaring that "God's hand has been visible in a more marked manner than ever before seen since the days of the children of Israel. Proud England is compelled to give the Boers back their land after they had been defeated by a mere handful." The little respect which Africanders entertained for British troops had entirely departed.

One of the articles of the Bond programme of principles contained the following words: "In itself acknowledging no single form of Government as the only suitable form, and whilst acknowledging the form of Government existing at present, it (the Bond) means that the aim of our national development must be a United South Africa under its own flag." With the subtlety which always distinguished the party, a change was made in this some years afterwards.

The language of the Bond organ, *De Patriot*, is perfectly explicit, and shows very clearly the spirit and intentions of the party. The English must be boycotted. There must be no English shops, signboards, advertisements, or bookkeepers. Manufacture of munitions of war must be started in the two Republics. "At Heidelberg there are already 4000 cartridges made daily, and a few skilful Africanders have begun to make shells too. That is right; so we must become a nation." It must be considered a disgrace to speak English, and war must be waged in the Church against that language. "It is the Dutch Reformed Church. What has England to do with it?" In family life no quarter was to be given.

As we have already said, the junction of the Farmers' Protection Society with the Bond exercised a moderating influence, but the spirit, intentions, and object of the party remained the same, although



THE LOW VELDT FROM BOTHA'S HILL

Photo by Wilson, Aberdeen

The Africander Party

Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr attempted, in a manner as astute as it was dangerous, to unite the Dutch and English people in South Africa in a common antagonism to Great Britain's power, influence, and presence. Even Mr. Merriman saw through this trick, as he declared in a speech delivered at Grahamstown in 1885. "It is now the cue of the Bond to pretend to be loyal, and if it were not painful it would be ridiculous to hear the editor of *De Zuid Afrikaan* cheering the Queen, and to hear Du Toit praying for her while resolutions are passed round to the branches in direct opposition to the honour of England. . . . Each one of you will have to make up his mind whether he is prepared to see the colony remain a part of the British Empire, which carries with it obligations as well as privileges, or whether he is prepared to obey the dictates of the Bond. From the very first time, some years ago, when first the poison began to be distilled in this country, I felt that it must come to this: Was England or the Transvaal to be the paramount force in South Africa? . . . What could they think of the objects of the Bond when they found Judge Reitz advocating a Republic of South Africa under one flag? . . . No one who wishes well to the British Government could have read the leading articles of the *Zuid Afrikaan* and *Express* and *De Patriot*, in expounding the Bond principles, without seeing that the maintenance of law and order under the British Crown and the object they have in view are absolutely different things. . . . My quarrel with the Bond is that it stirs up race difference. Its main object is to make the South African Republic the paramount power in South Africa."

To do justice to the Bond, we must quote Mr. Theron, their secretary, who is reported by the *South African News* of May 5, 1900, to have said:—

"One other question may be asked, 'What is the object of the Bond?' My reply is, its object, its only object, is expressed in sec. 2 of the General Constitution, which is worded as follows: 'The nearest object of the Bond is the formation of a South African Nationality by means of union and co-operation, as a preparation for the ultimate object, a united South Africa. The Bond tries to attain this object by constitutional means, giving to respective governments and legislatures all the support they are entitled to, and respecting everybody's rights.'" This was perfectly understood. It was a Dutch Nationality and a Dutch Republican South Africa that was aimed at, and the context fully proved this assertion when the vast majority of the Bond party fought against England, either as belligerents in the Republics or as rebels—active and passive—within the Cape Colony. Nine out of every ten ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church were

South Africa and its Future

rebels, according to the testimony of one of their own number—the Rev. Mr. Vlok of Piquetberg. In such circumstances it is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that the departure from the original, straightforward declaration of the aims of the Bond was nothing but a diplomatic effort to throw dust in the eyes of the enemy.

Certainly such a man as Mr. Cronwright Schreiner was in no way deceived by this attitude, as we find him saying in 1893¹ that the *Africander Bond* is anti-English in its aims; its officers and its language are Dutch, and it is striving to gain such power as absolutely to control the Cape Parliament. It had “paralysed our political life.” “In fact,” he goes on to say, “the Bond has sacrificed the welfare of the country for years to the selfish attainment of one object, namely, the supremacy of the Dutch-speaking inhabitants of the Cape Colony, regardless of the rights of others; the imagined good of an ignorant clique of the Dutch has been preferred to the good of the country. These men must not have power; they are wholly unfit to have it. The Bond is a body striving solely for its own benighted ends, and founded and conducted on race lines.” This was a correct judgment passed from the English Cape Colony farmer’s point of view; men who, quite unlike the pro-Boers in England, perfectly understood their subject by means of adequate evidence obtained on the spot, as well as by bitter personal experience.

Can anything be more significant than the following facts. The Hon. Mr. Bellingan, a Dutch member of the Legislative Council, in the session immediately previous to the war is reported by the *Cape Times* to have said: “If the policy of annexation were adhered to, they (the *Africanders*) would take advantage of England’s calamity;” while the Bond paper, *Ons Land*, reports the honourable member as saying that when the Queen came to die and storms burst over the empire the *Africanders* would not side with England if the Republics were annexed. Then the member himself, in a letter to the *Cape Times*, declared that what he said was: “He saw difficulty for the British Empire after the death of our beloved Queen. By giving the Republics their independence England could reckon upon them as friends, but if the Republics were annexed she could not do so.”

The Bond undoubtedly during many years prepared the materials for a conflagration. The great never-dying, ever-present aspiration was fully expressed in its motto, “Africa for the *Africanders*.” It was nothing if not diplomatic, and professed very loudly a loyalty which showed itself in its true colours when the

¹ Paper read at the Cradock Farmers’ Association in October 1893.

The Africander Party

Bond party was in power just prior to the war. Then we find its aims exhibited by the Bond party in Parliament, backed up by the Bond Congress, fighting most strenuously against the absurdly lenient provisions of the Treason Bill.

As Mr. Theo. Schreiner aptly says, "Rebellion in fact is no rebellion in the eyes of the Bond so long as it be in accord with the Africander national ideal." The ministers of their political party allowed ammunition and guns to be carried to the Republics over the railways of the Colony in immense quantities, and the W. P. Schreiner ministry was split up rather than consent to the very mild punishment of deprivation of the franchise being inflicted on rebels. Then came the war, when a large majority of the Bond party were either active or passive rebels.

But no one more clearly points out the real objects of the Bond than Mr. Reitz, one of its original founders, and to the end one of its principal leaders. He does not hesitate to say in his brochure entitled "A Century of Wrong," largely circulated in more than one language over the continent of Europe:—

"May the hope which glowed in our hearts during 1880, and which buoyed us up during that struggle, burn on steadily. May it prove a beacon of light in our path, invincibly moving onwards through blood and through tears until it leads us to a real union of South Africa. . . . Whether the result be victory or death, liberty will assuredly rise in South Africa . . . just as freedom dawned over the United States of America a little more than a century ago. Then from Zambesi to Simonstown it will be 'AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANDER.'"

A Bond object-lesson was really to be seen in a practical manner in the South African Republic under the rule of Dutch Afrianders. There indeed the Transvaal portion of Africa was clearly ruled for one section of the population—the Afriander—to the utter exclusion of the rights of the English population largely in a majority within Johannesburg. There was an election system leading to the corrupt and unjust rule of Boer Raads and a Boer oligarchy. Protection, Concessions, the Master and Servants Acts were all managed in accordance with Afriander ideas. Bond views of native policy were carried out in such a way that no coloured person however civilised could vote, nor hold title to fixed property nor trade freely, nor even marry as white people might. All this found encouragement in the Cape Colony, and eventually the absurd fiction of Boers fighting for liberty in the Transvaal was proclaimed as a fact over all Europe, although literally they commenced a war in which they felt sure of success for the purpose of subverting liberty and obtaining complete freedom to carry on government by a section of

South Africa and its Future

the people purely for the interests of a section—the Africanders—ignoring altogether equal rights for all other men.

When we consider clearly and definitely all the facts, remember that history repeats itself and that the Africanders are profoundly tenacious of their political opinions and have proved themselves to be a people who are able to wait, can we not see at once how desirable it is to suspend temporarily the constitution of the Cape Colony? The body politic requires a physician. No one better understands the subject or is more competent to prescribe than Lord Milner. Why do we not take his advice? Nothing is more significant than the fact that in the Cape Colony two years ago heated parliamentary debates and a violent political agitation, following immediately upon the suppression of the first rebellion, were in their turn succeeded by a second rebellion more ruinous than the former one.

In asking for suspension there is no idea of defection from the principle of responsible government. The Imperial system requires local independence, and in due course this will be extended to all parts of South Africa. A necessary interregnum is required for purposes of true liberty and sound rule, in order that breakdown may be prevented and true constitutionalism take the place of the tyranny of any section of the population. The Imperial Government is no step-mother, and the federation of Southern Africa will doubtless be on similar lines to those of the Canadian Dominion. Certainly no system will be forced upon the people contrary to their wishes, but the resurrection of Bond power in the Cape Colony would absolutely prevent any well-considered and statesmanlike plan, in which all men would receive fair play utterly regardless of race extraction. In fact the British and the Africander Bond theories are diametrically opposed. The first makes every civilised man equal from the Zambesi to Cape Town, the other specially and always means "Africa for the Africanders."

Heated discussions in Parliament, and the intense excitement connected with contested elections, cannot but accentuate race hatred in the Cape Colony. Surely South Africa should have a rest. As in the Transvaal and in the Orange Colony, so at the Cape, the great healer, time, ought to be allowed to do its work.

But perhaps the strongest, because the most practical, argument in favour of "suspension" is based upon the fact that a re-distribution Act is absolutely necessary if fair play is to be bestowed on all nationalities, and the reign of the Bond be not allowed to again become supreme. The suspensionists are really fighting for liberty against the rule of a section. Their motto is that of the Union Jack—"Equal rights for all"—whereas, as we know, the Africanders will in the future, as in the past, demand "Africa for the Africanders."

The Africander Party

No delusion is greater than to imagine that they will change their purpose. Their plan is to adhere to their principles, consolidate their party, and wait for an opportunity. After spending more than two hundred millions of money, and much more than this—40,000 noble lives—for the sake of upholding British supremacy in Southern Africa, nothing should be done even to risk a recurrence of the trouble. This certainly was the opinion of Lord Milner, and of the great majority of the British people in the Cape Colony. The advice now referred to was not taken, and history must record the result.

The real aims and objects of the Bond are as decipherable to-day as they were three years or ten years ago. The people who belong to it are thoroughly tenacious of these opinions, and to do them justice, make no pretence of having changed them. At the Paarl the popular General Botha has just declared that they are not vanquished, retain their traditions, and will yet conquer. They look with unutterable scorn on the men who joined the National Scouts, and entertain feelings of coldness and dislike for those who did not join the enemy either actively or passively. In the great Dutch Church of Cape Town, the Republican Generals received an unanimous ovation, and were carried shoulder high, in triumph, from the edifice. The truth is that the Bond exists, remains extremely powerful, and is only waiting and watching for an opportunity.

British rule is now comparatively easy both in the Transvaal and Orange Colonies. Effective progress is being made under the rule of wise and firm Governments; but it is in the Cape Colony, where a treacherous and powerful enemy is allowed to plot with impunity, that the real danger to British Imperial interests lies.

How history repeats itself! When the fatuous policy of abandoning 35,000 square miles of excellent territory styled the Orange River Sovereignty was pursued in 1853, there was only one man in the House of Commons who opposed it,¹ and subsequent circumstances amply justified his judgment. In 1902, Mr. Chamberlain would have found it absolutely impossible to obtain a majority in the House of Commons favourable to suspension of the Cape Colony Constitution. What is now to be done? Our answer is, "Accept with loyalty the decision of the Government, and show by wise moderation that we are most desirous to be friends with our fellow-subjects of Dutch extraction. No recriminations nor abuse should proceed from our side. Nothing

¹ This was Mr. Norton. See the dramatic manner in which this is referred to in the second volume of "The Life of Sir Harry Smith."

South Africa and its Future

will please us better than to find the Bond abandoned and all men cordially uniting as one free people under the British flag. If this be not done—and masses of the people have already declared that it will not—we will have to fight the Bond again at elections, on public platforms, and in the press, as well as in Parliament. It would have been well for both nationalities if this could have been avoided, but this is now impossible.”

LET GOD DEFEND THE RIGHT.

RHODESIA

SOME PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS

By E. F. KNIGHT

Author of "Where Three Empires Meet"; "The Cruise of the 'Falcon,'" &c.

IN all the long romantic story of the making of the British Empire, no episode more strongly appeals to the imagination than the foundation of Rhodesia. Well is it named Rhodesia; for the history of Great Britain's acquisitions on either side of the Zambesi, the 750,000 square miles of magnificent territories which lie under the sway of the British South Africa Company, is the history of the Englishman, Cecil John Rhodes: had it not been for whose foresight, statesmanship, untiring vigilance, determined but patient endeavour for years towards the accomplishment of his mighty schemes, the South African Plateau, with its gold-bearing reefs, its vast tracts of rich arable and pastoral lands, would have fallen into the hands of one or other of the foreign Powers which keenly contested with him its possession.

It is a trite saying that when the time is ripe for great doings on the part of a nation the necessary man invariably appears. It is a saying hardly warranted by fact, for many a golden opportunity have nations, Great Britain as often as others, lost because the right man was not forthcoming. Happily it has not been so in South Africa. It is almost certain that, had it not been for the accident of Mr. Rhodes seeking the South African shores for his health when a lad, the Germans and the Boers would have cut off the Cape Colony from all possibility of expansion to the north. Those Powers had even found their right men. The Transvaal had her stubborn Kruger; Germany had her shrewd and energetic agents and explorers preparing the way to annexation in different portions of the Dark Continent; while even Portugal had her D'Andrade, a man who displayed much of the spirit and enterprise of the Portuguese discoverers and conquerors of olden days. Cecil Rhodes took his place in South African affairs but just in time. The Transvaal War had been followed by a period of extraordinary apathy both in England and in the Cape Colony. No one seemed to care in the least what became of the territory lying beyond our then limits. At home men were sick of the very name of South

South Africa and its Future

Africa. Many would have gladly abandoned all our possessions about the Cape of Storms, and abdicated an Empire which seemed to bring us nothing but futile wars, disaster, and disgrace. It was at this critical period that Mr. Rhodes came to the front to save our supremacy in South Africa—too late, indeed, to save for us much that should have been ours; too late, for example, to secure our sovereignty over Namaqualand and Damaraland, territories which had been long recognised as being within Britain's sphere of influence, which formerly had been annexed to the Cape, but which latterly had been totally neglected both by the Imperial and Cape Governments, so that the watchful Germans were left at liberty, first to establish



FIVE-MILE SPRUIT ON MELSETTER ROAD, RHODESIA

their trading missions, and finally to assert their sovereignty over those extensive regions.

The richness and beauty of the highlands, extending over an immense area both north and south of the Zambesi, had for many years been known to both English and Boer travellers. Mr. Rhodes, in his early days at Kimberley, met many an adventurous wanderer who had come from that wonderful region, and their glowing tales perhaps first inspired in him that ambitious dream of the creation of a great new British colony that should include all the finest country in South and Central Africa. As far back as 1882, having commenced to take an active part in Cape politics, Mr. Rhodes took the initial steps towards the attainment of the one absorbing purpose of his life.



A HUNTER'S WAGGON, RHODESIA

Photo by Wilson, Aberdeen

Rhodesia

Of fascinating interest is the story—a story for the most part yet untold to the world—of Cecil Rhodes' long struggle with the Boers and Portuguese who attempted to keep the Empire-builder out of the Promised Land, and of his frequent forestallings of further German expansion at our expense. The first, the most critical and anxious period of all, was occupied with the contest for the very gate of the country, the right-of-way to the north, which we were so nearly losing, and without which our advance would have been hopelessly barred. The only outlet to the north from the Cape Colony lay through Bechuanaland, a vast region that was divided into several independent native kingdoms, and hemmed in between the Germans, then advancing from the west, and the Transvaal Boers on the east. This gateway to the north has been likened to the neck of a bottle; the narrow neck which, once passed, opens out into the broad and precious Zambesia. Kruger, clever and obstinate, commenced his career of attempted expansion by seizing this neck with the intention of thus cutting us off completely from the north. It was his ambition to extend the Boer rule westward to the German line, eastward to Delagoa Bay and the Indian Ocean, and northwards over the steppes of Zambesia. Pretorius had declared that the Transvaal had no boundary on the west, unless it were the Atlantic Ocean. The first struggle therefore between Rhodes and Kruger was for this vital point of vantage, the neck. Had Kruger grasped it the British flag would never have floated on the northern plateau, the Boers and Germans would have joined hands—there had been a talk of a German Protectorate over the Transvaal—and theirs, not ours, would have been the splendid prize. And what is more, seeing what a vast conspiracy had been organised against us, we should probably have lost the Cape Colony itself: the foundations of our Empire would have been shaken. Immense was the threatening peril to which we shut our eyes. The Transvaal War had left the Cape Colonists in a distinctly anti-British frame of mind. Disgusted at the follies of the Imperial Government, even those of British blood sympathised with the Transvaal Boers, and had no objection to the north falling into the hands of the Dutch Republicans. Indeed, the general feeling at the Cape at that time appears to have been republican. Cecil Rhodes had not only to out-manœuvre Germany, the Transvaal, and Portugal, but had also to overcome the opposition of colonial prejudice, and the complete indifference of the English to all affairs South African. He stood almost alone, and had to create a party for himself. Not only man of action, but diplomatist and opportunist in the best sense of the word, he played his game with wondrous skill, and succeeded at last in winning over

South Africa and its Future

the reluctant colonists to his views. The very Africander Bond became his ally for a time.

That struggle for the neck of Bechuanaland is an interesting story that cannot be told here. First Kruger attempted to establish himself in Mankoroane's territory. Mankoroane, to protect himself, offered to cede his country to the Cape Colony, which point-blank refused it. Rhodes, in 1882, went himself to the chief-tain, and so arranged matters that the Imperial Government found itself compelled to take over the district. Thwarted at this point,



CAPE TO CAIRO RAILWAY. LAYING THE RAILS

Kruger attempted to cut us off further to the north, and sent his agents to establish the freebooting republics of Goshen and Stellaland. Again Rhodes checked him. Going himself to Stellaland, he persuaded the Boers in possession to accept the British flag on the condition that our Government ratified their titles to the land they had occupied. The Warren expedition, despatched at last in consequence of the strong representations of Rhodes and his far-seeing ally, Sir Hercules Robinson, the then High Commissioner, resulted in the expulsion of the Boer freebooters from Montsioa's country, where Mafeking now stands, and the extension of our protectorate over the whole of Bechuanaland. Then Rhodes arranged for the taking over of Khama's land, and the gateway to

Rhodesia

the north was won. Foiled again, and thus hemmed in on the west, the stubborn Kruger sent his very able agent Grobler to Lobengula to obtain from him a Matabele concession to the Transvaal. Rhodes found that it was hopeless to attempt to bring the Imperial Government to a sense of the danger of the position, so now, before it was too late, he had to act promptly for himself. He sent Maguire Thomson and Rudd to Lobengula to obtain a concession from him before Grobler had carried out his mission. They were successful; the Governor ratified the concession. Dr. Jameson and Dr. Harris went to Matabeleland to deliver to the king the stipulated arms and ammunition; and despite the bitter opposition of the Cape statesman and consistently anti-British Englishman, Mr. Merriman, the deed of concession was sealed, and its validity was recognised by the Government. And thus in 1888, after years of patient endeavour, Cecil Rhodes at last had made the way clear for the realisation of his mighty scheme.

The sinews of war had now to be found; and Rhodes, in anticipation, before the granting of the concession, had made his provisions. First he had brought about the amalgamation of the diamond-mining companies, and then, as head of the great De Beers Corporation with its rent-roll of four millions sterling a year, he, in 1887, effected the alteration of the De Beers Trust Deed by a liquidation of the Company, so as to give the De Beers directors power to apply the Company's funds to outside objects, that is, to the development of the North. Messrs. Barnato and Beit agreed to this on the condition of being made life governors, and ever since loyally co-operated with Rhodes in the execution of his scheme.

The next step was the granting of the charter by the British Government in 1889, and the creation of the British South Africa Company. Then Rhodes sent out the famous Pioneer Expedition to Mashonaland, and the white men established themselves in Rhodesia. It must be borne in mind that at that time and for years afterwards Rhodes had to be ever closely watching and cunningly circumventing the German Boers and Portuguese, who spared no effort to keep us from the north. Bismarck's agent, Count Pffeil, was sent on a secret mission to South Africa and all but succeeded in anticipating Rhodes, and in winning for Germany a broad strip of territory that would have connected her eastern and western possessions, so forming a bar across Africa from ocean to ocean that would have effectually shut us out. Then there was the Boer trek into Mashonaland in 1891, when the Rhodesians guarded the drifts against the invaders—a scheme of Kruger's that was frustrated without the shedding of blood. Even when the Pioneer Expedition

South Africa and its Future

was on its way, the energetic Portuguese D'Andrade was distributing the flags of his country among the chiefs, and attempting to get concessions that would cut Mashonaland off from Matabeleland. To defeat his plans Rhodes entered into a treaty with Umtassa, and obtained the Gazaland concession from Gungunyana, a concession which would have extended the Chartered Company's possessions to the shores of the Indian Ocean had not Lord Salisbury refused to ratify it and acknowledged the claims of Portugal. Then again in 1889 Rhodes, whose Intelligence Department always supplied him in good time with information as to the doings of his rivals, hearing that Germany intended to cut us off at the head of Lake Nyassa, secretly sent Mr. H. H. Johnson to hoist British flags at Port Abercorn on Lake Tanganyika and other places, as proof of our occupation. The Portuguese also hoped to erect a wall against our expansion by connecting her eastern and western territories, and for this purpose an expedition set out from Angola to seize the Barotse country, but here Rhodes again forestalled them; his mission was the first to arrive in the country, and Barotseland was placed under our protection. The way these things were done by Rhodes' agents, the hardships endured, the perils incurred by these adventurous men who—unlike the Portuguese agents who were always accompanied by large bands of armed men—plunged alone into these savage regions to carry out their hazardous missions, makes a wonderful story indeed of British pluck and enterprise.

The Pioneer Expedition set out in June 1890. The Pioneer Column, which had been enrolled by Major Frank Johnson, consisted of 187 men who had decided to try their fortunes in the new country, and it was accompanied by 650 mounted police, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Pennefather. The famous hunter, Selous, acted as guide. The ox-waggon carried provisions and other stores sufficient to supply the whole force for six months. For four hundred miles the Pioneers marched into Mashonaland, constructing a road as they went, and making drifts at the many rivers to enable the waggon to cross. Forts were built at intervals, and small garrisons were left in them. At last they came to their objective point, Mount Hampden; and hard by it they built Fort Salisbury, now the capital of all Rhodesia. The Pioneer Force was now disbanded, each man receiving, in addition to his pay, the right to peg out fifteen gold claims and 3000 acres of land. The men scattered over the country, prospecting for gold and pegging out their claims and farms. The first rainy season was a terrible one for them; it was an exceptionally bad year; all transport was interrupted, supplies fell short; the men had to live on native food-stuffs; great privations were endured; many died; and, as in every

Rhodesia

other part of our Empire, the ways of Rhodesia are strewn with the bones of the men who won the land for their country.

But the men who go out as the pioneers of the Empire are not easily discouraged. The settlement and development of the country was at once undertaken with energy. Arrangements were made for the administration of the new State; a legal system was created; roads were constructed; mining plant was brought up; mining operations commenced; land was brought under cultivation; stores were opened; townships were surveyed, and rose rapidly from the wilderness, handsome brick buildings taking the place of the huts in which the pioneers roughed it at first. But the development of the country was much retarded by the difficulty of communication and the enormous cost of transport. Little could be done until Rhodesia was afforded railway communication with the coast; so Mr. Rhodes made arrangements for the extension of the Cape railway from its then terminus at Kimberley, and for the construction of a line to Beira on the east coast.

The Chartered Company had not long effected its active occupation of Mashonaland before the Matabele impis resumed their murderous raids on the Mashonas, and in 1893 the Matabele war broke out, leading to the overthrow of Lobengula and the absorption of Matabeleland by the Chartered Company. Nearly every able-bodied white man in Mashonaland volunteered his services. Three columns, numbering nine hundred men in all, marched through the country, defeating the Matabele impis on the Shangani and Zambesi; Bulawayo was occupied, and with the gallant stand of Wilson and his little force, the war was brought to a conclusion.

Then the white man's city began to rise from the veldt, hard by the burnt kraal of Lobengula. Towards the close of the war I travelled in an ox-waggon with some Boer transport riders from the Marico Valley in the Transvaal—about thirty miles from Mafeking—to Bulawayo. This beautiful valley ("the Granary of the Transvaal") was the old home of Moselekatse, Lobengula's father. It was a fat land; there is none so rich for a hundred leagues around; for tribes of Zulu blood will establish themselves in none but the best country, and they will trek far to find it. The rolling land of Marico is as fertile as it is beautiful. It is as green as Devon, and the pretty farmhouses of the prosperous people are scattered among rich pastures, great fields of corn, and fruit orchards. Fifty years ago the Boers and their Baralong allies drove Moselekatse and his raiding warriors out of Marico, and sent them trekking north to seek a new home. So northward they travelled, murdering and cattle-lifting as they went, traversing good country, but not such as would satisfy the Zulu, until at last, nearly five hundred miles

South Africa and its Future

from Marico, they came to a land even more favoured than that they had left, and settled down in what is now called Matabeleland. I followed their route, and could then understand their choice. Fair indeed to the eye appears the green, well-watered high veldt of Matabeleland as the traveller from the south opens it out on reaching the watershed between the Crocodile and the Zambesi rivers. Lieutenant Maund, who some years before had been sent to spy out Matabeleland, with justice reported that, "when compared to the country south of it, it was as Canaan after the wilderness." When I reached the place where Bulawayo, with its stately buildings, now stands, I found a few hundred white men occupying a little temporary settlement of native huts and tattered tents that had sprung up round the newly-constructed fort; the building of the modern city had not commenced. A little later I was present at the first auction of township stands. The alternate land lots bearing even numbers, lining one side of what was to be the chief street, were sold. They fetched about £50 apiece. A few months afterwards the alternate stands bearing odd numbers were sold by auction; they all fetched over £400 apiece, the highest price realised being £900. Some of the stands, that could have been purchased for £50 each in 1893, are at the present time worth six or seven thousand pounds apiece, and realise that price when put on the market. I quote these figures to show that whatever critics at home may think of the future of Rhodesia, those on the spot have confidence in it. The Matabele War was scarcely over before the volunteers, having received their mining, farm, and loot rights, scattered over the country to prospect and peg out their claims. It was wonderful to observe how quickly, under Dr. Jameson's able administration, everything was put in order, and Matabeleland began to assume the aspect of a settled country. Bulawayo was soon a fine city, having its water-works, electric lighting, hospitals, public schools, its imposing court-house and other handsome public buildings. Townships sprang up like mushrooms all over the high veldt in the vicinity of the gold-bearing reefs. The population rapidly increased. The Chartered Company, in the meanwhile, pushed on the railway from Mafeking towards Bulawayo, proceeded to construct the line from Umtali to Beira, and quickly placed Bulawayo into telegraphic communication with the outer world. And now there was every sign of prosperity; the development of the gold mines gave encouraging results; trade was good; the value of the land for farming was proved, and excellent crops were raised; Rhodesia's future seemed assured. But it was fated that its progress should be retarded by an extraordinary succession of disasters; surely no new country was ever so sorely tried.

Rhodesia

All was going well until the early part of 1896, when the first of its many scourges swept down on the unhappy land—the dreaded rinderpest came from the North, and despite every precaution that could be taken to prevent its spreading, it destroyed over 90 per cent. of the cattle in the country, and played like havoc among the wild game. It is difficult for one who was not in Rhodesia at the time to realise the magnitude of this misfortune. As this was a land then entirely dependent upon oxen for transport, a stoppage was put to agricultural and mining operations; and the cattle-owning native population suffered greatly. Before the rinderpest broke out the average price of an ox in Rhodesia was £6, and now,



RHODESIAN NATIVES WASHING CLOTHES

though it is over five years since the rinderpest was stamped out, the price is about £28. Transport rates rose from 10s. to £5 per 100 lbs., and all the necessities of life went up to famine prices. These figures, which will be found in an interesting pamphlet written by Mr. P. S. Inskip of the British South Africa Company's service, will convey some idea of the situation. Absolute ruin faced the settlers; it is wonderful that the bulk of them did not abandon the country in despair, but pioneers are not easily disheartened, and they stubbornly struggled on, taking every possible measure to mitigate the effect of the plague.

But misfortune followed on misfortune. The rinderpest was raging when the Matabele rose, and the Rhodesians had to suppress a formidable rebellion, which was rendered the more difficult to cope

South Africa and its Future

with by the scarcity of oxen. The white settlers were massacred in outlying districts; there were heroic rescues, the rising spread to Mashonaland, and it was not until 1897 that the rebellion was crushed and peace for a little while came to the troubled land. Our total casualties were 690; and of the white settlers in the country alone 390 were killed and 150 were wounded, that is, 10 per cent. of the population. The Company spent £360,000 in compensating the settlers for the losses the rebellion had brought upon them.

It had fortunately been discovered that the rinderpest could be stamped out by inoculation, but no sooner had this plague been conquered by science than a terrible outbreak of red-water decimated the remaining cattle. Locusts, too, came in unwonted numbers to devour the crops, and horse sickness was very destructive. Then, on the top of all Rhodesia's troubles, came the but just concluded Boer war cutting off this inland territory from its communications with its commercial and military bases on the coast, retarding its development, and once more calling on its manhood to abandon industry and take up arms for their country. The Rhodesians responded well to the call; twelve and a half per cent. of the population fought in the war, and it will be in the memory of all how well they acquitted themselves in the defence of Bechuanaland and the relief of Mafeking. Thanks to the foresight of Cecil Rhodes, Matabeleland was ours. Had it not been so, the Boers when defeated in war would have trekked north into the rough country—through which it would have been almost impossible for us to follow them—there to form new independent states, to intrigue against us as before. It would have been the old story over again; and after a few years we should have been plunged into another Boer war. But Rhodes had hemmed in the two Boer Republics. The quarrel had to be fought out within their boundaries. There was no outlet for them into the wilderness this time.

Notwithstanding these successive disasters the Chartered Company and the settlers had done much during those few troublous years to develop the country. The rinderpest and the native rebellion made it all the more urgent to complete the railway system that was to open communication with the coast. The Company hurried on the construction. In November 1897 the line had been extended from Mafeking to Bulawayo, and in 1899 the line from Salisbury to Beira was completed. Then the line from Bulawayo to Salisbury was pushed on; this connection has just been completed, and one can now travel by rail without changing carriage from Capetown to Beira *via* Bulawayo and Salisbury. Another line is being constructed through the Winkie coalfields



THE OUTLET BELOW VICTORIA FALLS, ZAMBESI RIVER.

After Photo by G. W. Wilson, Aberdeen

Rhodesia

which will cross the Zambesi near the Victoria Falls. How short a time ago it seems since the man who had visited the Falls was regarded as a great explorer! Other branches, too, will shortly open communication to the various goldfields.

It is worthy of notice that Rhodesia, though the most remote from the coast, was the one State in South Africa whose industries were kept going during the war, so that the conclusion of peace found her ready for an immediate expansion of her trade. This was due to the wise policy of the Company. Early in 1900 it was represented to the Administration that unless communication, which had been interrupted at the commencement of the war, was soon



MACHECKIE RAILWAY BRIDGE ON THE SALISBURY LINE.
MASHONALAND RAILWAY

restored, work could not proceed on the mines; the native labourers would have to be discharged, and the mines would have to be closed down. The Administration realised that it would not only be disastrous to throw so many Europeans and natives out of work, but that the closing down of the mines would convince the Matabele that there was truth in the report which the Boer agents were diligently spreading to the effect that the English were being driven out of the country, and that the opportunity for rebellion had arrived. The Administration therefore came to the assistance of the mining community by making arrangements for the importation of sufficient necessities for six months through Beira, at a fixed transport rate of £25 per ton from Port Elizabeth. The Company found itself about £5 a ton out of pocket by this arrangement, but great distress was saved. At the opening of the war the price of

South Africa and its Future

grain and meal rose 100 per cent.; but the Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley, the then Administrator of Matabeleland, warned the Chamber of Commerce at Bulawayo that if the cost of necessities rose too high he would open the Government Stores—in which a large reserve of supplies had been laid up at the outbreak of the war—and sell to white men at a reasonable rate. This had the desired effect for a time, but later on the merchants took an unfair advantage of the situation, whereupon the Administrator carried out his threat, and so brought prices sharply down again. The result of this policy was excellent; the development of the mines proceeded, even if slowly; the crops were sown and there was a good harvest; the natives remained quiet and readily paid their hut-tax, which amounted to a larger sum than had been raised in any previous year.

Considering all the disasters, from the rinderpest down to the Boer War, that have befallen the country, it is indeed wonderful that so much has already been done towards the development of the resources of Rhodesia. There are critics at home who maintain that the country is valueless, that there are no payable gold reefs in it, else the mines would by this time have been working at a profit. People in the old days spoke in the same way of the Rand. Now, it was not until 1897, when the railway reached Bulawayo, that the real development of the mines commenced, and since then the country has produced gold to the value of a million and a quarter sterling, and this with a very limited number of stamps running. The gold belt extends for about 500 miles. Out of the 114,000 claims that have been pegged out, only 737 have been worked at all. Some of the mines have already paid dividends. The future possibilities of these yet practically untouched goldfields no one can estimate.

It had been naturally expected that so soon as the opening of the Rhodesian railways lowered the cost of transport rapid progress would be made in the working of the mines, and critics at home express their wonder that more has not been done; but the enormous increase in the cost of local transport due to the rinderpest has cancelled the advantage gained by the low railway rates from the south. Before the railway was constructed or the rinderpest appeared, the transport from Mafeking to Bulawayo, a distance of 500 miles, was ten shillings per 100 lbs. It costs as much as that now to transport mining machinery by ox-waggon from the Bulawayo railway-yard to a mine only 50 miles distant; and some of the mines are as far as 200 miles from a railway station. The branch lines that are being constructed will bring many of the mines within easy reach of the railway, but no great general progress can be

Rhodesia

made throughout Rhodesia until cattle become plentiful and cheap again. The Chartered Company is taking active steps to restock the country. The importation of cattle on a large scale, both by the various companies and by individuals, is now proceeding. Cattle of an excellent breed, suitable to the climate, are being brought from Angoniland, and will be crossed with Kerry or Jersey bulls. Importers of stock intended for breeding purposes can carry them over the Rhodesian railways at considerably reduced rates. Moreover, the Administration advances money to farmers on easy terms, on the security of their farms, to enable them to purchase cattle. With regard to the rinderpest, inoculation has proved successful, and the Government should be able to subdue any fresh outbreak by using the serum which is now manufactured at Kimberley.

Now that peace has come to South Africa, all that Rhodesia wants to enable her to make rapid progress is cheap transport, which she will shortly have, and abundant and efficient native labour ; for surely the sore trials of her youth, which she so pluckily endured and survived, are over at last. The gold is there ; the majority of the reefs are permanent, and to quote from the report of the Chartered Company's Resident Consulting Engineer :—"What the future may hold it is impossible to say, but the most grievous pessimist must surely admit that the experimental stage has been safely passed, and that Rhodesia has been proved to be a valuable gold-mining country of which the possibilities are enormous." The recent discovery of valuable coal deposits will greatly assist the development of the country's resources, more especially benefiting the gold-mining industry, for the timber is becoming exhausted in the vicinity of the mines, and the price of wood fuel is ever advancing. A careful examination of one small section of the Wankie bed shows that it will yield 1000 tons a day of coal of excellent quality for the next hundred years. It is too early yet to discuss the value of the iron, copper, and other ores which exist in Rhodesia.

To turn to agriculture. There seems to be no production of the temperate and sub-tropical zones that does not flourish on the favoured, well-watered soil of Southern Rhodesia. The area under cultivation is rapidly extending. The one great drawback is the locust. However, farming pays well despite occasional bad seasons. Here is a story that exemplifies the tenacity, under disaster, of the Rhodesian settler. In one year, when the successive locust swarms ate up the land, a certain farmer sowed his farm with mealies. The locusts devoured the crop : undiscouraged, he sowed his fields a second time : again he lost his crop. Yet a third time he sowed, and got his harvest in safely. Despite the two failures, he now

South Africa and its Future

realised a handsome profit. Happily, in the season of 1898-99 locusts almost entirely disappeared, and apparently they have never since invaded the country in their former numbers. It is claimed that this is due to the extensive use of toxine, with which for the last few years a campaign of extermination has, with apparent success, been carried on against these scourges of the land. The toxine has been distributed among the white farmers and the native chiefs, with instructions for its use, and satisfaction with the results has been generally expressed. An energetic farmer does well in Rhodesia, and finds among the mining communities an ever-increasing market for his produce. At present the principal products are mealies, barley, wheat, oats, forage, and potatoes, and excellent crops are raised.



THE WANKIE EXPEDITION

Market farming and dairy farming in the vicinity of the towns are industries that require little capital, and are exceedingly profitable. Boer tobacco is produced in large quantities, and experiments that have been tried with American seed have proved the suitability of soil and climate for the cultivation of the superior qualities of tobacco. Oranges, peaches, walnuts, apples, bananas, figs, cherries, vines, and other fruits do very well in Rhodesia. In the yet uncolonised north of this vast territory wild rubber of high commercial value covers large tracts of country. The Chartered Company is taking steps to protect the plant against the destructive native methods of extraction, and to make it a source of wealth to Rhodesia as well of revenue to itself. In several districts the cultivation of coffee and tea promises to prove successful.

Rhodesia

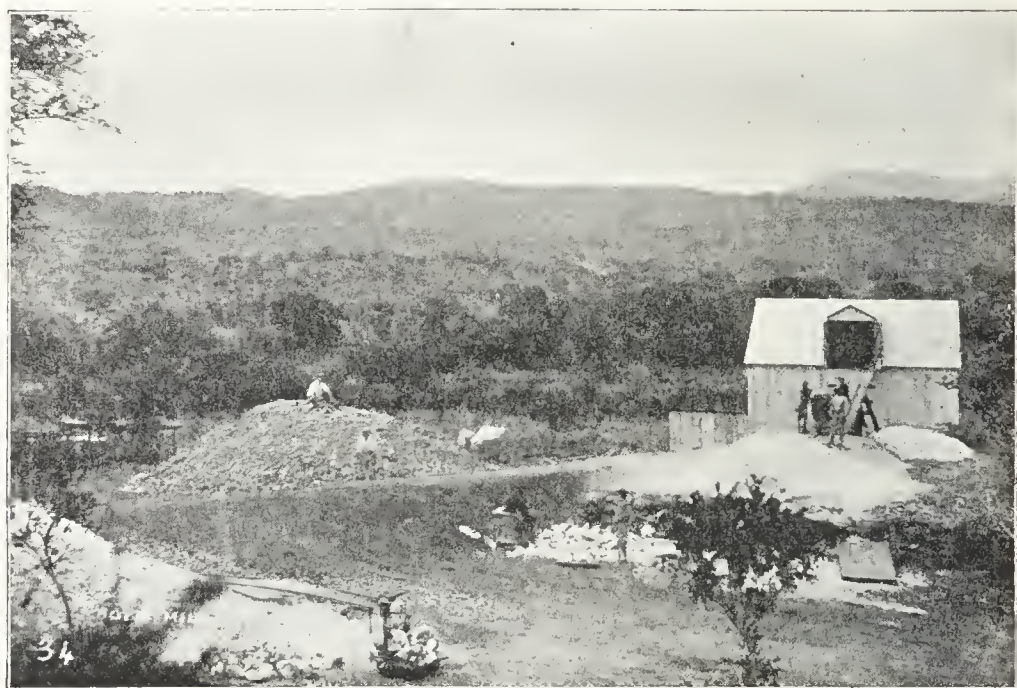
As elsewhere in South Africa, the chief difficulty in the way of the development of the country is the disinclination of the idle natives to work on the mines or elsewhere, all the more so now that so many have been spoilt by the excessive wages paid to them by the military authorities during the war. The native of Mashonaland, for example, living in a country blessed with a fruitful soil and splendid climate, protected by our rule from the raids that used to devastate his lands, reaping his crops in security, assisted by the Administration in hard times of rinderpest or locust scourge, is now more than ever loth to work. He can earn as much as £3 a month with food and lodging. But for the protection which he enjoys, and which enables him to wax rich, he only contributes to the expenses of Government his hut-tax of ten shillings. An increase in his hut-tax might induce him to work for a few weeks in the year. If nothing will overcome his deep-rooted indolence, other labour must be imported. Arabs from Aden are already working in some of the mines.

The pay of the skilled white miner is 30s. a day. Throughout Rhodesia the artisan earns good wages, the blacksmith and the bricklayer, for example, receiving respectively 30s. and 35s. a day in Salisbury. Detractors of Rhodesia are constantly asserting that the white population is outrageously taxed, each settler, they state, having to pay £40 per annum to the Chartered Company in the shape of taxes; and a well-known politician, beloved of Little Englanders, has publicly declared that this is the case. It appears that these ingenious people arrived at this conclusion by dividing the amount of the Company's revenue, £440,000, by the number of Europeans in the country, namely, 12,000, which certainly does give a result of nearly £40 per head. It is thus assumed that all the Company's revenue is derived from the taxation of the settlers. Now, in the first place, out of this £440,000 of revenue, £113,000 represents the amount of the native hut-tax, and is therefore not contributed by white people at all. Another £23,000 is derived from the sales and rent of land, the Company's property; and another £58,000 from the telegraph and postal services, which up till now have been worked at a loss. No one can maintain that these items fall under the head of taxation. To go further, another £86,000 of the Company's revenue is paid directly by the mining companies that have been floated—that is, by the shareholders in England, not by the people of Rhodesia. These figures added up amount to £280,000, which leaves a balance of £160,000—the taxation laid on the settlers, that is, about £13 per head. To go still further, of this £160,000, £73,000 is derived from the duties on wines, spirits, and tobacco. Therefore if one puts these luxuries

South Africa and its Future

out of the calculation the taxation amounts to only £7 a head per year, which is anything but high when one bears in mind that there are no paupers in Rhodesia, that women and children are few, and that the large bulk of the population are adult males in the prime of life earning high wages.

The climate of the Rhodesian plateau is undoubtedly healthy and well suited to British colonists. It is a land where the white man can work in the fields. The British children reared here are as rosy of cheek and as sturdy of limb as those at home. There is, of course, malaria in the lowlands, but that will disappear before occupation and civilisation, even as it has done in once unhealthy districts of the Transvaal and the Cape Colony. It is the same



RHODESIAN MINING. THE DOBIE MILL

with the diseases that affect domestic animals : thus horse-sickness once prevailed far to the south, and gradually has been driven north before advancing civilisation. The dreaded tsetse fly too, fatal to horses and cattle, can only exist where the larger wild beasts abound, and vanishes with the latter wherever the white man establishes himself. The rinderpest, in killing off the wild buffalo, did one good service : the tsetse disappeared with the buffalo, and now only frequents remote and unfrequented regions.

From every point of view the future of Rhodesia now looks hopeful. The young State suffered from every calamity that can befall a new country, but was too vigorous to succumb. The Company and the Rhodesian community have displayed pluck, energy, and patriotism in the hour of Britain's danger, and every loyal

Rhodesia

Englishman must sincerely wish Rhodesia prosperity. As regards the prospects of the Chartered Company itself, I will conclude by calling attention to one point. Up till now the Company has been compelled to maintain a large and expensive military force, costing £276,000 a year. Now that the Boer war has been brought to a conclusion, the necessity for so large a force has ceased to exist, and Mr. W. H. Milton, the Senior Administrator of Southern Rhodesia, has recommended, as sufficient to meet the requirements of the country, the maintenance of a force of 400 Europeans and 400 natives, with a simple organisation on the lines of the Cape Police. The cost of this, he maintains, should not exceed £100,000 per annum. If his proposal is accepted, the revenue of the Chartered Company should balance its expenditure, and the corner will be turned.

PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES

By JAMES STANLEY LITTLE

*Author of "South Africa," "The Progress of the British Empire in the Nineteenth Century,"
"The United States of Britain," &c. &c.*

THE magnificent vagueness of the subject the editor of this volume has, in his wisdom, thought fit to apportion to me might have its conveniences, were it not that such pregnant matters as emigration, federation, education, irrigation, and half-a-dozen subjects besides, all of which bristle with problems and possibilities of the most clamant kind, are ruled out of this paper, in that their consideration has been entrusted to highly competent and patriotic writers, upon whose preserves it would be unbecoming to poach. Nevertheless, it must be obvious to everybody that it will not be possible to attempt a comprehensive analysis of the problems and possibilities of the future, and to keep entirely clear of these all-important factors in the case; seeing that every political, ethnical, financial, and economic problem impinges on these special subjects of which one and all are a part.

As to the political situation to-day, it seems scarcely to be apprehended in this country that the lines of cleavage between parties and factions at the Cape, and indeed in the new colonies, are by no means simple ones. In South Africa generally it is not merely a case of Briton *versus* Boer; it is not in Cape Colony simply a case of Dutch Afrikaner *versus* British loyalist. In the Transvaal the problem is not solely how to bring the Boers and English together, or how to conciliate and retain the loyalty of those men, largely of British origin, formerly known as Uitlanders. A labour party, championing a programme practically identical with that with which all students of later-day politico-social questions are familiar, is coming into existence, and is, I think, certain to make itself a power in the land as time advances. It has been frequently, if somewhat hastily, assumed that in South Africa generally parties will follow the lines of division common to most civilised communities, and range themselves in camps, the composition of which will be determined respectively by the place of residence and occupation of the units of the people; the interests, sentiments, and aspirations of the town dwellers being at variance with those of the rural in-



THE RESETTLEMENT OF THE TRANSVAAL A BOER FAMILY RETURNING TO THEIR FARM.

Drawing by Chas. M. Sheldon.

Problems and Possibilities

habitants. In a sense, we may take the people of Johannesburg to represent what passes for the urban population of old-settled countries. Roughly speaking, the citizens of the older established and smaller towns were dependent for their existence, and are likely to continue to be so dependent, on the agriculturists, since outside the Rand the Transvaal had no industries, no manufactures worth considering : for some time to come she is not likely to have any. So the Rand stood and stands for the towns, and the Uitlanders for the townsmen. The rest of the State stood and stands for the country, and, the agriculturists being mainly Dutch, the Boers stand for the countrymen. In the future, however, the race question, which has practically overruled any dividing lines drawn on the basis of townsmen and countrymen in Cape Colony, should cease to govern, in quite the old way, the political antagonisms of the inhabitants of the Transvaal ; in any case, if the various schemes for settling British farmers in the land are crowned with reasonable success, it will no longer be possible to regard the rural Transvaalers as simply Boers, and the townsmen as simply Britishers. At present in the Transvaal there exists, of course, the great and principal division of its people, the British and philo-British *versus* the Dutch and philo-Dutch. But the interests of the great mining companies are not now, and never can be, on all-fours with those of the operatives ; while the traders are likely to find their ideals at variance with those of the mining magnates and operatives alike. Obviously there will be no immediate community of interest and aim between the old Boer farmers and the new British elements introduced on to the land. The differences of the townsmen are likely to be more strictly economic than political ; but they must necessarily take a political complexion in the process of their devolution. It would be rash to attempt anything in the shape of a precise forecast ; but it certainly seems to me quite unlikely that the future divisions into parties of the citizens of the Transvaal can take the simple form of Briton *versus* Boer. No doubt the existence of the two races, living side by side, with the remembrance of a century's differences between them, will continue to give a decided tincture to the parties to be formed in the future. It depends entirely on the kind of statecraft Great Britain brings to bear on the settlement of the new colonies and on its results, whether the progressive elements in the existing population—the population waiting for the gates to be opened to it may, for the purposes of this argument, be considered as entirely progressive—range themselves on the side of British imperialism, or whether they will join themselves to those forces, already existing, which openly or secretly aim at the establishment of a republican régime. It is quite a mistake to suppose that

South Africa and its Future

these forces—republican sympathies, that is to say—are at the moment entirely to be sought for in the Boer camp. It is, or it ought to be, common knowledge that the internal movement for reform on the Rand, and for the elimination of the Dopper-Hollander dominance of Pretoria, was not exactly inspired or sustained by men who wished to see the Transvaal an integral portion of the British Empire. At the same time, it is not denied that a great many sympathisers with this movement, and not a few of its active supporters—the late Mr. Rhodes, for instance—were above all things anxious that when the Transvaal flag was hauled down the Union Jack should be run up.

Apart, however, from such considerations, matters of history, it may be allowed that whatever the nationality or preferences of respective Uitlanders at that time of day, a rough sense of justice would reconcile most of them now to the flag of the country, which at enormous sacrifice of treasure and men has procured their release from the bondage of Pretoria. It is equally certain, more so in fact, that their acceptance of the British flag, now and hereafter, is and will be contingent on the treatment they receive at the hands of the new Government. Already many voices are heard in the land declaring that, so far from the new Government having brought relief to the mining industry and to the Uitlanders—and it must be clearly understood by all Englishmen, however much they may resent the fact, that upon the prosperity of the mines not only the welfare of the Transvaal but of all South Africa depends—it has increased its burdens. The limits of space will not permit any exhaustive examination into the basis of this complaint. Mr. Chamberlain, before these lines are in the hands of the public, will doubtless be on the spot examining into the grounds of the complaint. It would be clearly impossible for any one to accuse me, of all persons, of favouring the millionaires, or of holding a brief for their views and interests. But this is not a millionaires', or a mining question; it is the question of the to be or not to be of South Africa as a British dependency. It may be said at once, that if, as Mr. Chamberlain at one time indicated, the somewhat contradictory and superficial report drawn up by Sir David Barbour, full of inconsistencies and injustices as it is, is to be accepted by the British Government, then I would not care to purchase at any price a seven years' repairing lease—a repairing lease with a vengeance—of British tenure of South Africa, much less the freehold of the property. Whether he be a financial expert or not, no man who possesses a sound working knowledge, personal knowledge, of South Africa and its affairs can study this report and preserve his equanimity. It fills one with fear and trembling. Sir David

Problems and Possibilities

Barbour's proposals savour of the arbitrary confiscation of mining profits. This perhaps, standing alone, would not matter much from a South African point of view, since the loss would mainly fall on the hundreds of thousands of English and foreign shareholders interested in the mines; according to the *Statist*, the British public has something like £250,000,000 invested in the mines. However, it is not with such losses we are at present concerned. My contention is that if the Transvaal is taxed out of all proportion to its wealth—its immediate or permanent prospects even; if the new colonies, despite the heavy losses from the war, and the serious—for a long time to come it will be serious—dearth of labour contingent thereon, is burdened with taxation, the incidence of which is to be double, or in any case greatly in excess of the monstrous charges levied by Kruger and his advisers; if the Transvaal is to be saddled with a heavy war debt, then the financial, political, and economic ruin of South Africa in general, and the Transvaal in particular, must follow as an inevitable consequence, and this will happen even should a short respite be given. I have set forth again and again, in the columns of the *Times* and *Post*, and in the Anglo-African journal I formerly conducted, that apart from the uneconomic and impolitic nature of these suggestions, they are morally unsound. He who calls the tune must pay the piper. The British people, by allowing themselves to be ruled and betrayed by men who persisted in blinding their eyes to the writing on the wall, though there were Daniels in abundance to interpret it to them; by allowing themselves to be served by an army wholly inadequate in numbers, and largely composed of inefficients, are responsible for the cost of a war which never would have taken place had British pro-consuls and colonists on the spot been trusted; their counsel listened to here, and their hands freed and actions upheld yonder.

Moreover, all such heroic schemes of taxation in the interest of the British taxpayer, of which Sir David Barbour's report is a type, are based on proleptic statistics of an expansion which after all is problematical, and which in any case will not become solid fact if onerous conditions are imposed upon the Rand in advance of that expansion. The profits from the mines, great as they ought to be if we do not strangle the goose right away, are ephemeral profits—thirty to fifty years will see the last of them. Possibly the high-water mark of production will be reached twenty years hence, and from that time the decline will begin as in the case of the Australian and Californian mines. It is obvious, therefore, that a heavy war debt must press disastrously on the industry during its growth and during its decline. Taxation seems to have

South Africa and its Future

been proposed on the basis of the anticipation, as if it were already an accomplished fact, of the most prosperous days possible of attainment by the industry, and in entire obliviousness of the fact that no sooner is the zenith reached than gradual decline, ending in extinction, must supervene. Unjust taxation would be a suicidal policy; it would retard the flow of capital, render all but a few higher-grade mines unprofitable, with the result that the budgets of the new colonies would show deficits year after year. Not only would capital awaiting employment be frightened into other channels, but schemes of federation would remain sterile schemes; and the hope of a prosperous and united South Africa would continue a mere day-dream, impossible of accomplishment.

I have put this question of the taxation of the Transvaal in the forefront of this paper, because it is of pressing importance and immediate interest. Scarcely less important, though the subject will probably be dealt with more fully by another pen, is the question of land settlement. We are approaching this matter too parochially and timidly. If the land companies and burghers will not part with suitable land to settlers on reasonable terms, they must be made to do so. The example of New Zealand must be followed. It is absolutely essential that we should plant out settlers on a large scale; especially is it essential in view of the fact that the loyalty of the dwellers in Johannesburg and other mining centres is not to be counted on confidently. With these men commercial considerations are certain to be dominant. Even if they are not given the solid reasons for discontent already foreshadowed, reasons, real and imaginary, in plenty are certain to crop up. Hence their loyalty will not be a matter of sentiment, but one of calculation. Further, every help and encouragement must be given to the right kind of settlers; the country which spent over two hundred millions sterling in making South Africa a possible place for Englishmen to live in, should not grudge another ten, twenty, or if necessary thirty millions to make the conditions of life sufficiently attractive to the emigrating English agriculturist. The conditions underlying land settlement have been carefully studied by Mr. Arnold Forster's Land Commission, and they were lucidly set forth in the report of that Commission. It remains for the Imperial Government to make them operative, by coming to the country for generous support. I can do no more here than record my absolute conviction, for what it may be worth, that if land settlement in the new colonies is to find its own level, so to speak; if we are trusting to men with the necessary capital, some £300 or more, to come forward in anything like sufficient numbers to affect appreciably the question of British *versus* Boer in favour of the British, or the problem of self-seeking Cosmopolitanism (purely

Problems and Possibilities

commercial interests) *versus* sentimental and patriotic Imperialism, we are building our hopes on sand. The drawbacks to farming in Africa are many : absence of transport (and obviously without well-devised and speedily carried out railway schemes the internal development of South Africa is impossible) ; absence of navigable rivers ; recurrent droughts (here again I may say that nothing less can avail than grand schemes of organised irrigation such as those favoured by Mr. Hedger Wallace and by Mr. Willcocks in his luminous report) ; cattle disease and locusts. The *ignis fatuus* of the Rand, it must always be remembered, is ever present to lure away the settler when he has once been induced to settle. To the Englishman the love of isolation is not generally the strongly developed vice or virtue it is with the Boer. Consequently, we must go before the settler and prepare the way for him. Large and well-organised schemes of planting families on communal principles, freely scattered over the land in the midst of the Boers, both from an economic and political point of view, are absolutely necessary if we are to retain our hold on the country, or ensure its permanent prosperity. Under proper conditions and safeguards, generous schemes of female immigration must be initiated. It has been said, and I do not gainsay it, that South Africa requires almost immediately 70,000 more women. Also the Children of the State, the waifs and strays, the foundlings, those who are physically and morally fit, of course, should be sent out to South Africa, there to be carefully prepared in proper establishments for colonial life. In this matter we may well learn wisdom from the early Dutch settlers, who, under an arrangement with the Amsterdam authorities, received into their midst a number of foundlings. From these the present race of sturdy burghers has sprung. The subject is too vast for detailed treatment here ; else much might be said about the policy of obliging all male settlers to bind themselves to a course of military training and contingent service, and as to the expediency of encouraging a respectable number of Canadians and Australians to make their home in South Africa. It is, in any case, obvious that no tentative tinkering with the question of land settlement can avail.

The sooner we face this necessity the better ; since the sooner it is in a fair way to being faced, mastered, and provided for, the sooner can those electoral and legislative concessions we have promised the Boers, and which honour, justice, and expediency oblige us to grant at the earliest possible date, be granted. As things now are, we have a British autocracy in power, alternating in turn between the desire to repress the clamant demands of the one great industry of South Africa—the gold mines, and dread of that powerful confederacy—the Rand magnates. The methods and example of the great financial

South Africa and its Future

corporations and financial princes are not, to write temperately, conducive to the elevation of public morals ; nor do they tend to give to the public life of a colony a high or healthy tone. Students of Mr. Cecil Rhodes' career cannot fail to notice the disintegrating effect on that great patriot's manners, and on his public and private procedure, which resulted from his close association with, and inexplicable reliance on, men, most of whom (it would be invidious to specialise the exceptions) lived and moved and had their being on a plane infinitely lower than Rhodes' natural one. The destinies of the new colonies are for the moment nominally in the hands of British officials. These officials have practically nobody to go to for counsel but the mining and financial experts. This is not as it should be. The sooner there is a free play of interests and opinions between the Boers, British settlers, and Johannesburgers the better. These divergent classes, all colonial, however antagonistic their interests and prejudices, must fight out their differences among themselves as best they may. The British official, excellent as he is in dealing with subject races, is not seen at his best in controlling men of his own flesh and blood—men, I should say, of his own colour—when these men are in a position of political inferiority to himself.

The mention of this subject reminds me, that one of the most effective arguments in favour of granting representative institutions to the new colonies as quickly as may be is to be found in the native question. In this matter, as indeed in every matter, colonial opinion asserting itself through the necessarily imperfect, but only possible, system of parliamentary institutions, must be respected. As to the native question, an enormous majority of British South Africans, though it may reprobate certain tendencies to undue harshness, brutality even, still observable in the conduct of Boers of the baser sort, is nevertheless convinced that the Dutch attitude toward the native is, in its essence, the only possible or safe one. There is not the smallest fear that anything in the shape of compulsory labour will be sanctioned by any legislature in South Africa. But that the principles and provisions of that most statesmanlike Act, the Glen Grey Act, will be further extended there can be no doubt.

That the labour question throughout South Africa, and especially as it affects the mining industry, is among the more difficult problems of the future, most persons are aware. It is said that in five years' time 320,000 natives will be required at Johannesburg to work the mines, irrespective of enormous domestic requirements there. To this total we must add the hundreds of thousands needed for industrial and household work throughout South Africa. It is estimated that in five years' time there will be no more than 600,000

Problems and Possibilities

working Kaffirs south of the Zambesi. It is obvious that under the most favourable computation the supply is certain to continue to be totally inadequate to the demand. This is the more apparent when it is remembered, that it is only possible to get a small proportion of able-bodied Kaffirs to work at all, and that the average service of these willing ones is not more than four months a year, taking one year with another. Doubtless the new laws as to capitation tax, and the modifications in the direction of greater stringency in the hut tax, alterations which must have the effect of reducing the economic evil of polygamy, will effect some amelioration in the conditions now obtaining. But the lowering of wages and the prohibition of the liquor sale have retarded the immediate supply. I have had to listen before now to arguments in favour of the unrestricted sale of liquor to the natives, and in advocacy of establishing drinking booths from one end to the other of the Rand. This would be as suicidal, politically and socially, and in the long run as uneconomic a policy as could well be devised, to say nothing as to its cynical immorality. Of course, when schemes of organisation are perfected, and labour is largely drawn from Central Africa, the employers will enjoy some measure of relief; but in the end, unless relief comes from that highly debatable source—the importation of coolie labour—the prejudice against white labour in Africa will have to break down: a way out, I am sure, always provided the whites can be differentiated and segregated from the blacks, which cannot but be fraught with results of lasting benefit to the country, in procuring for it a solid substratum of Caucasian settlers who will become the industrial backbone of the country. The indirect advantages of such an innovation cannot be reaped, however, if schemes of heavy taxation are to be sanctioned. The margin between loss and profit in working most of the mines—they are what are called in city slang “low-grade propositions”—is so small, that a slight increase even in the price of labour would often make mining unprofitable.

The employment of white labour would have the effect of disabusing the minds of the natives of the growing conviction that they are necessary to our well-being and existence. The truth is not so far short of this; but we must not make it apparent: we must try to make it less true than it is. During the war the native, spoiled by the military, did not gain respect for the Englishman. He is a shrewd fellow, and although our arms were victorious in the end, he cherished no delusions. Man for man, he has seen for himself how much more effective as a fighter the Boer was than the Briton. Enjoying special advantages—his knowledge of the country and his control over the Kaffirs—the Boer was enabled to

South Africa and its Future

make the best use of his superior marksmanship, tactics, and mobility ; with the result that it was easy for him to inflict much greater damage on his opponents than that opponent, with all his courage and spirit, could inflict in return. The native has seen our men lying in ghastly, mutilated masses. He has seen few such spectacles on the Boer side. The native is no sentimentalist. He is much like a prevalent type of modern young woman—fond of laughing, enjoyment, gew-gaws and sweets, while viewing everything from the standpoint of self-interest. In brief, despite his jollity he is as hard as nails. It is perfectly right that we should show him some consideration as the descendant of tribes who conquered the land some century or so earlier than we conquered it ; for, except so far as being an inhabitant of the continent is concerned, it is absurd to talk of the existing South African tribes as aborigines. But if the “ nigger ” will not work, he must in the long run give place to men who will, to British and Continental labourers and to other British subjects—the coolies of India, for instance—men who will work, and who are now starving, or are on the brink of starvation, for the want of it. That this step is not to be taken lightly I am free to admit. It is fraught with grave difficulties and dangers—political, economic, and ethnical—considerations which are by no means to be minimised even if for a larger good—South Africa cannot be allowed to languish for lack of labour—they will have to be ignored.

There can be no doubt that in many, indeed in most directions, the civil administration of the new colonies, so far as it has been provided, is highly creditable to Lord Milner and the able men associated with him. So excellent and so thorough is the work accomplished—in education, in replacing the machinery of the higher civil administration throughout the colonies—that, without hyperbole, it may be said to fill one with admiration and wonder. If one could always be sure of getting such a man as Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office, and such a man as Alfred Milner as High Commissioner, one would be strongly in favour of retaining permanently as much power as possible in the hands of the holders of these two offices. But it is not possible to count upon a succession of such ministers. It is noteworthy, and I would especially emphasise the point in view of what is to follow, that the appointment of Lord Milner and Mr. Chamberlain to their respective offices may be said to have been in defiance of precedent. Since the institution of the Colonial Secretaryship half-a-century ago, ministers appointed to the office have almost invariably been noblemen of little or no importance. Again, Lord Milner's earliest career was not official. He was quite out of the groove in which the men who become colonial governors usually run. It is regrettable, that the success of these two statesmen



LORD MILNER.

By Mortimer Menpes.

From "War Impressions," by arrangement with Messrs A. & C. Black, London.

Problems and Possibilities

does not give the Government heart of grace to put appointments in the new colonies more largely into the hands of men of proved initiative and originality—men who have not had any good which may have been in them strangled by red tape and flummery in the public offices. The complaint as to the appointments made in the Transvaal—appointments of untried striplings and callow fledglings from the universities, is doubtless exaggerated; but it is well to remember that putting power into the hands of the “curled darlings of the nation” was one of the chief causes, among many contributory causes, of the failure of Sir Theophilus Shepstone’s policy; the reason why the annexation of the Transvaal, with the tacit consent and approval of the majority of its people, was subsequently repudiated by them.

However that may be, it is extremely regrettable that a country, possessing so many good men, men in every way indicated by their abilities and achievements as successful administrators *in posse*, is constantly at a deadlock for the lack of suitable public servants. I could mention spontaneously, without having time for reflection and for selection, a round dozen, probably a score, men of parts full of the sense of our imperial responsibilities, and certain to be able and zealous in the Empire’s service: men accustomed to positions in which initiative and sound judgment are demanded of them, who, pining to be men of action, to play their part, however humble, in affairs of State, affairs of which they possess a firm grip, are condemned to enforced inactivity, buried away in country houses, or, let us say, wasting their energies in mere constructive synthesis or destructive criticism, for which, alas! no one is much the better. These men, the born administrators of our over-seas dominions, are lost to the Empire, because of the red-tape exclusiveness and jealousy of the ruling classes of this country.

I have been betrayed for the moment into an academic consideration, and let me say here that I sorrowfully endorse—I might add that in a large measure I have publicly anticipated—most of the strictures on our system of misgovernment, corruption, and panoplied vice set forth in the letters of that sturdy Africander signing himself by his true initials “P. S.” Under these abuses we groan, and it is difficult to continue to hope that we shall escape from their tyranny, and rise again to that full manhood of our race asserted in the spacious days of Elizabeth, and again when Napoleon threatened our shores. Our grand old country is sinking deeper and deeper into the morass of spiritual and intellectual indifferentism, sordid materialism, and time-serving opportunism. One sees scant justification for optimism, unless, indeed, Judgment should descend upon us and beneficently scourge us back to our nobler past.

South Africa and its Future

It is not, however, with these larger issues I am at this moment directly concerned. Despite the constant drains upon our best and most vital manhood the possession—protection and administration—of the most extensive empire of this or any age impose upon the United Kingdom, upon, that is to say, a small and no longer rapidly increasing nation, I do not believe that there would be any ground for the fear that we have annexed more territory than we can effectively administer, or that we have incurred greater responsibilities than we can sustain, if we had the presence of mind, the initiative and sense to utilise those latent sources of unexhausted supply we now wilfully neglect. The immediate bearing of these remarks reveals itself when the serious problem of the *personnel* of the magistracy of the new colonies is mentioned. Every one knows that the landdrosts under the old régime, men for the most part rough and unlettered, were habitually underpaid and habitually corrupt. The inadequate salaries paid to these men are, it seems, now being continued to the new magistracy, and this despite the enormous increase in the cost of living, with the result that men of quite inferior parts are mainly available for the positions; while, when from stress of life and circumstance, men of the right stamp, men to whom Boer and Kaffir can look up as their natural superiors, chance to fill these offices, they are unable, by reason of their poverty, to live in a way or to comport themselves in a manner consistent with the dignity of their offices.

In the Transvaal, and indeed in South Africa generally, it behoves us to welcome all comers from Europe and America, not being adventurers or wastrels—all and sundry who can contribute to the good of the country and who are willing to become loyal citizens. It will be madness to attempt to build up a South African nation from these islands alone. England is a small country and the English are gradually ceasing—and this tendency is certain to increase—to rear large families. In the past, in our own land as well as in our realms beyond the seas, our chief glory has been in our genius in amalgamating different strains, bringing them all into the fold as patriotic Britons. The British Empire is now more than ever a crucible wherein metals, precious and base, may be wrought into a fine amalgam. Whether as a limb of a great and regenerated British Empire, and therein my individual hopes lie, or as a powerful republic on the pattern of the United States, there ought to be no question as to the future of South Africa. Mr. Chamberlain said again only the other day that the prosperity of South Africa in the not far distant future would doubtless exceed the dreams of the most sanguine visionary. So let it be. Many shrewd Americans are of the same mind. No doubt the immediate expansion in South

Problems and Possibilities

Africa's import trade is due to military requirements, while the shrinkage of its export trade may be attributed mainly to the war having put a stop to the recovery and exportation of gold. The cost of living throughout South Africa, at present extraordinarily high, is certain to be reduced to more reasonable limits when the railways are permanently relieved from the control of the military. It must be remembered, too, that while a fair proportion of favoured individuals among the colonists have reaped huge harvests by the war, a far greater number have been crippled and ruined outright by it. It is not for me to deal with the problems of trade; but I may say that even should some scheme of the favoured-nation kind be extended to British imports by the South African Realm to be, that in itself would not serve, nor will the spirit of patriotic preference for British goods suffice to preserve the trade of South Africa for this country. The matter rests with our manufacturers, exporters, and their agents; and no one, not being a self-deceived egoist, can pretend that the more alert, adaptive, and modern methods of American and German houses are not certain, unless our countrymen turn over a new leaf, to prove too much for our *laissez-faire*, self-sufficiency, and careless indifference.

In this matter the best men, be they English, German, or Yankee, will win. But this is a home rather than a South African question. In any case, we may expect soon to see a considerable influx of capitalists, farmers, and traders, and they cannot but give an impetus to South Africa's reviving fortunes, let political ineptitude do its worst. I have endeavoured to show wherein lie the chief obstacles to progress in the new colonies. In the old—Natal would in any case seem to have an era of immediate prosperity before her—the future is darkened by considerations all too apparent for the most optimistic or blind to overlook or ignore. The *Africander Bond* and the Dutch Reformed Church have not buried the hatchet. Throughout South Africa it is, of course, the duty of the loyal South African of British origin or British sympathies to endeavour to recognise at their best the many sterling qualities of the Dutch, and to forgive with what charity he may their besetting sins, condoning them as the resultants of environment and circumstance. It is also their duty to recognise that the past mistakes of Downing Street were chiefly due to lack of brain and thought, rather than to lack of heart, and to determine to work with all true patriots for the lasting good and welfare of South Africa.

Unhappily there is ample evidence to show that the Dutch Reformed Church and the *Africander Bond* are as active for evil as ever. How great is the terrorism exercised by the *Commissie van Toezicht* (the Secret Council of the Bond) is illustrated to-day by the

South Africa and its Future

abject recantation of the Rev. Mr. Botha, a pastor who, having counselled his countrymen to submit to the inevitable and accept British rule as far back as September 1901, now stands in the white sheet of repentance, and abjectly craves to be forgiven for what he calls his temporary weakness and backsliding! Undoubtedly disloyalty to the British Empire throughout South Africa has its *fons et origo* not in the Transvaal but at the Cape. For the moment the Bond lies low. It has gained everything it can hope to gain for the present. This the most superficial student of Cape politics can see. The problem of how to reconcile divergent elements at the Cape, and to make the Cape Dutch as loyal to the Empire as the French Canadians to-day, not that their loyalty is unimpeachable, is an extremely complicated one. At the Cape it is by no means merely a question of Dutch *versus* English or of Town *versus* Country. Many of the most active enemies of Great Britain are to be found in the houses of the old Dutch families inhabiting the suburban districts of Cape Town—Wynburg, Rondebosch, and so forth. It is also true that among those old Dutch families no more loyal subjects of the king are to be found. Unhappily English associations, close intercourse with Government House, intermarriage with English families, and education at our universities or at the Temple here, do not always ensure that the Dutch Afrikaner will be loyal to Great Britain. Even more to be regretted is the fact that many colonists of pure British descent, birth even, are merely nominally loyal to the Imperial connection, if as much as that. Their loyalty is of the opportunist kind. Because of their hatred of the Dutch propaganda, and because they fear that the Dutch, if left to themselves, would become “top dog,” they tolerate British institutions. We cannot blame them over much for this attitude, when we remember how miserably we have deserted our countrymen in the past; how we have left them to the tender mercies of the Dutch; how we have neglected their warnings and advice, and brought ruin and misery upon them because of our short-sightedness and stiff-neckedness.

Even now the British colonist has many substantial excuses for averring that loyalty does not pay. In view of these facts it behoves Great Britain to admit frankly her past errors and to resolve, if she means to retain her hold on South Africa, to order her footsteps differently in the future. It behoves Great Britain, if she would avoid future risks of triangular disloyalty and the grave disasters, local and international, which might supervene on another period of neglect and snubbing, to trust the men on the spot. It behoves her to govern South Africa firmly, consistently, and unemotionally; to have done with Majubanimity and all its works once and for all; all folly, such as paltering with the language and

Problems and Possibilities

education questions, whereby the sentiments and interests of loyal British colonists are flouted and ignored. Great Britain must, however, do everything that she can consistently do to bring the two European races—English and Dutch—together. If she is to do this, if England is to retain a firm grip on South Africa, we must continue strong, let it be said rather we must renew our strength here in the centre of the Empire. Within the next half-century it is probable that the last ounce of gold will have been extracted from the Transvaal's deepest deep levels. Within half that time the impending struggle of the world Powers to establish themselves in unassailable positions will have taken place. Germany is forced by an inexorable law of self-preservation to find an outlet for her commerce and her people on the seas. Every thinking German, from the Kaiser downwards, tells us as much frankly. We can see it for ourselves. She must find employment, food, and raiment for her highly prolific people, for their own land is by no means rich in natural wealth. As to Africa, our hold on it depends entirely upon the strength of our national grip. If our hand is growing flabby and listless, and, alas! there are too many indications that such is the case; if France is to gain her ends in the Mediterranean; if sentimental views in regard to the natives are to prompt us to stand idly by while such organisations as the so-called Ethiopian Church of the United States working from the south, and the emissaries of a militant Mahommedanism from the north, conspire informally to undermine their loyalty, then our days in Africa are numbered. In the last event, our hold on that continent in general and South Africa in particular depends upon character, especially the character of our ruling classes. The possibilities of this country in Africa are magnificent; but the problems to be solved, if these possibilities are to be realised, must appal and finally overcome all but the stoutest of heart. The world, and South Africa with it, will fall to the nation which breeds and sustains the best men.

THE FUTURE OF THE MINING INDUSTRY

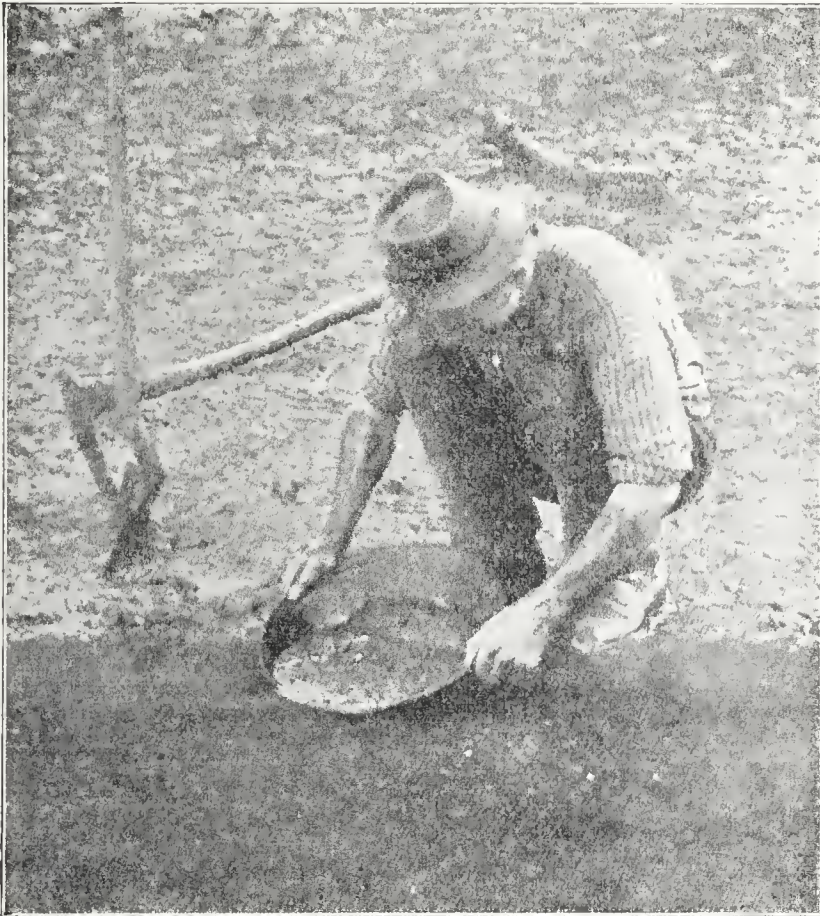
By F. T. NORRIS

THE future prosperity of South Africa mainly depends upon the development of her vast and indisputable gold wealth, for, albeit she possesses other resources in undoubtedly lavish abundance, the means for the utilisation of these latter are dependent, in a large measure, upon the effective exploitation of her auriferous reserves. This fact was explicitly stated by Sir David Barbour, the financial expert appointed by the Imperial Government to report in 1901 on the resources of the Transvaal, and that this impartial official opinion is echoed by all competent observers prior to and since his investigations only confirms its correctness. As to the magnitude to which the mining industries in the Transvaal may ultimately attain opinions differ, but, says this authority, and this view is confirmed by experts, it is certain that the production of gold will continue to increase largely for some years at least ; that there will be a corresponding growth in the production of coal, and it is possible, and perhaps probable, that valuable mines of other minerals, and especially of diamonds, may be opened. He therefore opines that, from an economic point of view, the prospects of the future for a considerable period are quite satisfactory, and it is unnecessary to speculate as to what may ultimately happen.

Public opinion on the Rand is unanimous that absolutely vital questions for the mines' future are, for the moment, labour and taxation. A comprehensive and impartial view of the circumstances of the mines must force the conclusion that such contentions are perfectly sound. Naturally, however, the dimensions of the latter factor have less weight since the reduction of the customs tariff and the previous abolition of monopolies, and, with the pending solution of the question of dynamite, the mining industry is now not only in a vastly superior economic condition than it ever was, but has been placed in a position to sustain, not without some difficulty maybe at the outset, all the prospective burdens of projected Imperial taxation. In saying "not without difficulty," the crux of the present economic situation, as looked at by the leading and responsible section of the mining industry and competent individuals at large, is touched. For the judiciousness or otherwise of the

The Future of the Mining Industry

immediately heavy incidence of the share of the cost of the war, which it may be contemplated to place on the Transvaal, is what causes the present misgivings; and, with the operative capacity of 1898 still some ten to fifteen months ahead, the immediate call for heavy contributions can only act as a drag upon progress. It is with this consideration in view that the Chamber of Mines, in a recent letter to Lord Milner, asked for a delay of five years before making a first payment, in order to allow time for the in-



PROSPECTING FOR GOLD: PANNING A SAMPLE

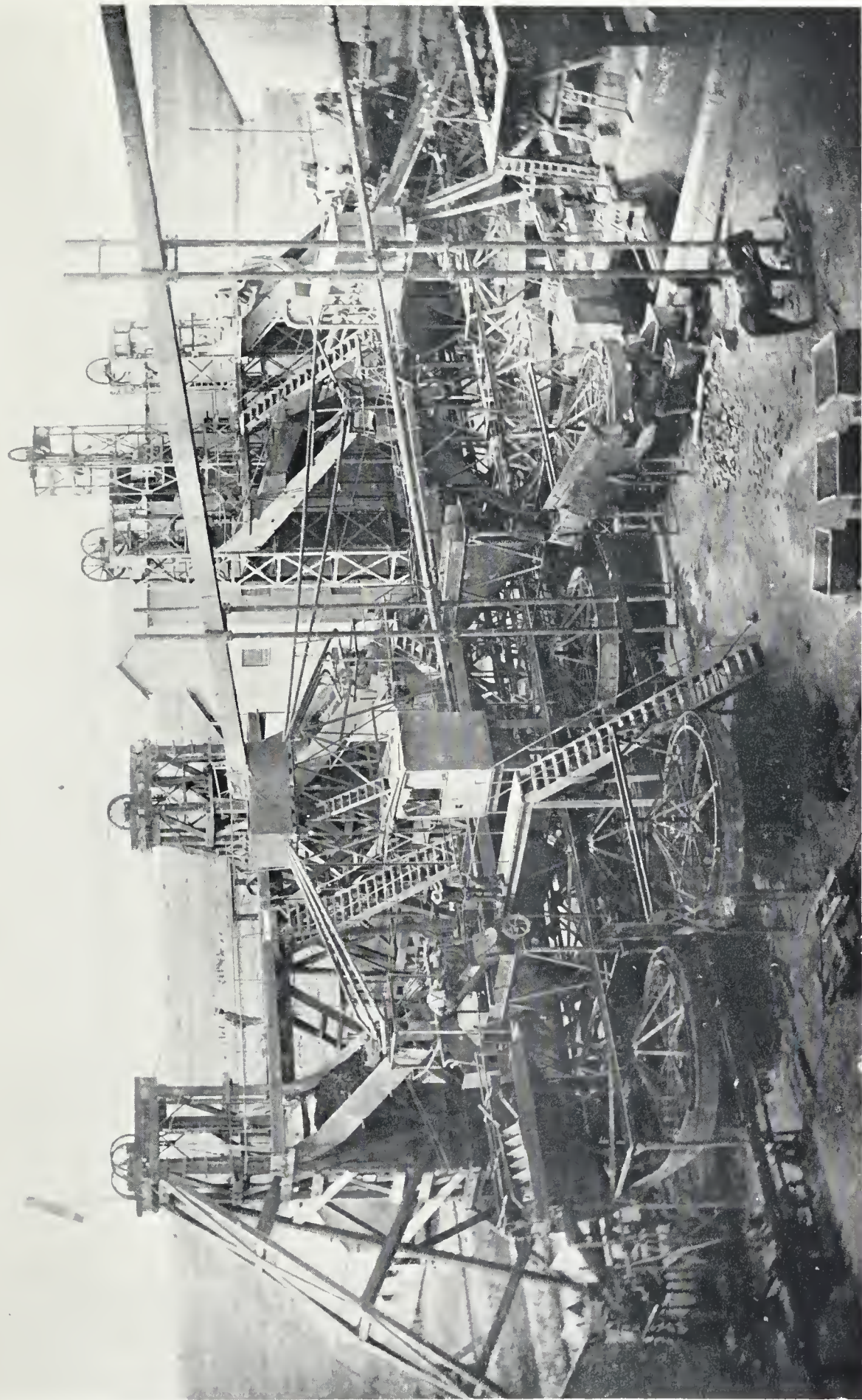
dustry to recover its former level, and that other authorities have also entered their protests.

The inference that an immediate and heavy increase of taxation is to be made to meet the war debt obligations may possibly be gratuitous, and probabilities confirm this supposition, for it is at issue with the Government expert's special recommendations. From this point of view, Sir David Barbour's observations are worth reciting for their direct bearing. He says: "The sound policy for the Transvaal is to so frame its system of taxation as not to increase unnecessarily the initial capital expenditure, or enhance the cost of working. I shall take it for granted that it

South Africa and its Future

is not intended to impose excessive or crushing taxation on either of the Colonies, or to exact such a share of their revenue as would cripple or starve the Administration. Subject to these considerations, I shall assume that any surplus of revenue over expenditure, or any special assets that the Colonies may possess, can fairly be taken towards meeting a portion of the cost of the war." Further: "If the additional taxation which I recommend . . . be imposed . . . it may be anticipated that after two years from the conclusion of peace that Colony will be in a position to set aside a portion of its ordinary revenue towards meeting the cost of the war. I am unable at present to form an estimate of the amount which it may be possible to set aside in this way. . . . On the assumption that the contribution of the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal towards the cost of the war is to be limited to the amount which they can pay without imposing excessive taxation or starving the Administration, it will be obvious from what is said in the preceding portion of this report, and especially in paragraph 62, that it is impossible at the present time to specify any definite sum as that which ought to be paid. I suggest that the Imperial Government should fix the maximum sum which, under any circumstances, they would require to be paid. Such portions of the total amount of contribution, so fixed as it may be found from time to time that the Colonies can bear, should be made a charge against them. If, in the course of time, it is found that the Colonies are unable to pay the whole sum, under the conditions as to taxation and cost of administration which I have already specified, the balance should be written off." So far as the immediate incidence of war taxation is concerned, it is therefore highly probable that the Government, who have adopted their financial expert's views almost *in toto* with regard to fiscal reform, will do the same with regard to the levy of the war contribution.

But another phase of the same subject is revealed in the extent of the contribution which the Transvaal should be called to bear compared with that of the other South African Colonies. In the thoughts of some, tinged still perhaps with a touch of the recent bitterness of the war, the Transvaal should bear the heaviest share; but it is to be observed that this is not the opinion of the responsible heads of the mining industry, who, while admitting the justness of assuming their proper proportion of the proposed burdens, appropriately point out that both the Orange River Colony and the Cape Colony (for a part of the latter's population) were fellow-sharers in the beginnings and the conduct of the war, and should bear a due portion of the resultant financial burdens, while Natal, it is contended,



WASHING PLANT OF DE BEERS DIAMOND MINES AT KIMBERLEY

Photo by Wilson, Aberdeen

The Future of the Mining Industry

cannot fairly be allowed to escape contribution to the extent at least of the valuable Transvaal territory which has been allotted to her. Pending formal announcements of the Government's intentions—and it is to be observed a contribution from the Orange River Colony is contemplated in Sir David Barbour's report—many huge lump sums have been mentioned, which it is proposed to levy on the Transvaal alone. Such reports naturally have not only alarmed the mining industry, but disturbed the confidence of international capitalists, upon whom the future development of the wealth of the goldfields in the first place rests. The extent of the alarm which is felt is shown by the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines as a body pleading in their recent communication to Lord Milner for a "reasonable sum" to be fixed, and by the rough estimates of this sum propounded by others, as, for instance, Mr. Freeman Cohen, chairman of the Potchefstroom Exploration and Gold Mining Company, who indicates £30,000,000 as the specific figure, while Mr. Bleloch adventures the sum of £35,000,000. This last gentleman's summing up of the situation is that the mines can pay, and are willing and forward to pay, provided the incidence at the first be made light, and that the burden of the £55,000,000 estimate of the Government's financial expert be shared by the other Colonies in the proportion, say, of £5,000,000 from each, to lessen the burden on the mining industry as much as possible, especially the low-grade section, and also as a matter of equity, and he advocates in addition—to augment the disposable revenue—the levy of a 5 per cent. tax on the profits of other industries (banks, &c.), the creation of death dues and of a land tax; also the beneficial reservation to the Government of portions of each new mining field to be opened.

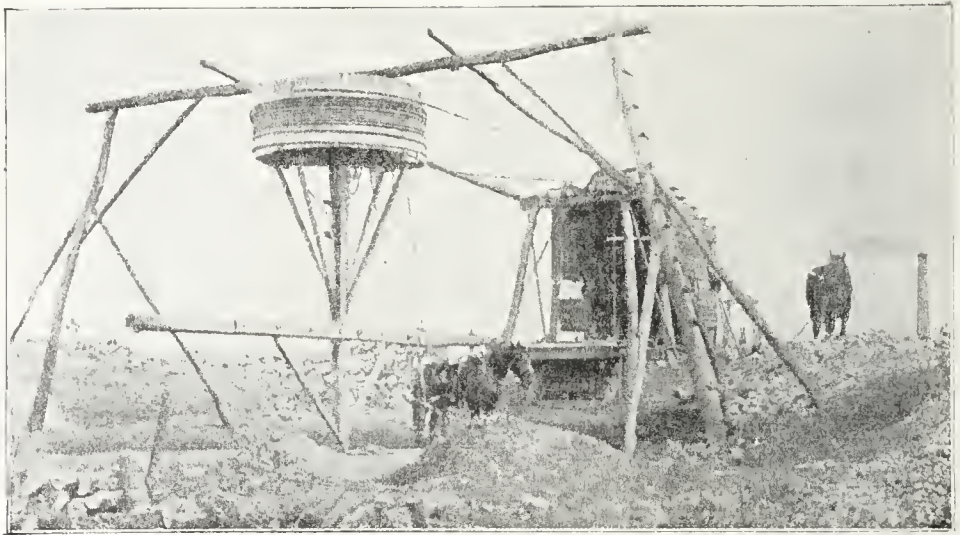
That the whole weight of the taxation of the Transvaal should not be made to fall upon one industry is, of course, consonant with reason, policy, and equity. Pending the pronouncement of its actual intentions, and in view of the alarmist rumours which are spread about, it behoves the Government, to allay the very natural apprehensions entertained, to give an early and explicit outline of its proposals, and in this connection the projected visit of the Right Hon. J. Chamberlain to the Colonies is of the best augury. From his place in Parliament that statesman has already disclaimed, on several occasions, proposals anent the immediate imposition of heavy taxes attributed to the Imperial Government, and the probabilities are that those recently published in London are as baseless as they are vague.

The dependence, to a large extent, of the development of the mining industry on the fostering and assistance, or otherwise, accorded by the existing Government is a point too painfully brought home

South Africa and its Future

to the Rand mining industry by past experience to need demonstration; wherefore the sound common-sense statesmanship of those now responsible for the prosperity of the Empire is a valuable guarantee that the various problems now absorbing the attention of the industry will be treated in a fair, just, and liberal manner.

The Rand mining industry, at the moment, is undoubtedly in the throes of one of those periodic waves of depression incident to all great gold-mining fields, though to the Rand in a less degree than to the others, on account of the certain results which may be reckoned upon from the stable nature of its geological formation. Capital required for its development is in many cases being withheld, investors looking askance at its demands with obvious misgivings. This attitude is undoubtedly due to impatience, and disappointment that progress has not been more rapid since peace has been declared.



THE INFANCY OF A GOLD-MINE: WINDING QUARTZ WITH A WHIM

Apparently it was assumed that only a cessation of hostilities was needed for the mines to hurry up and resume their old-time rate of production and prosperity. Such an assumption ignores the real difficulties of reconstituting a country and its industries, devastated and disorganised for three years by war, and setting up an entirely new order of things. As a matter of fact, the progress actually achieved has been marvellous, and as much, or even more, than could have been expected in like cases. It has apparently been forgotten that civil government has only within a few weeks replaced the military in the main administrative channels. The railway network of the sub-continent has only been thrown open to the free transport of merchants' goods within the past month, and the limitation of transit to the Rand, and the interior generally, is a most serious matter, by reason of the fact that the trunk railways

The Future of the Mining Industry

from the coast are only single lines. For the clearance at the ports of the accumulations of mining machinery, mining stores, building materials, foodstuffs, and general merchandise, months are required, and this clearance must take place ere the railway traffic can fall back into its normal grooves. Abundance of labour, too—always a crucial question with mining operations, whether they be on the Rand, in Rhodesia, or elsewhere in the sub-continent—is, for a variety of causes, not yet available, although measures have been taken by the Government and the mining industry, acting in concert, which have placed this subject on a more satisfactory footing than it ever enjoyed. Other advances have been made in the improvement of the status of the industry, such, for instance, as the reduction of the customs duties, which enormously improve the industry's chances of future remunerative working. Some desiderata are certainly unfulfilled, such as reduced railway rates; but the instalment of reforms made affords a fair basis on which working can be resumed with admirable chances of remuneration and profit. This being so, the unreasonableness of the show of impatience that progress has not been more rapid, and the undeservedness of the distrust with which the industry is professed to be regarded in some quarters, are obvious. A sober view of the situation of the Transvaal at the present moment must undoubtedly force the confession that the amount of solid work done in solving the many problems simultaneously surging up for solution in a new colony besides mining,—repatriation, resettlement, &c.—and in rebuilding generally the body politic, is of substantial volume, and that the progress hitherto made, in removing the difficulties which beset the mining industry, are sufficient augury that whatever remains unalleviated will receive its due and satisfactory attention in the near future.

In an old (1876) edition of "Chambers's Encyclopædia," under the heading of "Africa—Productions," is the statement that "It would be hazardous to assert that Africa is deficient in *mineral wealth*, though, judging from our present imperfect knowledge, it does not seem to be extremely rich." Little did the compilers of this well-known work think that, in the space of less than twenty-five years, a town of about 150,000 inhabitants would spring up as the centre of a mining country which now takes rank as the first gold-producer in the world. The gold production of the Rand to date is indeed stated to equal one-ninth of the coined gold in circulation throughout the world, while its potential reserves are probably fourfold this amount. In 1887 the United States occupied first rank among gold-producing countries, Australia being second, and Russia third, the total gold production of the world being only £18,000,000. In 1898, South Africa occupied the premier position with 28 per cent.

South Africa and its Future

of the aggregate world's production, and her contribution, moreover, represented only $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions less than the world's aggregate in the first-named year. In 1899, owing to the war, it just managed to fall short of the headship. Since its start, the Rand gold-fields have produced gold to the handsome aggregate amount of £81,000,000 sterling. On the fortunes of South Africa, the influence exerted by this stupendous accretion to its wealth is past question, for the output of £20,000,000 of gold in 1898 formed 80 per cent. of the sub-continent's aggregate exports in that year, while 68 per cent. of it was disbursed in labour, foodstuffs, mining stores, and material in the course of its winning. It is only needful to glance back at the modest proportions of South Africa's trade movement before the discovery, first of diamonds and then of gold, to recognise how much it owes to its mineral wealth, and more particularly to that of gold, for its present-day prosperity. Its populations, its cities and ports, its railway network, its multifarious industries from agriculture upwards, and its merchant firms and commercial activity have each and all been stimulated and enlarged enormously by it. As in the case of Australia and other older gold-producing countries, the output of gold, primarily from the Witwatersrand fields, has acted like a perennial stream, fructifying and rendering teemful the arid wastes, and making the very wilderness to blossom as the rose.

The gold-bearing quartz-pebble conglomerate beds, called by the Boers "banket"—the discovery of gold in the outcrops of which in 1883 started the Witwatersrand mining industry—form a series of strata going down at an angle of about 30 degrees to hitherto unknown depths—over 8000 feet have already been plumbed—and extending over a tested lateral distance of more than 50 miles.

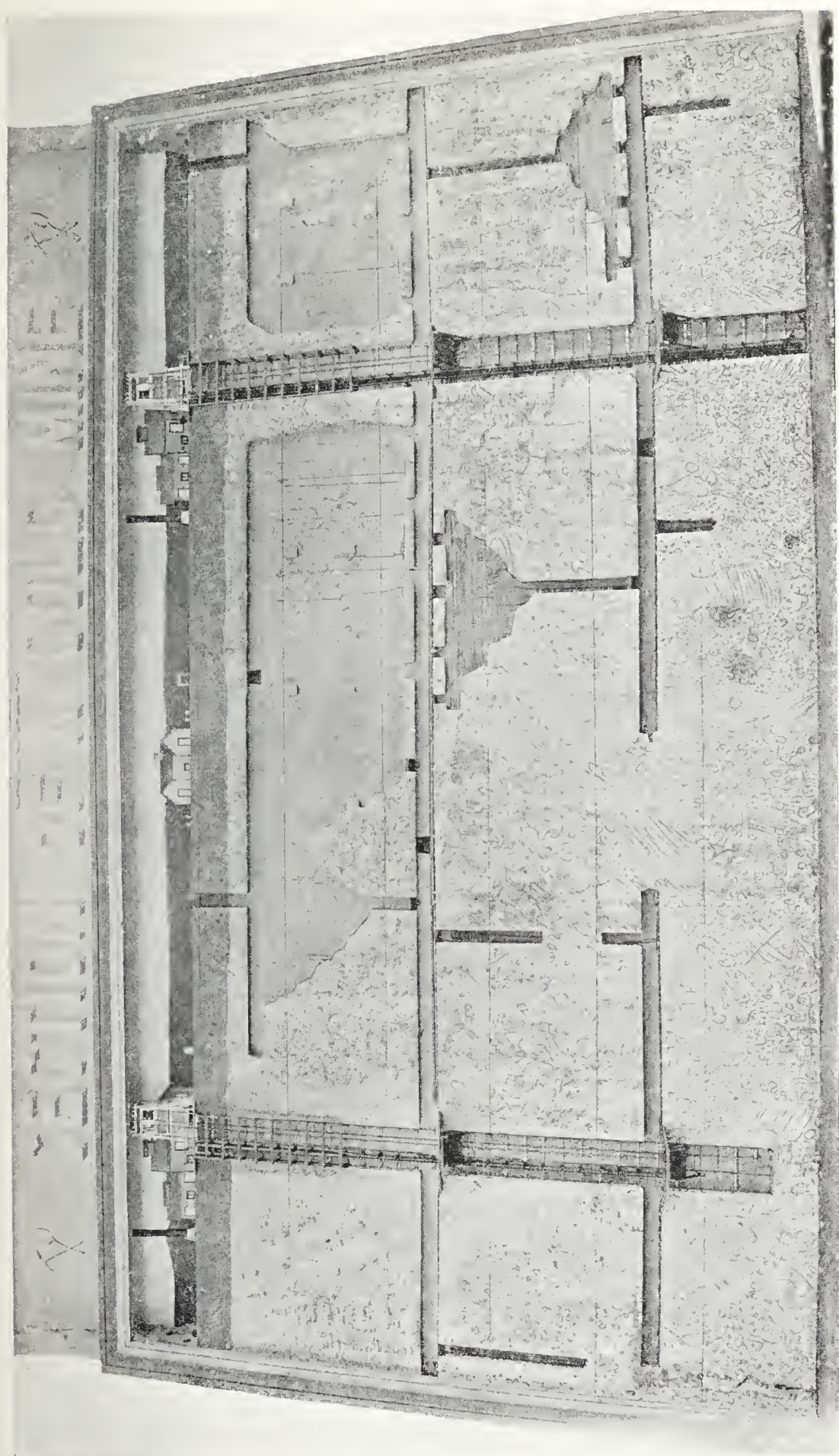
These beds lie in series, that particular one which contains most of the gold being called the Main Reef series, comprising the Main Reef proper and a number of subordinate reefs or bands. The thickness of the Main Reef is from 3 to 12 feet, that of the Main Reef Leader 3 feet on the average, and the South Reef thinner than the latter, but having a richer gold contents than either. These are the beds chiefly worked, the gold being disseminated throughout the matrix mainly in crystals, visible gold being only occasionally seen, but in fairly regular quantities, so that the results of working, whether in the richer or poorer reefs, are capable of being accurately forecasted. The knowledge of the nature and extent of the beds has only gradually been brought together, and is still incomplete in parts even for the 15 miles section of the Rand which has been longest under working, and discoveries are of almost daily occurrence extending the sum of information regarding their composition and incidence. In the section situated between the Langlaagte



CYANIDE WORKS (NEW COMET MINE) AT JOHANNESBURG

The tailings are run into the huge vats, and the cyanide of potassium—a deadly poison—percolates through, and carries off the gold in solution.

Photo by Barnett & Co., Johannesburg



SECTION OF A GOLD MINE. (Photo by Horace W. Nicholls, Johannesburg)

South Africa and its Future

Estate Mine in the west and the New Comet in the east, one profitable mine after another follows almost without a break. The eastern and western extensions are, for the main part, still *terra incognita*; but the several mines scattered along their stretch have confirmed the identity and value of the formation, which is held by experts to warrant the belief in the existence of wealth even exceeding the Rand proper.

Knowledge as to the depth to which the reefs descend has been slowest in accumulating. When the outcrops were first worked in the central section, it was believed that there was little or no gold in the lower levels. Since 1898, however, deep and yet deeper depths have been explored, especially in following the richer reefs, and always with the similar result of meeting with the same, or a superior, grade of ore contents peculiar to the higher sections of the particular reef, so that the inference is strengthened to certainty that profitable exploitation is only limited to the ultimate depth at which modern mining can be carried on. The problem, therefore, is one for the engineers; for, apart from the increased temperature in the lower levels, which can be met by roomier shafts, and the occurrence of water, which is likewise capable of being dealt with, the only difficulty to be met with is that concerned with the hoisting appliances for such enormous depths. So recently as May last the London Chamber of Mines, and more recently the Johannesburg Association of Mining Engineers, were engaged on the solution of this question. It is needless to anticipate the results of their deliberations, the point turning upon the choice betwixt two systems, only so far as to state that means for solving the difficulties of the task are considered to be available, at least, to such depths as 5565 feet on the slope, and that the results of mining at these great depths can be made to show a substantial profit. It may be added, however, that in consequence of the increased cost to reach the ore, the need for the utmost reduction of working costs becomes paramount.

The circumstances of gold-mining on the Rand have, therefore, features quite distinct from those of quartz-reef, alluvial, or other kinds of mining, and approximate to those of coal winning, especially in the matter of the depth and regularity of the conglomerate formation. Its peculiarities have created a method of mining, the outcome of costly experiment, experience, and skill, which will remain a lasting asset to future ages.

The future gold production of the Rand mining industry is a subject which enchains the attention alike of the investor and the curious. In approaching the subject of the unexploited gold contents of the banket formation, figures are handled which simulate

The Future of the Mining Industry

the fabulous, and almost excuse the disbelief with which all such estimates are received in some quarters. Confirmation of the approximate correctness of the computations may, however, be obtained in two ways: firstly, from the past yield of the gold-fields in the seventeen years since their start; and secondly, from the verification of former prognostications which subsequent outputs have furnished. So far as regards the former, the fact of the production of £81,000,000 of gold since the start of the industry up to now, under well-known circumstances is, in the first place, proof positive that the gold exists; and, in the second, affords inferential grounds for assuming that, given at all similar circumstances, mining operations will yield like results. This is, of course, taking the lowest ground, for it is indubitable that the circumstances will not be alike, but vastly improved, in which case the value of the results will be proportionately enhanced. As to the confirmation which results from the verification which later outputs have furnished, both of the trustworthiness of the bases on which former forecasts were made and of the prognostications themselves, there may be instanced the forecasts of such early computators as Mr. Hamilton Smith, Mr. C. D. Rudd, and others. The former, in 1892, in a report on the future production of the Rand fields, made by request of Messrs. Rothschild, adventured an opinion which is worth quoting textually. He said: "With the active and energetic men who have this industry in hand, and always supposing that the foregoing theories be correct, in *three or four years from now* the producing power of the mines and their reducing works will, I think, be increased to an output of *five or six million tons of ore per annum*, worth a gross yield of over £10,000,000. At this rate the available supply of ore, as conjectured above, will last for more than thirty years."

As an actual fact, in four years from the time of his writing the above, the Rand gold yield from 69 companies working amounted to 5,325,355 ozs., the total production being of the gross value of £10,583,616; so that, far from his estimate being too sanguine or exaggerated, it was a literal forecast of the actuality. He subsequently expressed the opinion that the full producing power of the Rand would be reached by the end of the century, when the output might be expected to exceed £12,500,000 per annum. As a matter of fact the total value of gold produced in the Transvaal in 1898 was over £15,000,000, most of which came from the Rand, and, had mining operations in 1899 not been interrupted by the war, the output in that year would have reached to over £18,000,000. Mr. Smith based his estimate on a working depth of 5200 feet, and on an area of the reef only 11 miles in extent, but since his time deep mining has been successfully prosecuted to

South Africa and its Future

7000 feet. Inference and analogy, therefore, both afford strong support to the correctness of estimates, based on the results of past working, of the future gold contents of the Witwatersrand reefs, which estimates, as appears, are more likely to be under-reckoned than otherwise, from the sheer immensity of the subject, and from the necessarily imperfect knowledge of the potentialities of so huge a problem.

The divergencies in the several estimates made from time to time in the past of the total gold available from the Rand banket beds have in part arisen from the sheer inability of those making the estimates to anticipate the striking developments which have successively been made. So far back as 1893, 325 millions, and subsequently 450 millions and 700 millions, have been adventured by various persons. The relative moderateness of these estimates, compared with more recent ones, is due, as in the case of that of Mr. Hamilton Smith, to the under-valuation of the potentialities of deep-level mining, which are only now becoming fully apparent. One of the more recent estimates—that of Mr. Bleloch—based on working depths of 3000 to 7000 feet, and taken over an area of fifty miles, embracing the district between Randfontein and Holfontein, computes an available gold yield of £2,871,000,000 sterling, or eight times as much as the estimate of 1893.

Although so enlarged, the total actually understates potentialities by being exclusive of possible discoveries beyond these limits, and also by the estimates being framed on the older ratios of gold recovery to ore tonnage, thus ignoring the application of the latest scientific methods to the treatment of the poorest ore, which would tend to enhance the results considerably. Apart from these limitations, this estimate of 2871 millions is made in the most systematic manner, from careful calculations, area by area, according to the thickness of the reefs, the tonnage per claim, and the value per ton as they have been shown from past working. The total tonnage of payable ore available is estimated at 1,378,000,000. The average gold value per ton of ore in the figures works out at 41s. 7d., but in the actuality this varies from 78s. in the richest mines down to actual loss in the least paying of low-grade ores. In these stupendous figures are included the contributions of the great deep-level mines, the growing proportions of whose contributions to the aggregate output is already becoming a noteworthy feature, while the extent of their development cannot be foreseen. Mining engineers are indeed already considering the specifications of equipments for negotiating depths deeper than 7000 feet, and even in 1899 the possibility of mining at 12,000 feet was considered. Certainly the mining of minerals in other parts of the world has shown



MINES ON THE LINE OF REEF AT JOHANNESBURG

Photo by Wilson, Aberdeen

The Future of the Mining Industry

the feasibility of operations at much greater depths than those mentioned.

The ascertainment of the proximate gold contents of the Transvaal mining area leads up to the question, How and when is this stupendous wealth to be rendered available? In other words, what is likely to be the gold production in the several years from now on, and how long will this rate of production continue? or what are the chances of the early exhaustion of the mining industry? To take the last item first, it is the growing conviction of Rand mining engineers that the amount of available gold is only limited by the extent to which mining operations can be prosecuted below the surface. Mining engineers had up till recently generally agreed to fix a depth of 8000 feet as the utmost limit to which mechanical appliances and other circumstances will allow them to follow the descent of the reefs, and the available gold yield is calculated on this basis. But there is no finality in this statement of depth, and already, as we have remarked, engineers are calculating for deeper delvings, and 9000 and even 12,000 feet have been spoken of. This latter increase of 4000 feet—from 8000 to 12,000 feet—would alone augment the gold estimate by 50 per cent. For the rest, and retaining the 8000 feet limit estimate as the measure of the exhaustion of the present Rand, this is naturally controlled by the rate of production per year, which itself is dependent on the particular circumstances of the industry during the period in question.

The yearly production of gold from now onwards offers no insurmountable obstacle to a fairly exact appreciation. It is merely a rule of three calculation: if in the past, under given circumstances, working results have been as follows; in the future, with the same or like circumstances, the results will be such. Various computations from time to time have been made on these bases, among the most recent being those of Mr. Cooper-Key and Dr. Hatch in 1899, Mr. Goldring and Mr. Bleloch in 1901, and quite recently Messrs. Leggett and Hatch (on 47 miles of the Rand only, and working to depths of 4000 to 7000 feet). Mr. Cooper-Key's forecast, which was made in 1899, was for the output of the three following years, the war not having then been anticipated. The basis of his calculation, like that of Mr. Goldring's, was the number of stamps or the milling power employed. If in 1898, he argued, there were in work on the Central, Eastern, Far Eastern, and Western sections of the Rand 6000 stamps, at the end of 1899 this number would probably be increased by 165, or to a total of 6165; at the end of 1900 the increase made would be 1730 and the total 7895; at the end of 1901 the total would have risen to 9845;

South Africa and its Future

and at the end of 1902 to 11,785. On the basis of 1800 tons milled per stamp, of an average value of £2 per ton, and with an average number of stamps of 7000, 9000, and 10,500 in the three years, the output would have been: 1900, £25,200,000; 1901, £32,400,000; and 1902, £37,800,000. Mr. Goldring, who is the Secretary of the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines, likewise framing his calculation on certain yearly increases in the milling power, calculated that in the five years following the full resumption of mining operations, 17,000 stamps would be at work, or an increase of 11,000 on the number before the war. Allowing for a fall in the grade of ore milled, in consequence of cheaper methods permitting of a lower grade of ore to be dealt with, the 17,000 stamps, he considered, would produce at least £50,000,000 sterling a year. Writing before the war, and basing his estimate on observations made by Mr. Eckstein that in five years the number of stamps in working would be 12,000, Dr. Hatch, likewise following the milling power basis, calculated for a yearly gold production of £36,000,000. Mr. Bleloch's opinion, taking the production in the nine working months of 1899 of £20,000,000 as a basis, is that the rate of production would probably double itself after the war. "If this be so," he adds, "in fifty years' time the product of the Rand will have reached over £2,000,000,000, and if such an accelerated progress is made, the whole of the vast amount now estimated may be dug out of the Rand within sixty or seventy years. The latest estimate published, that of Messrs. Leggett and Hatch, going on the basis of the average increase of production of £4,000,000 per year in the three years before the war, and that the production in 1899—a broken year owing to the war—was £19,000,000, concludes that, allowing eighteen months from January 1, 1902, for the industry to be restored to the conditions existing in August 1899, a similar increase of production will bring the output to at least £30,000,000 per annum by June 30, 1906, and if this rate of production were to be maintained from then on, the total production of £1,233,560,700 would give a life from January 1, 1902, of forty-two years and a half. But as the production will decline gradually, instead of coming to a sudden stop, the life of the industry is likely to be prolonged for some considerable number of years beyond the period indicated. If, on the other hand, the annual output should exceed £30,000,000 for any considerable period, as is, perhaps, within the bounds of possibility, this would partially offset the extension of life due to the gradual decline of production. It is to be added, in explanation of Messrs. Leggett and Hatch's estimate, that it contemplates working along a strike of forty-seven miles only, and to the restricted depth of from 4000 to 6000 feet.

The Future of the Mining Industry

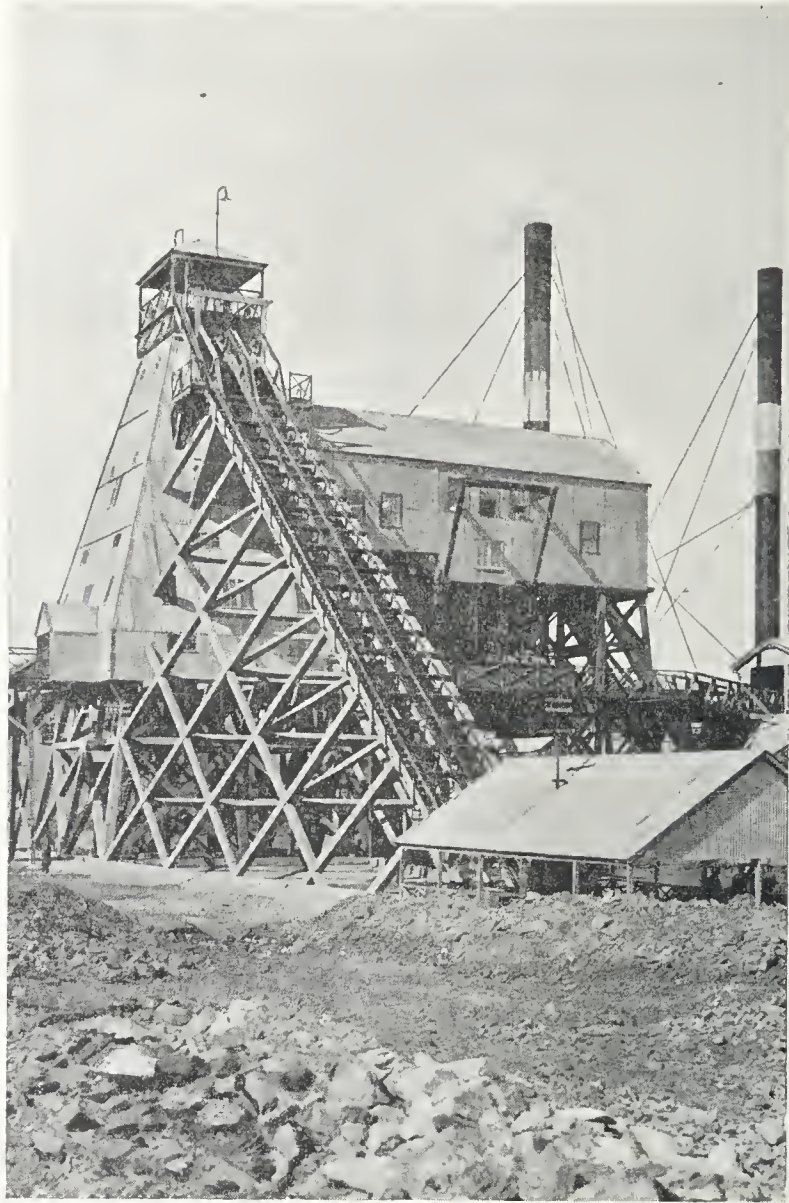
The following tabulated comparison of these several estimates will assist their comprehension, it being explained that Mr. Bleloch's estimate is reduced to the extent of 25 per cent. as a set-off for probably barren sections, &c. :—

Year.	Mr. Cooper-Key (1899).	Dr. Hatch (1899).	Mr. Goldring (1901).	Messrs. Leggett & Hatch (1902).	Mr. Bleloch (1901).
	£	£	£	£	£
1898	20,000,000	...	...
1899	19,000,000	20,000,000
1900	25,200,000	...	...	...	...
1901	32,400,000	...	...	...	...
1902	37,800,000	...	...	...	15,000,000
1903	} 50,000,000 each year	} 30,000,000 each year	20,000,000
1904	...	36,000,000			25,000,000
1905			} 35,000,000 each year
1906			
1907			
1908		
1909		
1910		
1911		} 40,000,000 each year
1912		
1913		
1914		
1915		
1924	} 30,000,000 each year	45,000,000
1925		each year
1934		40,000,000
1935		each year
1944		30,000,000
1945		each year
1954		30,000,000
1955		each year
1964		15,000,000
1965		each year
1974	each year

These several estimates are of course to be looked upon merely as approximations, and they are, moreover, not framed on exactly the same bases. They, however, agree in the main that the 1899 output of roundly £20,000,000 will be increased to some point between £30,000,000 and £50,000,000 within a few years' time, and maintained thereat, more or less continuously, for periods varying over 45 and 65 years. The production of the several estimates for the whole period gives an average of £37,000,000, which is only slightly higher than that of Mr. Bleloch, which is £35,714,285. This, consequently, is the handsome yearly output which the Rand mining industry offers in the near future—an amount which alone equals the total production of the whole world in 1897—if the circumstances are at least equal to those which previously prevailed.

South Africa and its Future

Having advanced the question of the future of the mining industry to the extent of showing a possible gold yield of at least 2,871 millions, spread over a period of seventy years at the rate of between 37 and 40 millions a year, at a moderate estimate, it is pertinent to inquire somewhat into the efficacy of the means for securing this return, the



HEAD-GEAR OF THE WITWATERSRAND GOLD-MINING CO.

(Photo by Horace W. Nicholls, Johannesburg)

location of anything and its appropriation being two distinct matters. As implied previously, the realisation of this huge prospective gold yield depends upon the circumstances of the industry being at least equal to those of the past. If found to be superior, the ultimate realisation will only be made the more certain. These circumstances may be conveniently classified as external and internal. So far back



DRIVING AN "END" IN MAY CONSOLIDATED MINE, JOHANNESBURG

In some places the holes for blasting are bored by Kaffirs, but as a rule the drives are made with the use of boring machines driven by compressed air. There are few accidents underground, as the rock is so hard that there is little fear of the "levels" falling in. The chief danger is from the gas after blasting, and the dust from boring.

The Future of the Mining Industry

as the Industrial Commission of 1897 it was recognised that the essentials for the development of the Rand were reduction of taxes and economy in working. The evidence of all the prominent heads of mining groups, both English and foreign, then tendered, in the sum amounted to this. Where the circumstances of a mine are such that they can only be worked at a higher cost than their returns, or with only an infinitesimal profit, either costs must be reduced or the mine compelled to close down. In many cases a reduction of working costs of so moderate an amount as 2s. per ton means the life of a mine, and less than this spells bankruptcy. Where mines had exhausted every effort to reduce working costs, it was also contended with justice that they had established a claim for moral and material assistance on the part of the Government, where it could be properly accorded; indeed, a personal interest, so to say, attached to Government interference, in that the national revenues were jeopardised when mines failed of successful working. The assistances asked for by the mining industry, and which the Government were able to accord, are now notorious, but are worth reciting for the bearing they have on our present subject. They were fiscal reforms conducing to cheapening of labour by reducing the cost of living both for whites and natives; increase in the effectiveness of native labour by the proper enforcement of the Liquor Law, the cancellation of the local spirit monopoly, and the withdrawal of the right of free imports of spirits from Mozambique and the Orange Free State; abolition of monopolies which tended to enhance the cost of materials used in the mines, including those of dynamite, cement, &c.; reduction of rail rates, and abrogation, by arrangement, of the transit dues levied by the coast Colonies, thus lessening first and working costs of mining equipments and materials; promotion of large public works directly or indirectly affecting the mines, such as provision of adequate water supplies, construction of railways, &c.; finally, an equitable and sympathetic attitude of the Governing Power to all and every question having relation to the country's staple industry. So far as these reforms were appraisable, they were reckoned to be equivalent to a saving of not less than 6s. per ton in working costs. What practical chance there was of gaining the relief sought under the old *régime* is shown by the futile results of the Industrial Commission's labours.

But the altered circumstances of the mining industry since the war are evidenced by the reforms already consummated and under weigh, comprising among them some of the leading demands of 1897. This fact is conclusive that, so far as external circumstances are concerned, the mining industry is not only in the enjoyment of equally favourable circumstances with those existing previously, but

South Africa and its Future

even greatly superior. By so much, therefore, is the perspective of the gold yield to which we have made allusion assisted towards becoming a reality.

As regards the internal circumstances on which the progress of the mining industry depends, these are the employment of the most improved methods and means of production. They comprise the most perfected machinery and appliances, and the latest processes of metallurgical and chemical science. Speaking generally,



KAFFIR COMPOUND, NEW PRIMROSE GOLD MINE, JOHANNESBURG

it may be said that on the Rand at the present time are employed the most up-to-date skill and technical knowledge, and the latest devised mechanical appliances. This, by the way, is only true of individual mines however. The equipment of the mass varies greatly, and necessarily so, since the conditions of one mine differ vastly from those of its neighbour; and distant and even contiguous localities require unlike treatment, according to the nature of the ore or reef worked and other local conditions. The improvement effected hitherto is evidence, however, of the initiation and energy

The Future of the Mining Industry

which have been displayed by the heads of the mining industry in the past, and an earnest for the future, while the progress achieved abides as an invaluable guide for all future mining operations in like geological formations.

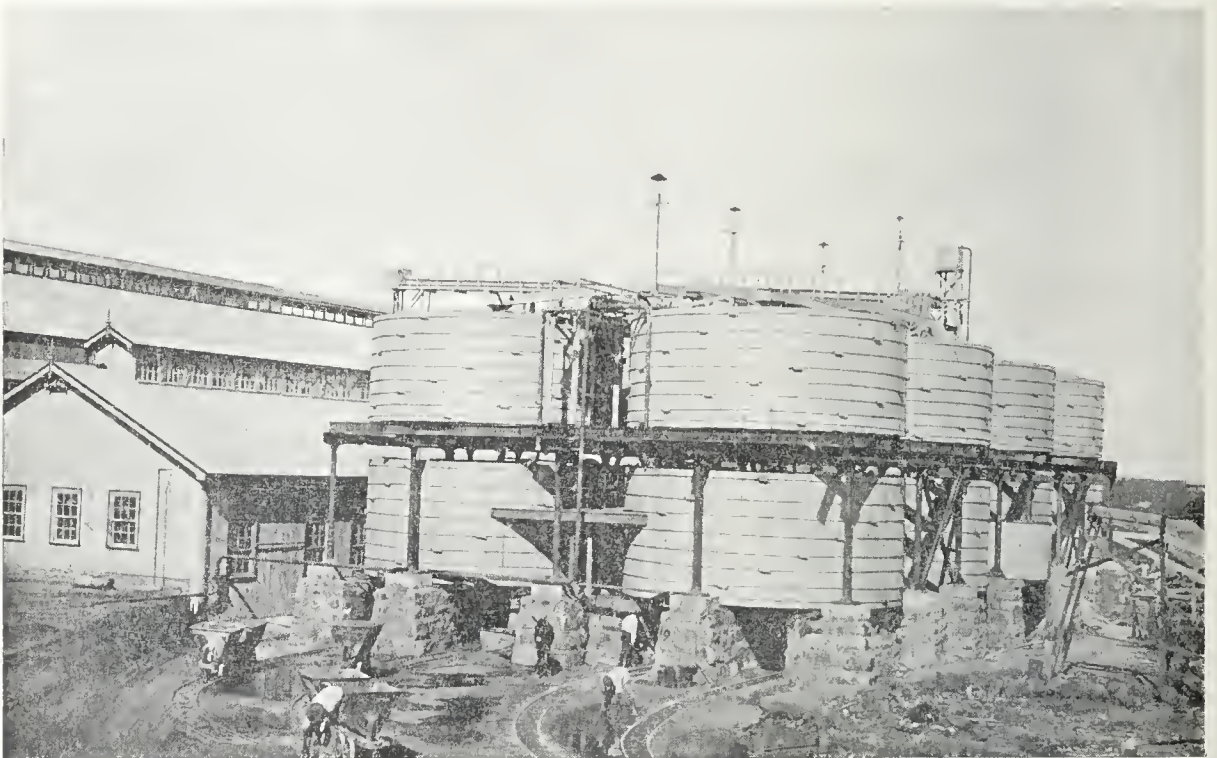
The knowledge of how best to treat the peculiarities of the banket reef has, however, only been slowly gained, and at the cost of much money and many unavoidable blunders. For instance, the only metallurgical operation for the extraction of gold employed up to 1889 was the stamping mill, and fine gold and amalgam were necessarily abundant in the tailings which were cast away on the spoil heap. The cyanide process, and that of the treatment of slimes, were only applied in 1891 and 1898 respectively. Their use has added millions to the yearly output of gold. The amalgamation process, the chlorination treatment of concentrates, and the use of frue vanners are other innovations gradually introduced as results of experiment and experience, and which have likewise increased the efficacy of the extractive operations. Similar progress has been shown in the improvement effected in the mechanical equipment. At first the mining operations were confined to the primitive digging of a huge trench over the site of the outcrop, with the simplest delver's tools furnished by the locality. This method has advanced to the stage of sinking shafts to the enormous depth of a mile into the bowels of the earth, equipped with the most elaborate hoisting plant, with underground equipment lit and worked by electricity, and the complementary surface establishments, at a cost running into hundreds of thousands of pounds. There yet lies before the industry the general adoption, not only of these but of other improvements which experience has shown to be desirable, such as the practice of sorting of ore, the use of heavier batteries on the score of greater economy, &c., and their utilisation is merely a question of time. As, therefore, all these improvements and betterments have been successively made, and the mining industry is only now gradually—it is not yet, so far as a large number of them are concerned—entering into the full use of them, it is obvious that future mining operations must not only enjoy the same favouring circumstances as those which enabled the huge mining output of the past, but a very much better environment, through the more general use of all those methods which experience and science have shown to be advisable. As a consequence, and in the measure of the value of these improvements, will the effective output be ameliorated from now onwards.

The value of the improved circumstances of the mining industry alluded to is convertible into figures in the terms of working costs and divisible dividends. The former may be said to be the baro-

South Africa and its Future

meter of the latter. In the past, in the early days of the mining industry, when the problems of mine equipment and gold extraction and winning were only imperfectly understood, the wasteful expenditure of money on inefficient methods and appliances swallowed up in many cases every vestige of profit.

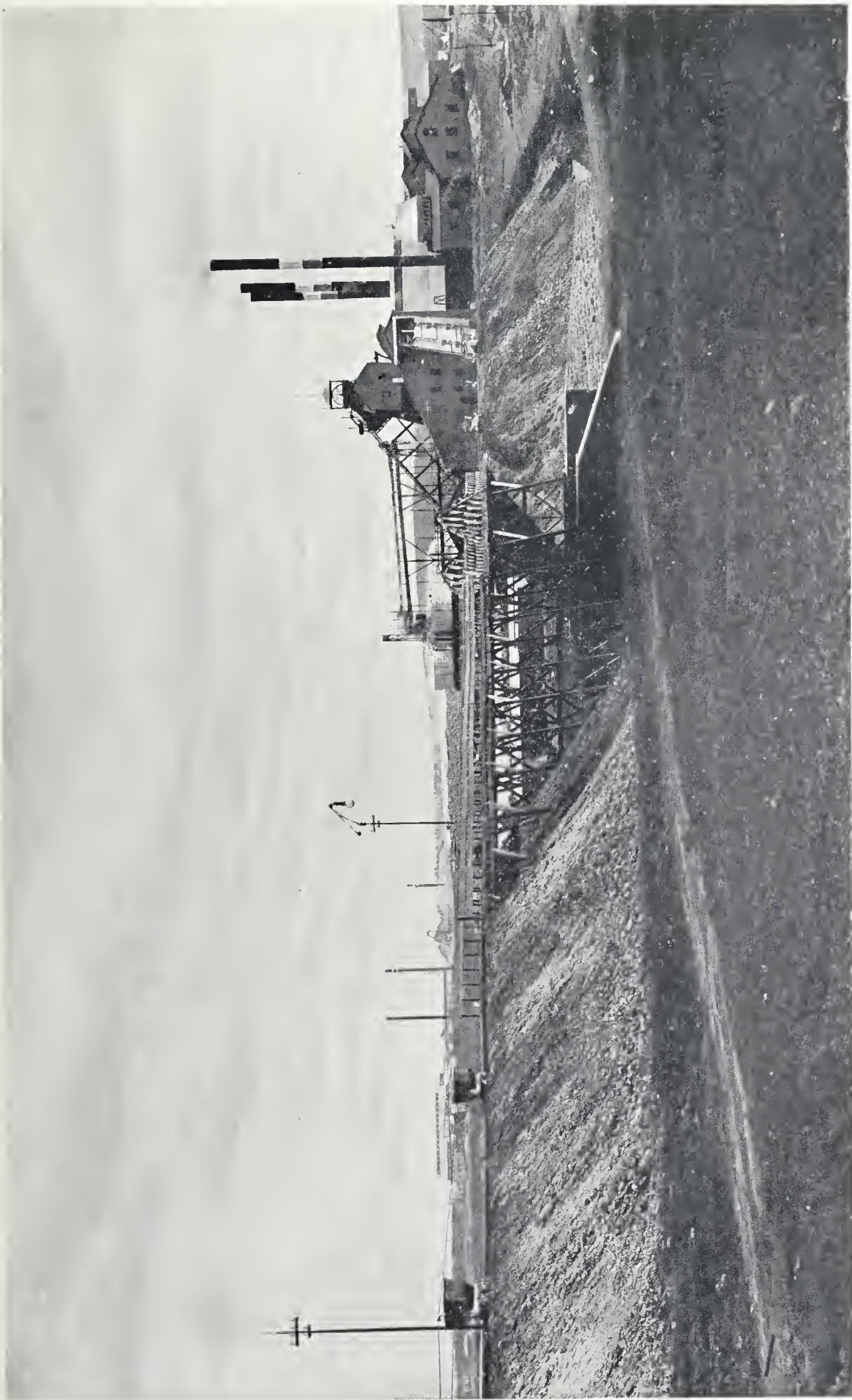
It was incidental to the first operations on the then unknown geological formation of the Rand, when the very science of the gold-fields had to be created. Costs of working on the Rand are now, through the excellent system devised by the Chamber of Mines, tabulated so that the outlay of individual mines, or of the mining



CYANIDE WORKS. WITWATERSRAND GOLD-MINING CO.

(Photo by Horace W. Nicholls, Johannesburg)

industry in the aggregate, may be seen at any moment at a glance. For instance, taking the record for the eight years from 1890 to 1898 inclusive, for example, the working costs ranged from 80.8 per cent. of the total value of the gold produced by eighty-five companies in 1890 down to 68.1 per cent. in 1898, the last full year before the war, the decrease showing the extent of the progress made in reducing the working costs. Simultaneously the dividends increased from 19.2 to 31.9 per cent., testifying to the close kinship with the costs factor. These figures are a general average taken over the aggregate of the mines working, and do not represent the ratios of working costs of individual mines, which differ of course according to the greater richness of the ore, the fewer difficulties to



GENERAL VIEW OF THE SURFACE WORKS OF A RAND GOLD MINE (KNIGHT'S)

Showing the head-gear at top of the shaft, the stacks locating the engine-rooms. A sloping tramway will be seen leading down from the shaft-head, and iron waggons bringing the crushed ore, and taking it away to the "battery" or "mill." The waggons are driven by an endless wire rope, and discharge automatically. Beyond, in the middle distance, may be seen the huge white heap of "tailings," the waste debris after the gold has been extracted. Each mine has its own electric-light plant.

Photo by Barnett & Co., Johannesburg

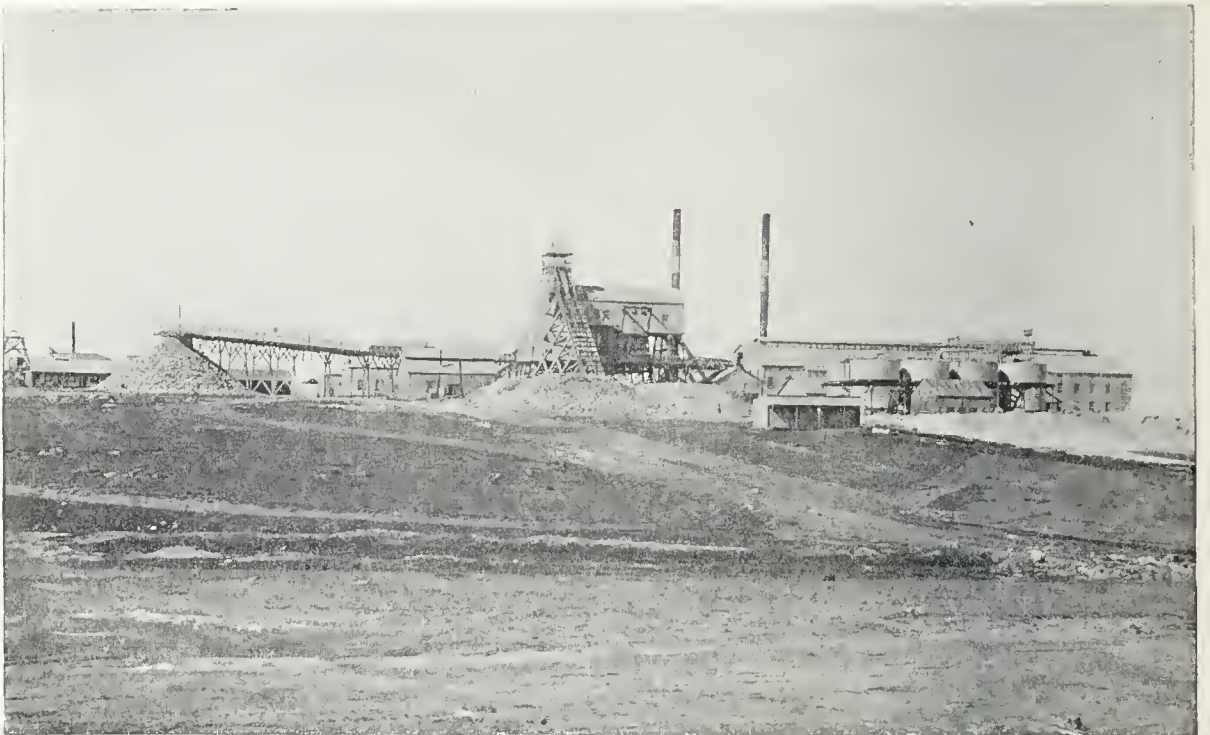
The Future of the Mining Industry

be dealt with in winning it, and the methods employed to secure the end in view. This is exemplified by the fact that in a few of the best equipped mines costs have been brought down to as low as 17s. 6d. per ton, while on others they rise to 79s. 6d. and above. The Robinson mine is a case where, despite adverse circumstances, the enlightened employment of the latest appliances of science and mechanics has resulted in reducing costs to an extremely low level. In 1888 the working costs of the mine were 72s. 1d. per ton; in 1892 they were reduced to 46s. 5d., and in 1896 to 30s. 11d. They have subsequently been reduced to a still lower figure, and this despite the fact that the ore changed from an oxidised character to a pyritic, involving greater difficulty and cost to treat. This mine was the first to introduce frue vanners, the cyanide process and the treatment of slimes, expending as much as £80,000 in the last innovation. By means of these it raised its gold extraction from 65 to 90 per cent., and gave encouragement and impetus to all mining on these fields. The latest costs published for the month of September this year of thirty-six mines in working give an average of 26s. 3d. per ton, which shows that operating charges are now at about the same ratio as they were before the war. Although so reduced, however, they are still relatively higher than they may be expected to be when the mines settle back into their normal grooves. The reason for this is that only a few mines are now working up to their full battery power, and, while costs are on the full scale, results are less, surface dumps are being drawn upon for mill service instead of the mine itself, owing to lack of full supply of labour, &c. When, however, the effects of the important fiscal reductions just made have had time to exercise their effect in reducing the cost of imported mining stores, foodstuffs, and the smaller machinery and metal goods charged by the mines to the working account, further reductions in the working costs will be possible. Of the actual money value of this per ton of ore milled, various opinions have been ventured. It has been estimated by experts that it is possible under favouring circumstances to reduce the expense of working by some 10s. per ton, at which rate ore yielding over 5.6 dwt. per ton bullion could be made to yield a profit. The importance of this not only in improving the present position of all mining undertakings, but in stimulating the low-grade mines to come into the working stage, can hardly be overestimated. With the various difficulties besetting the mining industry removed, the future working cost level should be lower than at any preceding period, taking into account the benefit of the recent fiscal reductions and other governmental assistance in prospect.

Allusion has been made to the probable continuation of the

South Africa and its Future

Rand formation beyond its present area ; but, as a matter of fact, the Witwatersrand series of reefs, or an amplification of them, has been more or less proved for a distance of nearly one hundred miles to the north and south. The strike of the reefs is not uniformly continuous—in fact, the reefs are intersected by quite a numerous series of faults, and in many places they have been subjected to extensive denudation, to the extent of complete obliteration of the outcrop in places. Nevertheless at various points very remunerative mines have been established, and although, on the whole, the character of possessing a low-grade ore is attributed to these reefs, this is probably due more to the very incomplete prospecting to which the



GENERAL VIEW OF SURFACE WORKS. WITWATERSRAND GOLD-MINING CO.

(Photo by Horace W. Nicholls, Johannesburg)

area has been subjected than to any actual lack contrasted with the better known central section of the Rand. On this subject Mr. Bleloch makes the apposite observation that “it is not reasonable to think that only the richest portions of the Witwatersrand zones have been laid open on the surface, and that the sections which remain covered are poor. It is probable that many portions of these hidden areas contain reefs, if not rich at least payable, and this may especially be hoped for in that region where the reefs are completely hidden, and at the two ends of which, where they are exposed, they are found to be payable.”

The eastern section of this greater Rand is about 30 miles in extent, or 140 miles if the contours of the outcrops be followed.

The Future of the Mining Industry

In the western section the conglomerate may be followed for 90 miles as far as Klerksdorp, when the formation swerves back to the Vaal River. So far back as 1890 gold-bearing reefs on the banks of the Vaal River were known, and identified by experts as the south-western rim of the Witwatersrand basin ; but lack of railway facilities and cheap coal then precluded their profitable working. This district is now surrounded by railways, and the circumstances are so improved that the possibility of creating a new Rand in the locality is regarded as feasible by both experts and capitalists, as, albeit only low-grade ore has as yet been met with, this is properly held to be hardly a fair index of what lies below, for experience in the Central Rand has shown that the reefs often improve lower down. The recently reported "new discoveries" of reefs actually refer to this particular district.

The prospect before these outlying areas of the Rand is further authoritatively confirmed by a recent report of the Commissioner of Mines, in which he observes : " While the expansion of the Witwatersrand is certain, the future of mining in the outlying districts will largely depend upon the introduction of a mining law which will give greater facilities and hold out greater rewards to the individual prospector and small capitalist." This observation is true regarding many other mining fields in the Transvaal besides that of the Greater Rand.

Although in speaking of gold-mining in the Transvaal the Witwatersrand is usually meant, it must not be lost sight of that the Transvaal possesses other gold-fields of great potentialities and of older date. The De Kaap fields in the Barberton district were the object of attention before those of the Witwatersrand were discovered, and at one time bulked hugely in the public eye. Unknown reserves, both of alluvial and quartz gold, exist, those reefs of the latter which have been worked yielding in many cases a much higher ratio of gold to the ton than do the famed banket beds of the Witwatersrand. The Sheba mine in this district, a case in point, is one of the most remarkable gold mines in the world, nearly 90 feet of ore having been taken out of some stopes. The quartz reefs extend over a distance of 30 miles, mainly in the hilly districts, while the alluvium occurs in most of the river valleys. The development of the district in the past has been hampered by a number of remediable causes, chief among which are unscientific working, monopolist concessions, excessive railway and customs burdens, and general governmental neglect. With the removal of these, gold-mining here is believed by experts to offer prospects not inferior, perhaps, to those of the Rand. The recent Government proclamation throwing open the district to pegging, with the contemplated modifications in

South Africa and its Future

the Gold Law favouring prospectors, are earnest that this splendid mineral reserve will at last have that justice done to it which is its due. Next in importance to the De Kaap gold-fields come those of the Lydenburg district. The gold exists here in a similar quartz reef formation, with, also, unusually rich alluvial tracts ; but not one-tenth of its resources are known, although since the start of the workings an output valued at £2,000,000 sterling has been achieved. A number of paying companies are at work, but the drawbacks under which the development of these fields labour are very much those which prevail on the Barberton fields. The northern gold-beds, including the Zoutpansberg, Klein Letaba, Murchison, Selati, &c., are likewise of the quartz formation, and they have been worked to a limited extent over a longer period than either of the two preceding fields. The Murchison gold-belt is particularly noticeable among these fields. The principal or southern reef, 18 inches in thickness, is said to extend for 18 miles, and to be workable down to 1000 feet, and to contain a gold contents of £25,000,000 sterling. The northern reef is estimated to be capable of producing £20,000,000 of gold. Development waits, in all these auriferous regions, primarily on the provision of railway facilities to get up machinery and mining requisites ; and the extension of the Pietersburg line, which has been promised, or the completion of the long-projected Selati railway from where it left off, would be as the breath of life to the mining industry here. Two other promising mining fields, generally separately grouped but really a portion of the De Kaap system, are the Komati or Steynsdorp and the Swazieland gold-fields. The former exists on the Swazieland border, not far from Barberton, and is rightly regarded as merely an outlier of the mineral formations of that district. The numerous reefs have, however, only yielded as yet low-grade and refractory ores. The Swazieland fields have only been prospected in the north-west of that territory, but the results have shown that a considerable body of ore exists. Its gold output in 1898 totalled 8256 oz. Minor fields are those of Malmani, on the western border near Mafeking, the Pretoria quartz reefs, and the banket beds of Vryheid (the last now incorporated into Natal). The prospects of all these fields are very large, and their requirements are alike. Conditions tending to lessen the cost of working, and facilities to induce the advent of the prospector and to justify the investment of capital, will reverse in their cases the dubious records of the past, while adding immensely to the wealth of the Transvaal's gold production resources.

The sum of the foregoing observations is that the future of the Transvaal mining industry presents a vista of incalculable prosperity. In the restricted area of the Central Rand alone there is a treasure



PRITCHARD STREET, JOHANNESBURG

Photo by Horace W. Nicholls, Johannesburg

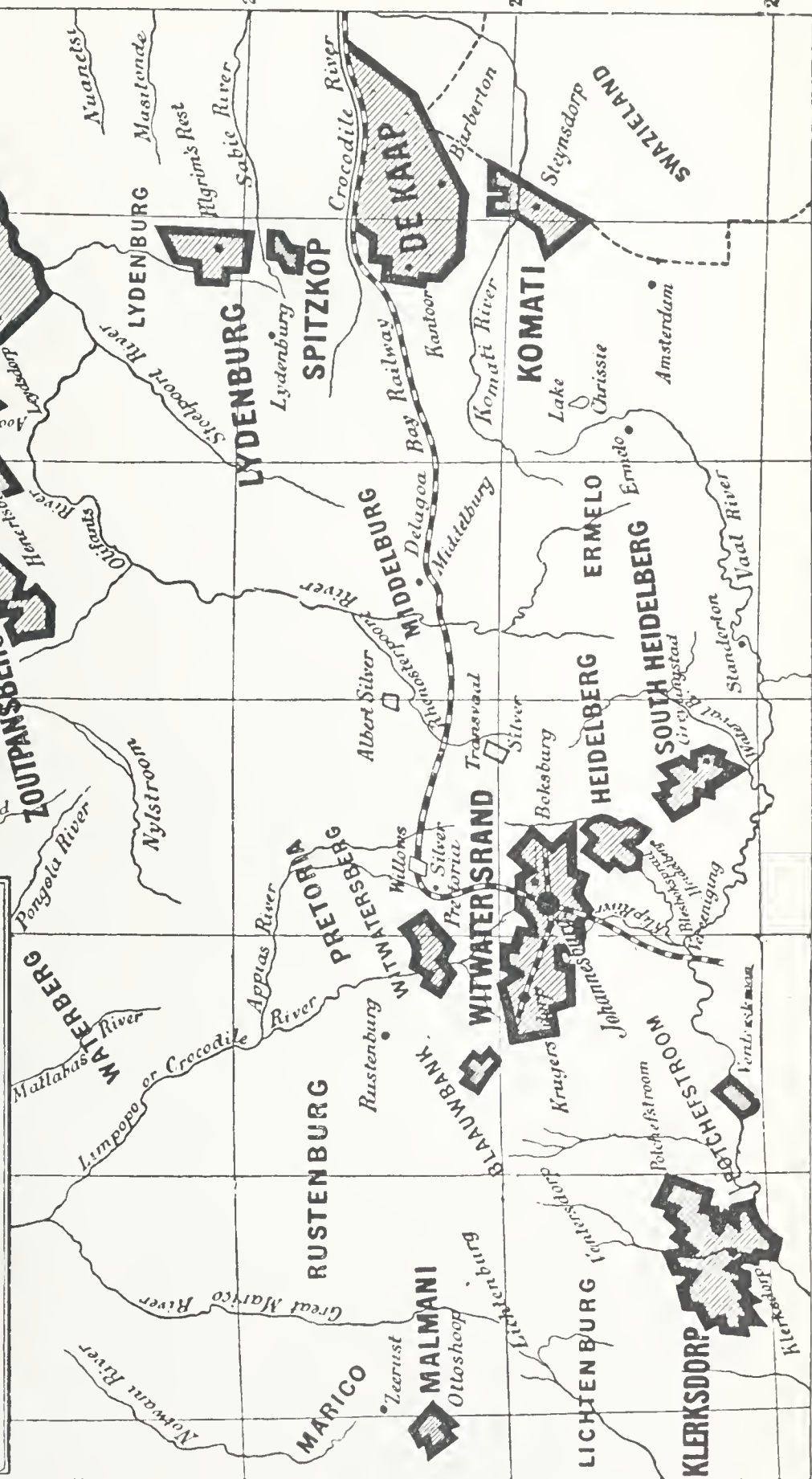
MAP

OF THE TRANSVAAL GOLD FIELDS.

THE VARIOUS FIELDS ARE ENCLOSED
IN BORDER THUS



English Statute Miles.

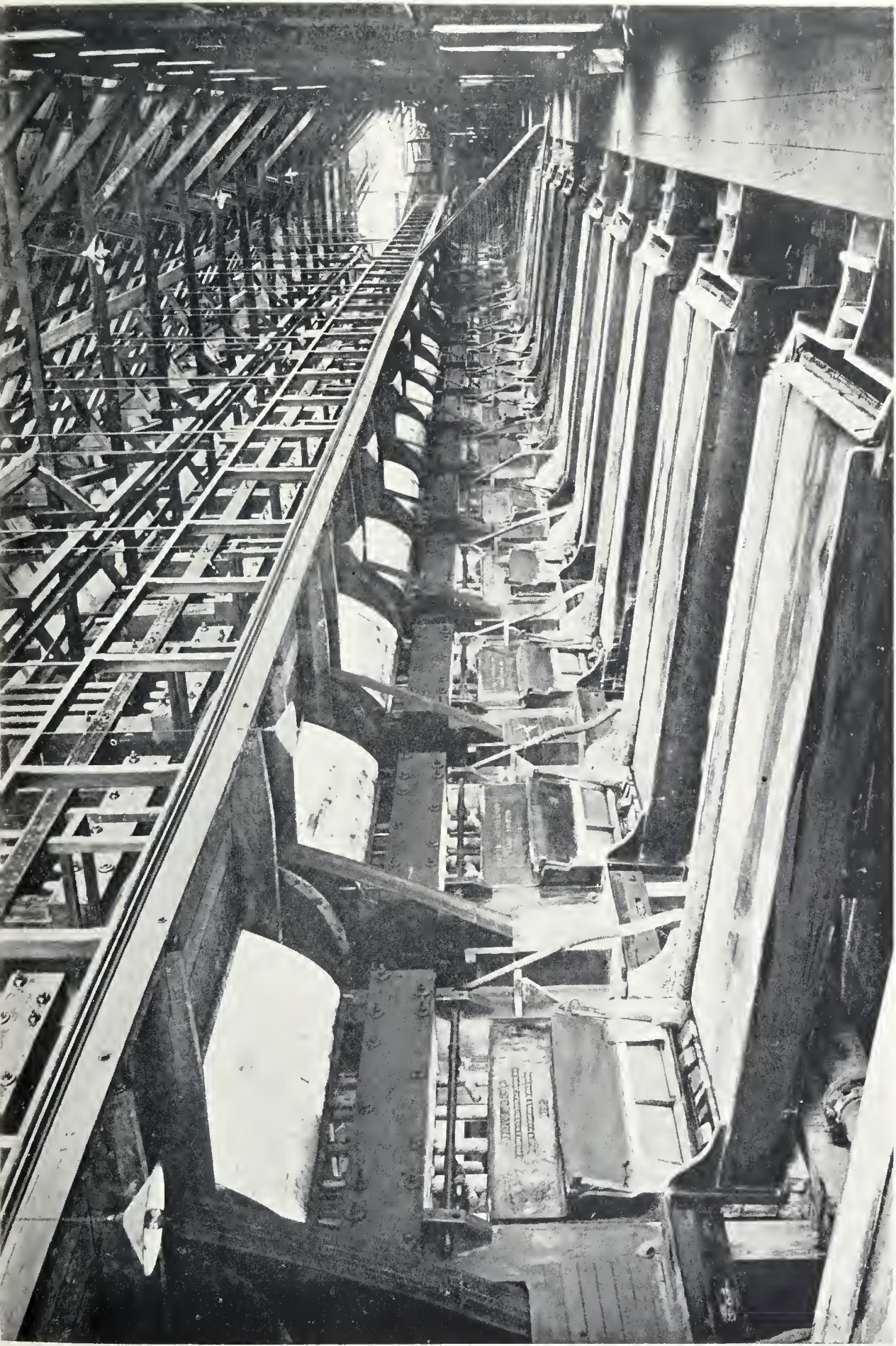


South Africa and its Future

of at least £2,871,000,000 awaiting appropriation ; and, beyond this huge sum, there are reserves in the Greater Rand which, reckoned on the basis of mileage alone, would sixfold this amount. Moreover, as the confines of the Rand reef formation have not yet been determined, should they be found to stretch into Natal and Zululand on the one hand, or into Rhodesia on the other, as recent discoveries would seem to indicate, the productive possibilities of the future are enlarged proportionately. Apart from its banket reefs the Transvaal likewise possesses huge gold reserves in its quartz reef fields in the De Kaap, Lydenburg, Zoutpansberg, and other districts to the south-east, east, and north, not to speak of the already opened and promising grounds on the extreme west, which await development when the Rand conglomerate beds are exhausted, if they do not—as in all probability they will—receive attention beforehand. The value of these resources is attested by the best of all evidence—that of actual productive yield in the past. In the matter of circumstances, means, and paying results from mining, it has been shown, and it is incontestible, that the industry now stands, in every particular, upon a much more advantageous basis than it ever enjoyed. As regards processes and mechanical appliances, the new era opens with the substantial asset in hand represented by the accumulated skill and knowledge of past painful and costly experience and experiment, so that new mines making a start may lay down their equipments with the greatest practical certainty and economy and assurance of successful results, even on low-grade properties previously deemed unremunerative. In respect of external circumstances, the conditions are already so improved, or in course of improvement, that working costs have been—and will be more so in the future, when all the beneficent proposals contemplated by the Government, and the local advantages resulting from the new order of things have had time to come into operation—lessened to the extent of yielding substantial accretions to the dividends of the already paying mines, while facilitating the development of the deeper mines, and the multitude of minor low-grade concerns hitherto incapable of profitable working. Estimates have been adventured in the earlier part of this chapter of the amount of the saving of working costs to the extent of 10s. per ton, but this is a pure approximation, and the actual outcome is likely to be twofold or more. Similarly the yield of gold per year from the Rand central district of 37 to 40 millions is only a rough estimate, the production in the future, as in the past, being likely to be much above the forecasts, taking into view the beneficent circumstances which will henceforth rule, the full appraisalment of which is at present impossible.

South Africa and its Future

Altogether, therefore, the outlook is one of undimmed brightness, for the misgivings entertained in some quarters regarding new taxation burdens to be imposed, calculated to hamper or hinder the progress of the industry, must be allowed to have no shadow of substance. The pronouncements of the Government hitherto, and the recommendations of their Transvaal adviser, are clear on this head. Taxation will naturally have to be borne, and the tax on profits was accepted in principle by the mining industry before the war. Its incidence, whatever be the amount, will only reduce to a fractional extent that portion of the yield set apart for dividends, which will bear the burden, whatever it be, with the greater ease in view of the accretion of dividends rendered possible by the new conditions. There are, indeed, grounds for assuming that a part of the agitation on foot is lacking in singleness of aim, and engineered by persons who have some secondary object to gain. The rank and file of the mining industry, as well as the best sense of the Anglo-Saxon community, has, however, confidence in the Government that it will do nothing harmful to the best interests of the new Colonies in general, and its staple industry in particular, and, moreover, will be true to the English principle of inviting the taxed to its councils. It is in this particular light that the visit of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to South Africa has such special interest at this juncture.



MILL (OR BATTERY) OF A GOLD MINE (SALISBURY AND JUBILEE, JOHANNESBURG)

The powdered ore is washed down over the plates. The deafening roar from the stamps sounds in quiet evenings, from a distance, like the roar of the sea on a rocky coast.

Photo by Barnett & Co., Johannesburg

THE AGRICULTURAL OUTLOOK

By LOUIS CRESWICKE

ALMOST the last message of that prophetic statesman Rhodes was characteristic: "Support Milner through thick and thin," he curtly and emphatically said. It is therefore Lord Milner's opinion of the future settlement of the country which should not merely be read, but marked and learnt and inwardly digested, by all who are anxious for the development of British interests in the new Colonies, and who shrink from a recurrence of the horrible scenes of the past, which owed their origin mainly to long years of vacillation on the part of Governments that "swallowed up" the Boers at one moment only to disgorge them the next. "Lord Milner, as Mr. Chamberlain has put it, "is the most effective instrument in our possession." To his subtle yet gigantic brain, to his detailed yet comprehensive labours, we are indebted for a plan out of the chaos, a practical plan by which Briton and Boer may be efficiently planted side by side on the soil for the agricultural and political well-being of the newly-acquired Colonies.

It must be remembered that the agricultural resources of the conquered territory have hitherto been inadequately developed. As it was half a century ago, so it remains to-day—a pastoral country importing its cereals, its dairy produce, and even its hay from foreign parts. The motto of the Boer has never been "Forward," nor has industry been his strong point. The happy farmstead of five thousand acres which served to keep his ancestor, served also to keep him comfortably till the date of the war. Progress lay not with him but with the British settlers in the region of the Rand, or with the crafty Hollanders who pulled the wires of the misguided autocrat whose ambitious aim was to "stagger humanity."

The sole appreciable advance came from Great Britain. While mining hummed apace, agriculture crept laboriously; the country, teeming with promise, remained in parts entirely barren, in others overrun by the uncombated yellow tulip or the incango, both weeds deadly to the soil.

The veldt and the karroo, say the pessimists, offer no home for the Englishman. They moreover aver that only so long as the mines hold out will the settler remain in South Africa. But

South Africa and its Future

there are others, Lord Kitchener and Lord Milner among them, who see in the country the latent possibility of modern North America, or, at least, a great agricultural future which will endure long after the history of the mineral districts is a closed volume. The science of irrigation in its most modern development—"the foundation-stone on which can be built the permanent prosperity of South Africa"—is capable of transforming the profitless deserts into flowering gardens and fruitful orchards which in very few years will do more than pay their way. But to properly develop any scheme requiring eternal vigilance, industry, and foresight, it is necessary that a goodly sprinkling of the enterprising British



WELLWOOD FARM IN GRAAFF REINET DISTRICT
(Mixed grass and karroo veldt)

population shall be dispersed all over the land, so that not in the towns alone will the characteristics of the dominant race be maintained.

Some one has said South Africa must irrigate or perish. This may be a truism; but it is also very certain that South Africa, while irrigating, must offer homes to a leavening mass of sound and desirable British settlers before the irrigation schemes under discussion can effect the agricultural transformation which, in British hands, might speedily come to pass. The nature of this settlement and the expedition of it, from an economic, social, and political point of view, is declared by Lord Milner to be of supreme importance. A new and progressive farming population must rein-

The Agricultural Outlook

force the old ; for, it is most essential " that the old condition of things shall not be reproduced, in which the race division coincided almost completely with a division of interests, the whole country population being virtually Boer, while the bulk of the industrial and commercial population was British." The three great essentials of any successful scheme, according to Lord Milner's showing, are these : it must have magnitude, it must deal with land of good quality, it must attract settlers of the right kind. In the matter of magnitude there are many and intricate questions to be discussed. Land settlement must be undertaken on a large scale else it will be politically unimportant, the Boer States will remain Boer States in all but name, and any money advanced by the British speculator will be like the talent hidden in a napkin—just a talent and nothing more, till the end of the chapter ! The Government must assert its paternity ; it must control, it must assist. On all sides simultaneous effort must be made to march in time with the progressive note that, once struck, must be continuously and consistently re-echoed throughout the length and breadth of the new Colonies. The best quality of land must invite the best quality of settler, though regulations must be sufficiently elastic to meet the wants of the settler with capital, and also those of the settler with little more than practical experience. They must vary, too, with the varying character of the farms. The reason for this necessity has concisely been explained by Lord Milner : " Take only the broad distinction between dry and irrigated farms, familiar to every South African. Evidently a much larger area is required in the former than in the latter, while the experience needed by the farmer would vary greatly in the two cases. In the former he would be mainly employed in stock-raising, while in the latter in the cultivation of cereals ; and in favourable neighbourhoods market gardening would be the most profitable industry. Australian ranchers seem peculiarly suited to the high veldt, while the corn lands of the ' Conquered Territory ' could have no better occupants than young progressive farmers from the Scottish lowlands. And there are intermediate types of farms suited to settlers of the most varied experience and resources."

A rough draft of the terms on which the Orange River Colony Government proposed to offer Government land to British settlers affords an insight into the big projects that are afoot. The draft was submitted to the British Government about the middle of 1902 in order that sanction might be given to the principle of the conditions set forth. Here—abbreviated—are the conditions of lease :—

" The settler shall pay the annual rent due by him to the Government in half-yearly instalments, the first of which shall be due six

South Africa and its Future

months after his taking possession. The settler holding under a lease shall have the right, with the approval of the Government, at any time after the completion of his first year's tenancy, to enter upon the system of purchase by instalments, by giving three months' notice to the Government of his intention to do so before the date when his next half-yearly instalment falls due. In that case his leasehold tenure shall be held to cease from the date of the payment of such instalment, and he shall be entitled to acquire the land on the same terms as a settler taking it on the purchase system, save and except that he shall not have a year's grace before beginning to purchase by instalments, but that the first of his sixty half-yearly instalments shall become due six months after the date of his last payment under the lease. Every lease shall be for five years, but shall be renewable at the option of the settler for a further period of five or ten years."

The grounds on which the Government may cancel the lease shall be the following:—

'Failure to pay in full any half-yearly instalment of rent, or any sum due in respect of advances within three months of its becoming due.

"Neglect to cultivate the land in a proper and husbandlike manner to the satisfaction of the Government, or to apply any money advanced by the Government for the purpose specified.

"Conviction for any criminal offence punishable by death or by imprisonment without option of a fine."

The Government will be prepared to make advances to the settler for such permanent improvements as the Government may approve, such as drainage, fencing, farm buildings, tree-planting, the sinking of wells, making of roads, reclamation of waste land, or any other work calculated to permanently enhance the value of the land, provided—

"That the sum of such advances shall not at any time exceed the capital which the settler has himself expended, or can satisfy the Government that he is prepared to expend, in connection with the cultivation of the land.

"That the total outstanding amount at any one time shall not exceed five times the rent of the land."

All advances made by the Government in accordance with the foregoing section shall be repaid by the settler with interest at £5 per centum within ten years by twenty equal half-yearly instalments.

The Agricultural Outlook

Among the conditions of purchase it is stated :—

“The settler shall acquire the freehold of the land by paying to the Government for the period of thirty years an annual sum amounting to £5, 15s. per centum of the purchase price. This annual sum shall be paid in two half-yearly instalments of £2, 17s. 6d. per centum of such price. . . . If the settler affix to his holding any engine, machinery, or any other fixture, or erect a building which he is not authorised by the Government to affix or erect, the said fixture or building shall be the property of the settler and removable by him within a reasonable time after the cancellation of his contract, provided that he first discharges all debts due by him to the Government, and that after the removals he makes good any unavoidable damage thereby occasioned. The settler must give one month's notice of his intention to remove such fixture or building, and on receipt of such notice the Government may elect to purchase such fixtures or building after a valuation as provided for.”

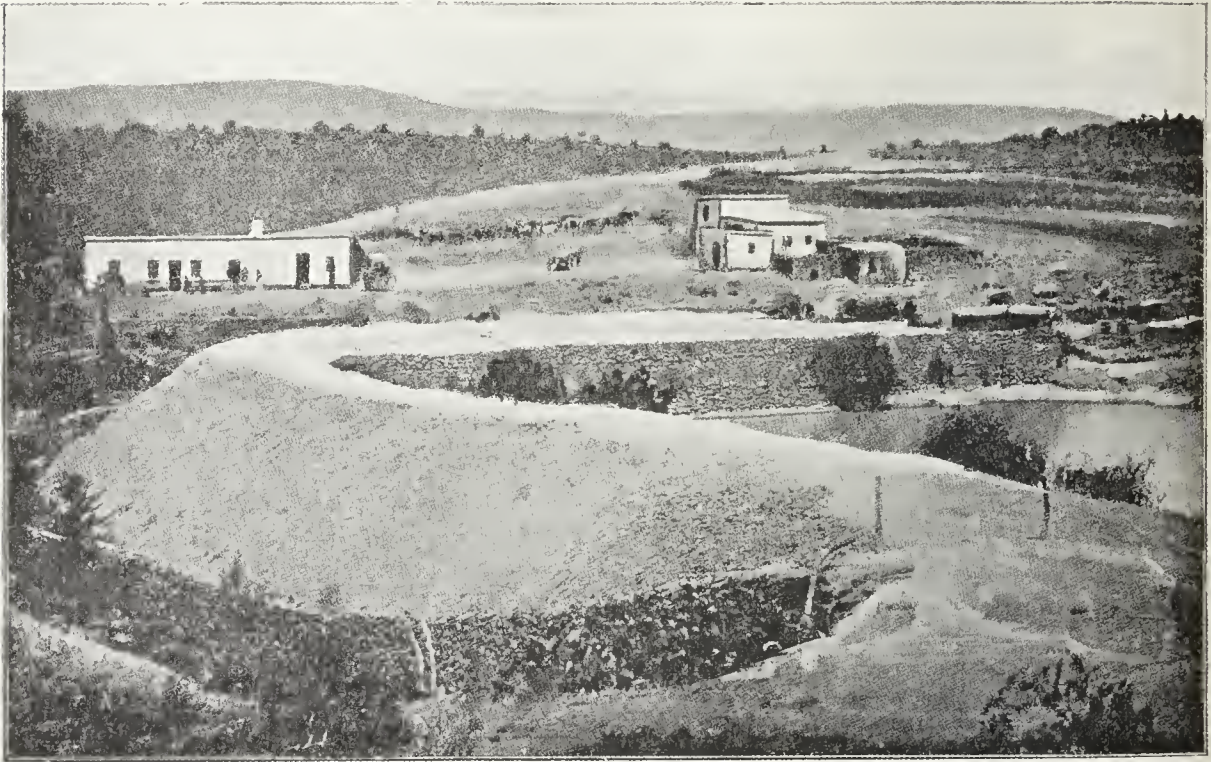
During the currency of the contract of purchase the settler will not be liable to pay any quit-rent or land-tax, or to make any other payment to the Government than those provided for by the contract. But from the time of the land becoming the freehold of the settler under any of the provisions it shall be subject to any quit-rent or land-tax payable to the Government, to which any other freehold land may from time to time be subject, according to the laws of the Orange River Colony. The settler shall be liable, both before and after the acquisition of the freehold, to pay any rates which may be lawfully levied on the land for local purposes, but such rates shall not, during the period of thirty and a half years from the date of the settler's taking possession under the contract of purchase, exceed 1d. per £1 per annum of the purchase price of the land.

In reply to the Colonial Secretary's telegram stating his belief that the settlement of farmers from England would not be successful unless the farms were close together, Lord Milner answered: “I quite agree that farmers from home should not be isolated. But we want farms of various characters. Dry farms, as you suppose, are much in demand by Australians. I have a number of excellent applicants of this class, and could to-morrow dispose of twice as many dry farms as we possess in healthy parts of the Transvaal to selected Australasians who have served in war and have agricultural experience and some capital. Generally speaking, I do not think it desirable to encourage agricultural settlers from home. It would be better to give the first chance to the men on the spot, whether oversea colonists or yeomen. This would not permanently exclude men from home, as a long time must elapse before we can

South Africa and its Future

deal with some of the land we have, and I hope to go on acquiring more. But land immediately available should be offered to those already here who cannot afford to wait."

Everything mainly depends on the size of the settlement scheme. To be of use it must be rapidly pushed forward with all the vigour that the Government can bring to bear on the subject. The ball, once effectively set rolling, would then move by the force of its own impetus. First some three or four thousand settlers on land acquired by Government would set the example, and quickly, round them would flock private persons from the oversea Colonies or



A FARM IN THE KARROO PROPER

(A typical stone-faced earth bank of a water dam in foreground)

Great Britain who, discovering that the Government meant business, would follow suit, acquire land, and settle down in British constellations, so that the sharp social and political division between town and country would cease to exist and the past state of agricultural stagnation could never return. Thus, much would be done "to consolidate South African sentiment in the general interests of the Empire."

In regard to the quality of the land, a very small quantity of the land available in the Transvaal is suited to British settlers, and but little, though excellent, Government land is to be obtained in the Orange River Colony. In both Colonies most of the land is privately owned. Much of this land may come into the market, and

The Agricultural Outlook

many farmers may be found willing to part with a portion of their property in order to obtain capital for the restocking of the other portion. But, thinks Lord Milner, unless the Government is armed with a general power of expropriation—not necessarily for use save in emergency—it will be impossible to get sufficient land, or even to make the best use of the land we already have or may hereafter acquire by voluntary purchase. For, knowing his Boer through and through, he rightly assumes that one or two recalcitrant owners might prevent an irrigation scheme for a whole district, or otherwise obstruct the distribution of a given area into farms suitable for settlers. But, far from wishing to dispossess the Boer farmer and create a class of landless and discontented men, Lord Milner expresses his belief that it is our duty and interest to preserve the Boer as a farmer though not as a large negligent landowner. Unless land is purchased and British settlers are speedily installed, an opportunity will be lost which will never recur, and neglect of the present may endanger the future peace and prosperity of South Africa. In fact, the key to the situation, the key to the gate which will let in a steady influx of agricultural immigrants, is made up of two things—powers of expropriation and money.

There are naturally many quibblers belonging to the “Foreigners’ friend and Britons’ foe” party who look askance at these proposals, and, indeed, at any proposals which might endow colonisation with what they call a political, but which should properly be termed an Imperial, trend. The idea of outnumbering the Dutch inhabitants seems to them preposterous—even vindictive. They would prefer the British Government and the British taxpayers, in matters connected with their own policy and their own expenditure, to be out-voiced by the inhabitants of the territory they have spent blood and treasure to conquer. But to discuss the arguments of these quibblers would be sheer waste of time and of space. Obstructions ever have their value. As the impediment in the shell of the oyster brings about the growth of the pearl, so the obstruction in the bivalve of politics has brought forth the jewel of Imperial solidarity.

But it may as well be mentioned that the expropriation suggestion which also excites the ire of Radicals, is by no means an invention solely directed against the Boers in the conquered States. The precedent is to be found in the legislation of New Zealand. The Land for Settlements Act, 1894, enables the Government of that Colony, if no private agreement can be arrived at, to take land compulsorily for settlement, subject to a price fixed by valuation and a certain compensation.

As regards settlers—the third great essential of Lord Milner’s scheme—the future looks rosy enough. There are many who served

South Africa and its Future

in the war and have a right to preference, who are eager to live on the land and farm it, and who do not seek to acquire it merely as a speculation or a makeshift. Hundreds of hale and hearty fellows, men of experience and resource, men who have the pluck to succeed, and men who have the courage to challenge failure, have already offered themselves and wait patiently till their turn may arrive. Were the land forthcoming, it would not be exaggeration to say that some 10,000 and more of our fellow-countrymen would be cultivating it within the twelvemonth.

NATAL

The progressive mood of Natal should afford sufficient encouragement to even the most wary speculators. Here, for the purpose of attracting tenant farmers, the plan is to form agricultural settlements resembling the close colonies of New Zealand, the settlements to be planted on areas irrigated by Government works. According to Sir Albert Hime, irrigation here intensifies cultivation tenfold, and so enables a farmer to get his living off one-tenth of the amount of land that would otherwise be required, and furthermore assures his crop. Owing to the broken nature of the country, the irrigable areas are small in size and suited mainly for supporting settlements of small cultivators. Such settlements, wherever started, however, have proved unmistakably prosperous, and it only remains for the Natal Government to introduce its scheme of close settlements to the notice of the right form of emigrant in order to render the "Garden Colony" eternally rich in green things upon the earth. At present sugar-planting, thanks to the system of central mills, is in a flourishing state. The same may be said of tea-planting, which owes much to the continuous efforts of Sir J. L. Hulett, whose "gardens" are the most important in Natal.

The demand for the wattle bark is on the increase. This tree (*Acacia Mollissima*), originally brought from Australia, soon became acclimatised in Natal, where there are now 50,000 acres of wattle plantation. The wattle bark is exported to England, while the tree—stripped of its bark—serves for poles which are much in demand in the Rand mines. It is said that land for wattle-growing may be purchased at from eighteen to twenty-five shillings an acre, the cost of ploughing and planting may be estimated at from thirty-two to fifteen shillings an acre. It takes some six years before cutting down can be begun, but then, the probable net profits would be nearly half the gross returns.

With the development of the Rand the demand for timber will increase by leaps and bounds, and the market for wattle bark as



A KAFFIR VILLAGE.

After Photo by Horace W. Nicholls, Johannesburg.

The Agricultural Outlook

a tanning material will advance proportionately. As an instance of the increase in the demand for bark, it may be stated that the exports were valued at £69,850 in 1901 as against £30,929 in 1898.

Elsewhere, expansion and development will be the direct result of irrigation. To those interested in South Africa, the future, whether prospectively considered or practically discussed, must hinge on the water-supply and the cunning practice of water-storage.

Mr. Willcocks (now Sir William Willcocks) of the Egyptian Irrigation Department, one of the most experienced men, indeed one of the greatest experts in irrigation in the world, when asked to contribute to this volume, said "it would indeed afford him much pleasure to co-operate," but, owing to the great pressure of affairs, he could not do credit to any other work he might undertake. But his report on South Africa is so admirable an exposition of the possibilities of the country, seen from the then standpoint, that merely to quote some of its most salient features were preferable to inviting the opinion of a lesser authority.

Plainly, the expert tells us that, with the exception of the south-west corner of the Cape Colony, the "conquered territory" of the Orange River Colony, and the high veldt of the Transvaal, the agricultural development of the whole country depends on irrigation. The high-lying plateau of South Africa has by its situation a rainfall suited to tropical countries, and, owing to its altitude, a climate which belongs to a temperate zone. The autumn rains of February and March, which are monsoon rains, would in a country like India be of infinite value; but followed, as they are in South Africa, by a severe and biting winter, they are of little value for agricultural purposes. The long winter and spring drought, and the uncertain summer rains, absolutely prohibit agriculture of any advanced kind. In certain favoured tracts—such as a fifth of Cape Colony, half the Orange River Colony, and two-thirds of the Transvaal—Indian corn, potatoes, roots generally, and pumpkins for feeding stock in winter, can be grown with the aid of the rainfall, and matured in all but years of heavy drought. By means of crop rotations, suitable manures, and good tillage, agricultural development of no mean value could be accomplished within a decade, especially if taken in conjunction with stock-breeding, the principal industry of the country. But, in other parts of the colonies, water comes when it is of no value, and is absent when it would be worth untold gold. To avoid this inconvenience, Mr. Willcocks says, we have only to imitate nature and impound on the surface of the ground the same water which she stores in caverns and fissures; and for instance of what even inferior water may do with the rich soil of South

South Africa and its Future

Africa, he gives the Kenilworth Oasis (within a few miles of Kimberley), which is irrigated by the refuse water of the diamond mines.

Generally speaking, the annual rainfall is sufficient to allow of the storage of water on a very large scale. Cape Colony with the aid of its rainfall, together with the Orange River, should be able to ensure the perennial irrigation of 1,000,000 acres, the Orange River Colony of 750,000 acres, and the Transvaal of 500,000 acres in the high-lying regions and 1,000,000 in the low tracts, which tracts Mr. Willcocks recommends should be thrown open to our fellow British-Indian subjects.

Seeing that agriculture without irrigation is generally impossible throughout the new colonies, it must be admitted that the secret of



VERMONT MERINO EWES

their development lies first and foremost in the ingenious storage of water. The rainfall is like the traditional Offenbachian policemen, "when wanted, never there," and when it is not wanted it is invariably present. Therefore it is necessary for the Government to proclaim the countries themselves as arid or semi-arid, and legislate accordingly. Italian irrigation laws may be taken as a model for all arid and semi-arid countries in the possession of Europeans. The Government of Cavour decreed the rivers and torrents as public property, and, as such, the property of the Government representing the people. Ancient and vague irrigation rights standing in the way of legislation were promptly disposed of, and the Government set itself to legislate for future concessions, to which wise and strong measure modern Italy owes much of its prosperity.

The Agricultural Outlook

It is decided that all important irrigation works should be carried forth by the State, and not, as in America, by individuals or concessionaire companies, for experience shows that private enterprise has often disastrous results, because of the difficulty in realising immediate returns from the investment. The slow and sure methods of a Government in the control of the works—their construction, ownership, and administration—is the only successful method. Such works, well conceived and well executed, bring in a direct benefit to the State if allowed to develop on slow and natural lines; they also bring in indirect benefits which a State reaps from increase of wealth of every kind.

With the increased demand for agricultural labour, caused by the development of the country, the poor white problem will be solved. The sole kind of manual labour which appeals to the poor white is agricultural labour, since he cannot work in competition with black labour.

Mr. Willcocks considers that, in order to save the country from dropping from the height of prosperity to poverty, part of the profits of the mines should be invested in irrigation works for the permanent development of the country. "The mineral wealth of the Transvaal is extraordinarily great, but it is exhaustible, some say in within the space of fifty, others within the space of a hundred, years. It would be a disaster, indeed, for the country, if none of this wealth were devoted to the development of its agriculture. Agricultural development is slow, but it is permanent and knows of no exhaustion." After recommending the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures—which is superior to all other systems—he takes the sections of the three colonies and describes them in detail. The technicalities of irrigation must be studied separately, but the characteristics of the country are interesting to all.

THE SOUTH-WESTERN CORNER OF THE CAPE COLONY

The abundant winter rains render this, one of the wheat districts of the Colony, independent of irrigation in winter. The farms, in size about 2000 acres, appear too large to be profitably worked by poor farmers. Ploughing is done perfunctorily, and no rotation of leguminous crops with serials is attempted, because it is believed that there is no market in Cape Town for beans and other legumins. Mr. Willcocks suggests as a remedy the construction of an agricultural railway through this district, so that the disposal of fodder would be simplified. He also proposes the exchange of seeds between Egypt, which is rich in legumins, and the Colony,

South Africa and its Future

which is rich in fodders capable of existing in conditions of extreme drought. He thinks the luscious emerald burseem (Egyptian clover), grown in rotation with wheat, might stock the soil with nitrogen and possibly destroy the rust in wheat which is universally complained of. Indeed he declares that legumins might be grown with cereals all over the Colony with great benefit to agriculture. Lentils are a wholesome and sustaining fare, and beans form the principal food of donkeys and poultry in Egypt. In India horses, sheep, and cattle, Mr. Willcocks says, are fed on "gram," another lentil; and the present writer can testify to more than that, for not only do the horses fatten, but so also do the families of the native "syces" employed to take care of them! This proves that gram, if properly used, is as nourishing for the biped as for the quadruped world. But the art of using the lentil is not generally known. The lentil worked into a purée, and diluted and warmed with curry gravy, makes one of the finest adjuncts to the breakfast-table imaginable. Served hot in a sauce tureen it can be eaten with fish, hard-boiled eggs, biscuits, or any other light food which may be at hand. This sauce supplies the stamina and flavour of a meal.

To return. The Wynberg district is famed for its vineyards, which, lately, have suffered through phylloxera. Much of the grape-juice is converted into the brandy that works such havoc with the natives. Mr. Willcocks proposes as an alternative the introduction of the resinous firs common in Greece for the purpose of converting the grapes into the light wines which are manufactured by the Greek farmers; but it is to be feared that the native palate, tutored to the smack of more fiery fluid, will not approve the delicate flavour of the resinato wines.

In regard to the Breede River Valley, expensive river and canal works will be needed to properly irrigate the district, but these will repay the expenditure. In the Touws River Valley, in years of ordinary winter rain, good wheat crops can be grown on the alluvium of the river, which crops might be made permanent by the construction of fifteen-feet high weirs at suitable sites, and the leading off of small canals from the up-stream sides.

In the karoo veldt, in the Prince Albert district, the light rainfall, together with the violent slope of the country, renders numerous irrigation schemes impossible. But the karoo bushes need and are worth development, otherwise they will in time be exterminated. Our authority gives in detail a scheme by which this development may be accomplished, and declares that if the right method of preservation were adopted, it would probably be possible to feed three sheep where one can be fed to-day.

The Oudtshoorn district is the garden of the Cape Colony. It



TEA FARM, SHOWING COOLIES PICKING

Reproduced by permission from the Natal Government Collection

The Agricultural Outlook

enjoys a splendid climate and water-supply. The speciality of the Oudtshoorn Valley is ostrich farming. The birds in thousands feed in the lucerne fields on the banks of the Oliphants River. Crops of tobacco and potatoes, orange groves, vineyards and orchards are everywhere to be seen. There are still some 70,000 acres of land in the valley capable of development by irrigation if water could be found for them—and here many schemes are possible. “Unirrigated land in the valley, on which there falls annually from seven to ten inches of rain, is worth scarcely £1 an acre; while the same land, when irrigated, is worth from £30 to £100 per acre.” It is impossible here to describe the practical remedies and improvement schemes suggested; the object of quotation is merely to give on authority, a concise outline of the rich vista that has been extended before us, and the perpetual prosperity that may be secured to the South African Continent if the Government should consent to adopt the measures suggested.

In the advanced farms stock are watered from tanks fed by sub-soil water raised by windmills. Wherever there are no permanent springs these mills, Mr. Willcocks thinks, might be made compulsory. He says: “I have seen stock drinking from shallow pools which contained mud rather than water, and in which dead sheep were festering. It might be possible to legislate that, if a reservoir is constructed, it must be fenced round and protected from entry by stock. The reservoir dam should be pierced by a pipe discharging into a trough, from which cattle should be given to drink.” This would protect the water from pollution and save the cattle from contracting rinderpest and spreading it all over the country.

The farms have a general area of some 12,000 acres each, with about twelve acres of cultivated land per farm. This means about one acre of arable land to a thousand acres of pastoral land. The cultivated area is divided thus—one acre of fruit or vegetable garden to about eleven acres under wheat, Indian corn, lucerne, and oat-hay. Here, the veldt will carry one sheep—these are principally merinos—or a goat, to four acres; or one ox to sixteen acres.¹

North of Britstown the pan and vale formation begins, a formation consisting of alternate ridges of rounded dolomite hills and flat depressions which are either vales or pans. Vales have outlets for the water which collects in them, pans usually have none. Some are natural reservoirs of great capacity. The pans, when not brack, are the natural reservoirs of the country. Mr. Willcocks has shown how both pans and vales may be dealt with to the best advantage,

¹ Interesting details regarding the important industry of wool-growing have been furnished by Mr. Allen Davison, Chief Inspector of Sheep for the Cape Colony. See the following Chapter.

South Africa and its Future

and how the direct storage of water and the indirect storage of it should be effected.

Still touring in the Cape Colony, he turned his attention to the Kat, Kabossi, Keishma, Klipparts, and other streams near the sea, which have a perennial discharge with a minimum of about 100 cubic feet per second, yet which are scarcely utilised. On this subject he reported: "The value of this water near the sea will never be appreciated till the idea is abandoned that cereals are the only crops worth growing and that manures are not necessary. The attempt to grow cereals year after year without manure and without rotation



PURE NEGRETTI MERINO RAM

of crops has made the wheat crops so liable to rust that agriculture is discounted everywhere near the sea. Wherever perennial water of any kind can be obtained in the important stock districts of the Eastern Provinces, lucerne, at least, might be planted to the utmost limits of the water."

Locusts are ubiquitous; but these in the footganger stage might be easily destroyed before they could develop into the pest they now are. Mr. Willcocks thus describes a mode of dealing with them: "At the foot of some low hills in the karoo bush I came across great numbers of the footgangers. They were jet black, and were very easily distinguished. Indeed it appeared as though some giant had just walked over the veldt and sprinkled it with great splashes of jet-black ink. If I had been a Kaffir, and had known

The Agricultural Outlook

that a reward would have been given for the location of locusts in this stage, it would have been a simple matter to have gone to the nearest magistrate and reported the appearance of the footgangers. A few men, with washing soap and water and sprays could have killed many millions in a few hours." He proposes that the States should combine and annually devote £20,000 to the extermination of these creatures before they take wing and become uncombatable. The idea is an excellent one ; but the method of carrying it into effect will need to be "slim" in its strictures, otherwise the remedy, in homeopathic fashion, may be productive of the disease! In India, for instance, where several annas are offered for every deadly snake destroyed, these pests are occasionally cherished and bred as a comfortable source of income. In the Deccan, a few years since, a nest of these reptiles was discovered near the writer's bungalow, and the farming process was explained by an Anglo-Indian friend. Every dead snake being worth three or four annas, it was to the interest of the enterprising native to rear as many as possible, so that when hard up he could slay one of his "stock" and receive the coveted reward!

The Aliwal North, Herschel, and New England districts lie between 4500 and 6000 feet above sea-level, and have a rainfall of some thirty inches per annum. A good Indian corn crop may be counted on every year, and wheat in five years out of six. Only a third of the cultivable area is put under cultivation, though the grasses are good and one acre can support a sheep. Agriculture is generally backward, rotations of crops and manuring being unknown. Turnips and swedes for winter feeding of stock have been raised with success.

BASUTOLAND

Basutoland has a better rainfall than any part of South Africa, except Natal and the south-western corner of Cape Colony. The maximum fall per annum, save in years of drought, may be put at thirty-five inches, the minimum at twenty-eight. It is nearly always sufficient to allow of wheat being sown between July and August, and reaped in December without irrigation. About one-third of cultivated land is devoted to wheat, a third to Indian corn, and a third to millets. These last are sown between the middle of September and the middle of November, and are reaped in April. No rotations of cereals with leguminous crops are practised ; no manure is used. Cultivation has been going on for thirty years, and the soil is by no means as productive as it was originally.

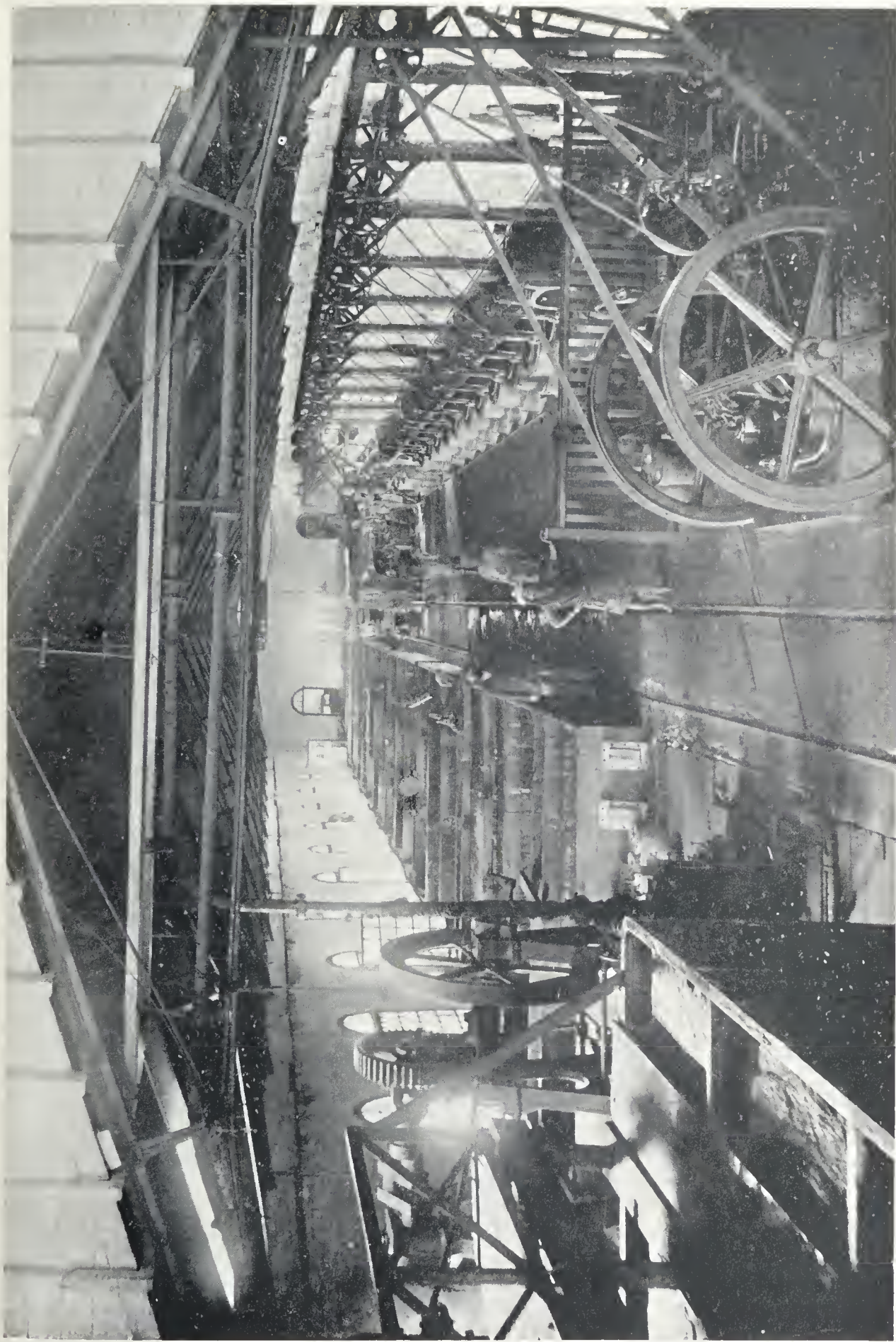
According to the authority of Mr. Willcocks, if suitable manures were employed and careful cultivation gone in for, this country with

South Africa and its Future

its friable soil should be eminently suitable for all root crops, such as potatoes, onions, and turnips, while beetroot would answer admirably in the valley of the Caledon River up-stream to Ladybrand, and in the main tributaries of the Caledon. The denudation of the country—owing to the numerous ravines which cut it up—is serious, and, if allowed to continue, it will mean incalculable loss. The scouring action of the water is aggravated by the fact that the Basuto villages are built on the tops of the hills. The steeps are constantly worn into tracks by the women-carriers of water from the springs, and these tracks become during the rain a series of rivulets which contribute further to the general denudation. To save the land from the fate of Palestine, which, in somewhat the same way, became denuded by hundreds of years of cultivation and intense habitation, an ingenious arrangement for planting willow and poplar cuttings in damp ravines, and wattles and aloes in the dry ones, has been described by Mr. Willcocks—a remedy which at the outset seems costly, but will finally become self-supporting. The young trees will be pollarded and produce fuel, which is badly needed in this at present extraordinarily treeless region; and it is even possible that if the ravines were filled with trees it might result in an increased rainfall during the critical months of August, September, and October.

Nothing in the way of irrigation can here be done without reservoirs, and these would pay nowhere but near the important centres. But more important than irrigation, and much less costly, would be a better system of cultivation, the introduction of leguminous crops and roots in rotation with cereals. Experimental ventures by means of model farms would soon prove what were the most suitable legumins and roots for the country, and the best manures. Once initiated, the intelligent Basutos would rapidly improve upon their limited experiences; but whether they would acquire a taste for a diet of pulses, on the cultivation of which the future development of the country depends, is another matter.

Patriotically, it seems reasonable to demand the education of the appetite of a people in accordance with the output of their native land. The young of a nation should be taught to acquire a taste for healthy home-grown fare, and the women-folk should be instructed in the art of manipulating it to the profit of the household. What is applicable in Basutoland is applicable all over South Africa. The urban population must assist agriculture or it cannot be made to pay. The produce of the farms must find a market at its elbow, so to say; for there can be no profits if enormous charges for rail have to be met and the farmers are thrust into competition with the American and European markets.



A SUGAR-MILL IN NATAL (CENTRIFUGAL ROOM)

Photo by Wilson, Aberdeen

The Agricultural Outlook

"THE CONQUERED TERRITORY"

The south-eastern corner of the Orange River Colony, in the region of Harrismith, Ficksburg, Ladybrand, and Wepener, is considered the best suited for European settlers. Springs are numerous. Wheat and Indian corn are the principal crops. The flour-mills on the Caledon can be worked for nine months yearly, and the land on both sides of it is full of promise to the agriculturist. Improvements in the form of weirs, &c., are suggested, by which one-fourth of the area would be insured in nine years out of ten. "It would be possible to put some 50,000 acres under lucerne; 12,000 acres, or, if necessary, the whole 24,000 acres under beetroot, for which soil, climate, and seasons are most favourable." Thus would be introduced an important sugar industry into the country.

In the north-eastern half of the Orange River Colony perennial irrigation would ensure as good crops, but at a greater expenditure of water. Here the value of perennially irrigated land to land depending on rainfall may be taken as £1 to one shilling in this district, on the high veldt of the Transvaal, and in the south-eastern corner of the Orange River Colony. In the south-western half of the Orange River Colony, it may be taken as £1 to sixpence; in the Eastern Karroo as £1 to threepence; and in the Western Karroo as £1 to a penny. In the north-eastern half of the Orange River Colony the good veldt may be taken as £1 per acre, and perennially irrigated land as £20 per acre.¹

After inquiry, observation, and comparison with other countries, Mr. Willcocks' estimate of the price which could be paid for perennial irrigation is as follows: In parts which lie below 1000 feet above sea-level, situated in the arid or semi-arid region, a water-rent of £2 per annum could be easily paid anywhere near a railway. In semi-arid regions, between 1000 and 2500 feet, a water-rent of £1, 10s. could be paid. Over 2500 feet in height, £1 per acre per annum could be paid. Near important centres the rent could be higher.

THE TRANSVAAL

The Transvaal, for agricultural purposes, may be divided into the

¹ The conditions of Vaal River irrigation differ entirely from those on the Orange River; but irrigation could be provided at an expenditure of about £10 per acre, and a water-rate of £1 per acre would pay all expenses and five per cent. capital. To avoid trouble and ill-feeling, it is suggested that the three colonies should settle their claims in the respective rivers by the Cape Colony accepting the waters of the Orange River as its property; while the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony divided the Vaal between themselves.

South Africa and its Future

dolomite region,¹ the high, low, and bush veldt, and the south-eastern tracts. The most important is the dolomite region, which, roughly speaking, covers the country within lines joining Vereeniging, Heidelberg, Bethel, Pretoria, Rustenburg, Zeerust, Lichtenburg, Klerksdorp, and the Vaal River from Klerksdorp to Vereeniging—an area of about 15,000 square miles. Johannesburg's rainfall—from twenty-eight inches per annum in the east to twenty-two inches in the west—is the best in the district. Though uncertain in September, October, and November, in January, February, and March rain can always be counted on. The country generally is capable of great agricultural develop-



ANGORA GOAT (YOUNG EWE)

ment, an area of some 350,000 acres being capable of perennial irrigation, in addition to the areas irrigated by the existing springs. In addition to the agricultural value of perennially irrigated land, there is the land which without the aid of irrigation can be so cultivated as to give excellent yields, for it is proved that well-manured and tilled crops need only half the rainfall that ill-manured and untilled crops require.

In the high veldt the rainfall, taken at twenty-one inches, occurs in

¹ The dolomite region consists of the high plateaux on which the rain falls, of the belt of dolomite in which the water is stored and out of which the springs have their birth, and of the sandstone and argillaceous rocks over which the water flows and where it is principally utilised. Owing to displacement, the older rocks lie highest, and the younger are less in altitude.

The Agricultural Outlook

January, February, and March. The veldt grass will support one sheep per acre. Mr. Willcocks thinks that in this region—it is enclosed by lines drawn from Vereeniging to Heidelberg, Pretoria, Belfast, Amsterdam, Vryheid, Volksrust, Standerton, and the line of the Vaal River—it would be more profitable to thoroughly develop the unirrigated crops than to go in for perennial irrigation. The higher the altitude in South Africa the less the value of perennial water, except under special conditions. Perennial irrigation should first be confined to centres such as Middelburg, Standerton, and other towns which, with this aid, would give handsome profits.

The annual trek from the high to the low veldt in winter might be dispensed with if sufficient winter food crops were grown with the aid of the rainfall, and the stock herded in winter in cattle and sheep folds sheltered by groves of blue gum or pine trees. The practice of trekking from high to low veldt in winter, is due to the fact that winter frosts kill the grass in the high veldt, and the farmers, in default of other food-stuffs for flocks, are forced to travel to the regions where frost is unknown. Naturally, the trekking results in 10,000 acres of veldt having to do the work of 5000. To double the value of their holdings in the high veldt, and save the trouble of the trek, the farmers need only to plant a few belts of sheltering trees, and cultivate roots and feeding stuff for flocks and herds.

The low veldt, being well supplied with water, could finally become a possession of great value. The climate being unsuited to Europeans, the place has remained undeveloped; but the land, if set apart, might be made self-supporting, indeed a source of appreciable revenue to the country, if British Indians and Kafirs were encouraged to produce rice, tropical plants, &c., which would in no way compete with the temperate and sub-tropical crops of the European farmers in the other regions. "If," says Mr. Willcocks, "Indians and Kafirs were confined to the tropical belts, and the Europeans to the temperate belts, we should not see the absurd spectacle which we see to-day of the best parts of the temperate zones being inhabited almost exclusively by Kafirs, while the Europeans with great jealousy are keeping the Indians and Kafirs out of the tropical belts."

No wholesale improvements in arid or semi-arid regions can be carried forward without land and water taxes, for individuals that are exempt might neglect to improve the land with impunity, and the State would be powerless to interfere to prevent whole regions lying waste and barren.

There is said to be scarcely a part of South Africa where agriculturists cannot afford to pay £1 per acre per annum for perennially irrigated land, and the system of irrigation as put before

South Africa and its Future

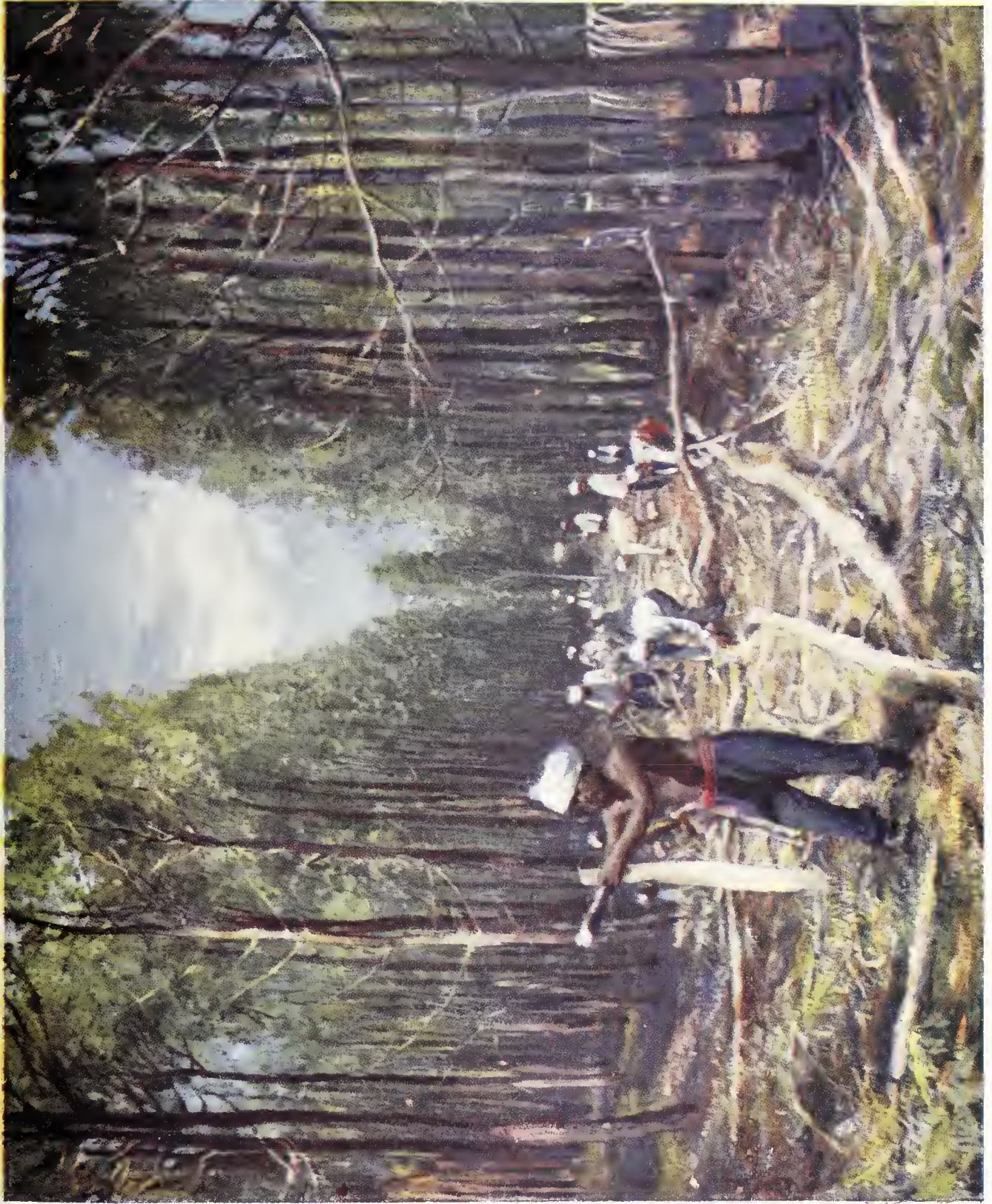
the Government shows that this uniform rate would enable extensive projects to be undertaken everywhere with profit.

Land tax is another question to be considered. Land in Orange River Colony may be considered as having a mean value of 15s. per acre. The suggested tax is 6d. per acre per annum. The effect of such tax would be to weed the country of useless land-owners, and replace them by industrious and progressive farming men. On a basis of 6d. per acre per annum, the Orange River Colony could pay £300,000 per annum.

In the Transvaal the dolomite region, the high veldt, and the south-eastern corner—taken as worth 10s. an acre, and taxed at 4d. per acre—would bring in annually some £350,000. As in the Orange Colony, irrigation works would add materially to the revenue. There would at first be protests from all quarters, but eventually this systematic taxation would prevent worthless landlords from accumulating property to the detriment of progressive practical men.

In order to protect and improve the position of the farmers, Mr. Willcocks recommends the formation of a Bureau of Agriculture after the pattern of the Agricultural Bureau at Washington. Its representatives collect information from far and near, and of every possible kind, sending to headquarters all manner of agricultural produce. Experimental farms are started in the various states, curious seeds are sown, and if any variety proves adaptable to any particular region, the farmers are promptly provided with seed corn, and thus assisted to keep at the head of the world in agricultural production. Such a bureau in South Africa would cause its agents to import legumins from Egypt, and labour-saving machines from America, which last would halve the expenditure on watercourses and earthwork of all classes.

Taken all round, South Africa with the addition of 3,000,000 acres of perennially irrigated land (gained at an expenditure of £30,000,000, and valued at £100,000,000), and also with 10,000,000 acres of land under crops depending on rainfall (which might be valued at another £100,000,000), would be a very different country from that which it is to-day. In view of this immensely rich outlook, no South African statesman should rest content with the transitory mineral wealth of the moment, or the golden glories of a possible fifty years. Irrigation, and irrigation alone, can secure permanent wealth to any part of the South African continent, and the Government that refuses to recognise the vital importance of a sufficiently comprehensive land and irrigation scheme, and that hesitates while the land is ripe for regeneration—that Government will deservedly go down to posterity as the Government of lost opportunities.



PEELING BARK ON A WATTLE PLANTATION IN NATAL.

After Photo by G. W. Wilson, Aberdeen.

WOOL - GROWING

By ALLEN G. DAVISON

Chief Inspector of Sheep for the Cape Colony

THE Cape Colony, including the Transkeian Territories, may, from a pastoral point of view, be divided into three parts: first, the grass country of the east and south-east, 37,722 square miles in extent; second, the mixed grass and karroo, in the north, centre, and south-west, comprising an area of 57,617 square miles; and third, the karroo proper, in the west and north-west, which includes 125,747 square miles.

Of these divisions the smallest in extent—the Grass Country—is



FLOCK OF FAT CROSS-BRED MERINO AND FAT-TAILED SHEEP

(The stone walls of the kraal are coped with cakes of "mist," or dried sheep manure)

the most heavily stocked, some portions carrying as many as from four to five hundred sheep to the square mile. Although the natural pasture may not compare favourably with that of other stock-raising countries, it possesses advantages which cannot be surpassed elsewhere in the Colony. The flocks grazed in this locality are, generally speaking, superior in breed, and the wool is light, clean, and well grown, commanding the highest prices realised for Cape clips. Fencing has been systematically and extensively carried out, and with but few exceptions, every farm is enclosed, and subdivided into paddocks, at a cost of from £35 to £50 per mile.

Along the coast, and for some miles inland, the grass grows rank and sour, and is only eaten by stock when in the young and succulent

South Africa and its Future

stage. Later in the season, when the pasture becomes dry and woody, it is quite unfit for grazing purposes. In these parts merino sheep are rarely found, the ravages of a disease named Heartwater having denuded the farms of all small stock, with the exception of the common or Boer goat, which thrives fairly well, and is kept in small flocks for milking and slaughter.

The soil of the grass veldt being deficient in lime, the stock naturally crave for salt, and in the northern districts farming cannot be carried on successfully without a liberal supply being provided for large as well as small stock. The grass country is, as a rule, better supplied with water than any other part of the colony, the average annual rainfall being over twenty-seven inches. There are also numerous streams and springs which rarely fail even in the most severe droughts.

The mixed grass and karroo country of the central districts is especially adapted for Angora goat-farming, though at the same time merino sheep are kept in large numbers. The pasture consists mainly of sweet grasses, interspersed with karroo bushes of various kinds, and dwarf trees, among which may be mentioned the Spekboom (*Portulacaria afra* Jacq), a fleshy, round-leaved, soft-wooded tree, which is a most valuable food for sheep, cattle, goats, and even horses. The thornless species of the prickly pear (*Opuntia Tuna*) is invaluable in seasons of drought; and both the wild thorn and the mimosa tree furnish food of a nourishing and sustaining nature. In the north and south-west, Angora goats do not thrive so well, but in these localities merino sheep and Boer goats are kept in large numbers.

Steek grass (*Aristida congesta* R and S) grows in many parts of the mixed veldt, and is one of the greatest drawbacks to successful farming. The seeds of this grass do not readily fall when ripe, and are thus liable to be carried away by sheep and goats in their fleeces. Many clips are seriously damaged by this seed, which mats the hair and wool into hard solid masses, and often working through the fleece pierces the skin, causing intense irritation, and in some cases even death.

The rainfall varies considerably. In the north and central districts the annual average is a little over sixteen inches, while in the south-west it is almost twenty-four inches. As a rule the former portion is but poorly watered, the farmers depending to a large extent on springs and the artificial storage of water.

The karroo is well adapted for Angoras, as well as goats of the common type. More than one-half the number of the Cape sheep in the Colony is found in this region, which, owing to its vast extent and low rainfall, is better suited for animals of an active and hardy nature.

Wool-Growing

In the karroo the bushes are short and stunted, but they nevertheless form most excellent grazing for small stock. When dry seasons set in, the plants, although denuded of every green leaf, retain nourishment for a remarkable period; and as long as water is procurable, stock maintain their condition fairly well by feeding on the bark and dry twigs. The most valuable bushes are: the Draaibosch (*Diplopappus filifolius*); the Schaapbosch (*Pentzia virgata*); the Gannabosch (*Caroxylon silsola*); and the Vygebosch (*Mesembrianthemum spinosum*). When rain falls, the bushes shoot into leaf, and in the course of two or three weeks, what appeared to



ANGORA GOATS (YOUNG RAMS)

be a barren and parched wilderness, is transformed into beautiful and highly nutritious pasturage.

The karroo is badly watered, the farmers depending chiefly on springs, wells, and dams for their supply. Underground water is found at various depths, the average being about sixty feet. In but few cases, however, does the supply rise to the surface, which necessitates the use of windmills and pumps. The average annual rainfall is over ten inches, though in some districts it does not exceed six inches. Given good seasons, there is no part of the Colony which is healthier for small stock than the karroo, and there is certainly no portion in which sheep and goats multiply more rapidly. One severe drought, however, will often sweep away the increase of several years, and leave the farmer on the verge of ruin.

Throughout the Colony but few attempts are made to supply winter feeding for stock, or to make adequate provision for times of

South Africa and its Future

drought. Of late years the cultivation of lucerne has been on the increase, and in the north and north-east, where the winters are long and severe, turnips are grown, and these amply repay the farmers for the labour and expense incurred.

The last reliable returns of the small stock in the Colony were taken in the year 1898, since which date the disturbed state of the country has prevented the collection of statistics of any value. At the close of 1898 there were: 10,565,844 woolled sheep; 1,560,439 Cape or fat-tailed sheep; 3,039,482 Angora goats; and 2,312,052 common or Boer goats. These figures, especially as regards sheep, will no doubt show a considerable decrease when the next census is taken, for the demands of the military, and the losses incidental to war, must to a certain extent have caused a marked reduction.

Merino sheep from the Royal flock of George III. were first



FAT-TAILED HAIRY AFRICANDER SHEEP (RAMS)

introduced at the Cape about the year 1793, but it was not until 1838 that any real progress in breeding was made.

Of late years Australian merinos, Tasmanian and Vermont sheep have been largely imported; and there are many flocks in the Colony which have been bred up to a very high standard. The Vermont sheep, which are close, heavily-woolled animals, possess many advantages, which, by judicious crossing, are well suited to counteract some of the defects noticeable in the flocks of this country. At the present time a very large proportion of the woolled sheep are inferior in quality, and far below the standard of excellence which every breeder of stock should strive to attain to.

The Cape or fat-tailed sheep is a leggy, active animal, with a hairy skin, bred solely for the butcher. These sheep are noted for their enormous tails, which weigh from ten to fifteen pounds, although in some cases this last weight has been considerably

Wool-Growing

exceeded. Being active and free from wool, the animal is peculiarly adapted for the karroo, where long distances have generally to be traversed in the search for pasture and water. The skin of the fat-tailed sheep possesses a special value for glove-making, and good, sound skins readily fetch fifty shillings per dozen, and as much as seventy shillings when the quality can be guaranteed.

The Angora goat was first introduced into the Colony from Asia Minor in 1838, and crossed with the common or Boer goat, the progeny of which formed the nucleus of the Angora industry of the present day. From time to time fresh importations have taken place, the last consignment arriving in 1895-96. These goats, however, proved disappointing, and although they realised high prices, were distinctly inferior to the best goats bred in the Colony.

The Angora is a delicate animal, and as the shearing season usually commences in the winter months, success in farming depends in a great measure on the provision of suitable shelter, as a protection against cold and wet weather.

The common or Boer goat is a large, well-made, active, and hardy animal, which thrives in every part of the country ; especially in the dry and barren north-western districts. Large numbers of these goats are sold to the butchers, the carcasses averaging from sixty to sixty-five pounds in weight.

In many localities they are kept for their milking properties, on which account they are extremely valuable, since they often supply milk for household purposes when it would be impossible for horned cattle to exist. Goat-skins are largely used for tanning, and supply the farmer and his family with materials for their boots and veld schoens.

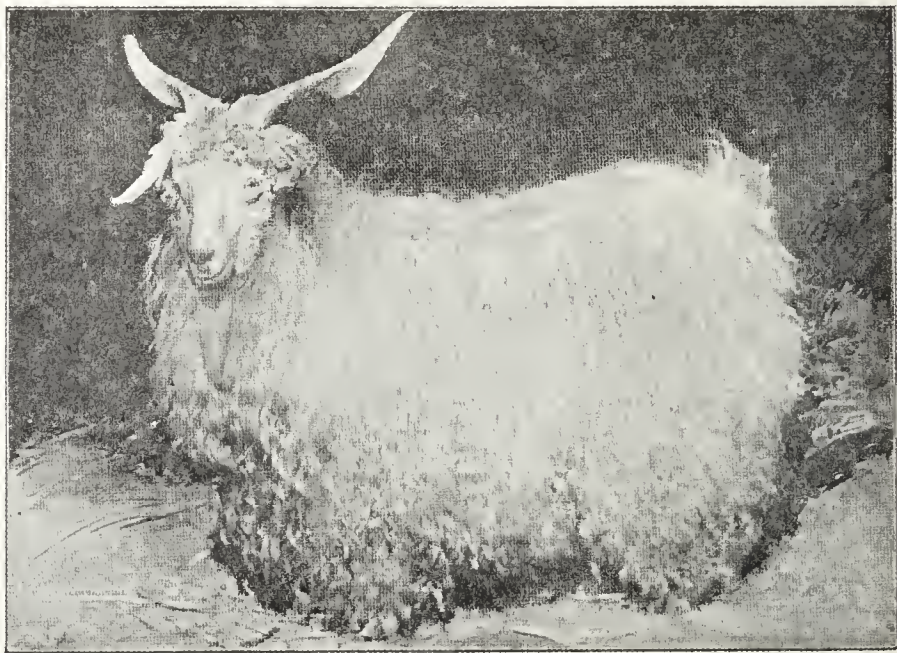
Cape wool, as a rule, takes the lowest place on the principal markets, and is the first to be effected by any downward tendency in prices. There are several reasons for this unsatisfactory state of affairs. These reasons have been brought prominently to the notice of the colonial farmer, but, in spite of their importance and interest, they have not as yet received the attention they deserve. Scab, the greatest enemy that stock farmers have to contend with, is prevalent in nearly every part of the country, and has proved so destructive to the flocks and clips generally that the annual loss to the country has been estimated at from five hundred thousand to one million pounds sterling.

That this disease was a source of great trouble in the early days at the Cape is very evident, for placcaats or edicts were framed, as far back as 1693 and 1740, dealing most stringently with any man who neglected the cleansing of his flocks. These placcaats, however, in the course of time fell into desuetude, and it was not until 1886

South Africa and its Future

that any serious attempt was made to cope with the disease. The law passed at this time was only enforced in a small portion of the Colony, but it proved of such service, that in 1894 another Act was framed, which was proclaimed over the whole country. Owing to certain defects in this legislation, the good results which were anticipated have not been effected; but, nevertheless, some advance has been made, as evidenced in the improved quality of the wool and skins which leave these shores. Until more stringent measures for the eradication of scab are introduced, the stigma attached to the wool products of the Colony will not be removed.

In 1838 the quantity of wool exported was 490,754 lbs., valued at £26,627. In 1891 the highest figures were reached, the record



ANGORA GOAT (RAM)

being 75,520,701 lbs., of the value of £2,264,498: this in 1901 had fallen to 65,209,699 lbs., valued at £1,489,246.

Mohair, the name given to the fleece of the Angora goat, is peculiarly liable to variations in price, according to the fashions which may be in vogue. On a well-bred animal the fleece should hang in long wavy locks or ringlets of white, silky, lustrous hair; and when full grown, should touch the ground. The fleeces vary in weight according to the breed of the animal, and to the class to which it belongs—oily or non-oily. From a well-bred flock of Angora ewes the mohair should average about four pounds weight per animal. In the case of rams and kapaters, or wethers, there is a considerable increase, as much as from eight to fourteen pounds being sometimes clipped. A dry climate is essential to the growth of good mohair, and

Wool-Growing

therefore the karroo and mixed grass and karroo country are admirably adapted for its production. Almost all the Angoras in the Colony are the progeny of rams imported from Asia Minor, crossed with the white Boer goat ; and it is probably owing to this fact that in many flocks a considerable amount of kemp, or coarse white hair, is still to be found. Even in the most favourable circumstances Cape mohair realises less than the Turkish produce by from twopence to three-pence per pound ; this probably being on account of the lack of brightness and spinning properties possessed by the former article.

At the present time the Cape produces about one-half of the world's supply of mohair. In 1857 the quantity exported was 870 lbs., which realised £10. These figures in 1897 had increased to 12,583,601 lbs., valued at £676,644 ; and in 1901 had fallen to 10,813,239 lbs., of the value of £502,605. The decrease in the exports of wool and mohair for the year 1901 is no doubt due to the effects of the war and the disturbed state of the country.

At present, however, the outlook is more hopeful, and there is no doubt whatever that for the progressive and enterprising farmer the future is one of great possibilities.

SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS

By W. BLELOCH

Author of "The New South Africa"

SOUTH Africa is a country of magnificent distances, with the centres of industry situated at points far apart in the wide interior ; the country villages are dotted about with thirty to fifty miles of brown karroo or verdant veldt in between ; even the homesteads of the Boers are planted at respectful distances from each other. In such a country a comprehensive, efficient, and cheap railway system is absolutely necessary ; without railways the development of trade and industry could not be pushed forward on any large scale. The great staple products of the Cape—wool, skins, and hides—could not compete with the like products of Australia and the Argentine. The diamond mines of Kimberley, which support an industrial population of about 50,000, and the great gold mines of the Rand, which at the present stage of development supply the wherewithal to live to 200,000 people, white and black, would be able to work only on a restricted basis ; the greater number of the Rand mines would have to shut down, and without railways it may be said that the stimulating production of wealth in the nearly indestructible form of gold and diamonds would practically cease.

To meet the requirements which the circumstances demand, a far-stretching network of railways—with wide meshes it is true—is growing over the country. Instead of the old system of ox transport and coaches drawn by mules, which ten years ago were the only means of approach to the Transvaal and Rhodesia, there are now modern freight trains, drawn by heavy-type locomotives, hauling up the vast import traffic to the Rand, and running down return loads of wool and hides from the grassy uplands of the Orange River Colony, and the barren-looking, but wide and productive, karroo plains of the Cape. There are *trains de luxe* with corridors and platforms to enable the passenger to stretch his limbs *en route*, or sit in comfort and view the scenery as the train plods on its twenty-five or thirty miles an hour.

Twelve years ago Bulawayo was the head kraal of a blood-thirsty savage, and was approached only by a few adventurous spirits who recked little of danger and less of time. The

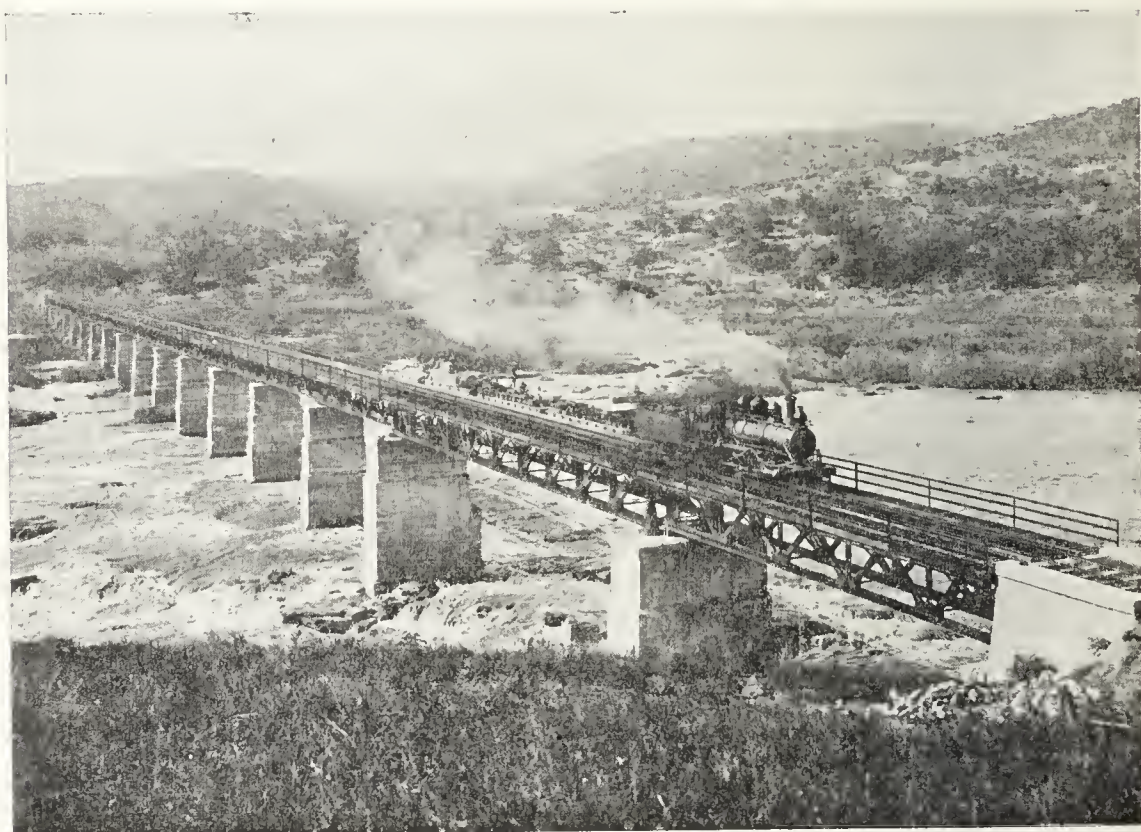
South African Railways

journey from the coast to the inland centre took at least three months, and now it can be visited with comfort and despatch. Without alighting from the train the traveller can enjoy his morning bath; he can breakfast, lunch, and dine; he can press a button and call for cool, liquid refreshments at any hour of the day; and he can complete his journey of 1360 miles from Cape Town to the Rhodesian industrial capital in $3\frac{1}{2}$ days. The Cape Town-Johannesburg journey of 1000 miles is done just within 44 hours. These results may not be considered of much account by the English or American traveller accustomed to a speed of 50 miles an hour for long distances, but South African railways have been built to suit the special necessities of the country. The gauge is only 3 feet 6 inches, and on all the lines heavy gradients have to be negotiated.

The interior of South Africa is a great plateau elevated from 4000 to 6000 feet above sea-level. The edge of the plateau runs round the sub-continent at no great distance from the sea, its bold escarpments looking over the 50 to 100 miles of broken, low-lying coast lands which skirt the continent. In consequence, all the railways to the interior, within the first 100 miles from the coast, begin climbing up steep inclines cut along the sides of one or other of the few passes which admit of ascent by railway trains. Whether the journey is made from Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Durban, or Delagoa Bay, the ascent has to be negotiated. The tedium of the uphill journey is compensated to some extent by the grandeur of the scenery in these initial stages of the routes to the interior. On the Cape line there is the magnificent view of the Hex River which, like Fair Melrose, can best be seen in pale moonlight as towards morning the night train from Cape Town winds along, gradually climbing up and up above the valley lying 1000 feet below. On either side grand brown mountains rise like sentinels to guard the pass. It has often been conjectured what would have been the upshot if the Boers had marched right south and seized this pass at the beginning of the war. It would have been Colenso over again, only worse. On the Port Elizabeth line, from Coerney to Cradock, the line passes up through rugged valleys in places bright with the sub-tropical evergreen bush of South Africa, and hemmed in with massive mountains forming the broken edges of the continent. The line through Graaf Reinet negotiates similar country, as does also the line from East London through King William's Town. The ascent from Durban is the most difficult of all. Natal is formed almost wholly of great fragments of the South African plateau which seem to have broken off, and now lie in long lines of broken mountain chains running north

South Africa and its Future

and south. These mountain ranges lie transverse to the route of the railway, so that ascents and descents have to be made time and again before the Transvaal high veldt is gained. From Durban to Charlestown the aggregate ascent is 12,600 feet. Altitudes of two, three, four, and five thousand feet are gained *en route* and then partially lost again. Some of the scenery on this line is of surpassing interest and beauty. Near the coast there are fruit gardens, pine and banana plantations, and orange groves, with here and there fields of pasture fenced in.



BRIDGE OVER THE TUGELA, ZULULAND EXTENSION (1330 FEET LONG)
CONNECTING NATAL AND ZULULAND

Farther up, mealie fields spread along the slopes of the hills and down the valleys. Then there follow stretches of open grass country alternating with bush. Herds of cattle, fat and sleek, graze on the rich grass lands. Above Pietermaritzburg the line ascends for three thousand feet to highlands to descend again two thousand to Colenso.

The next stretch of fifty miles has become one of the historic districts of the empire. In a winding of the Tugela lies Colenso. Then Pieters Hill is climbed, and the traveller can realise the desperate nature of the task set to General Buller's army. Then come Wagon Hill and Cæsar's Camp, with Bulwan on the right and

South African Railways

Ladysmith lying in a hollow in the centre. Beyond Ladysmith the train climbs again to Elandslaagte, and begins in a succession of gradual ascents to climb to the crest of the Drakensberg, the final climb being made under the shadow of Majuba, and through the tunnel of Laing's Nek. Once at Charlestown the high veldt is gained for good. The ascent from Delagoa Bay is easier, in that there is not the same repetition of ups and downs as on the Natal railway. The line runs through the Komati Poort, and then up the Elands River Valley, a beautiful valley indeed, but a veritable valley of death to the builders of the railway. At Waterval Onder the final steep ascent is begun, part of the way being so steep that the cog-wheel system is required. At Waterval Boven the high veldt is gained, and the main difficulties left behind.

The Beira railway to Salisbury has a similar ascent to make. Having described the approaches, some idea may now be given of the railway routes on the interior plateau itself. The Cape Town line to De Aar and Kimberley after gaining the plateau traverses the Great Karroo, a monotonous stretch of several hundred miles of parched brown, barren-looking plain with isolated, flat-topped mountains, and ranges which serve to give variety, and make a scene of widespread solitude, having a melancholy charm wholly its own. This barren-looking veldt, with its sparse vegetation of stunted shrubs, supports millions of sheep and goats, and however unpromising its aspect, it plays an important part in the railway and general economy of the country. The Midlands railway from Port Elizabeth to De Aar and Norval's Pont traverses similar country, but not so arid. The Eastern railway, from East London through King William's Town and Queenstown to Bethulie, traverses more undulating country covered with grass intermixed with karroo shrub. In some districts, notably round King William's Town and Queenstown, agriculture has made considerable headway. The western line continues from Kimberley through Vryburg (British Bechuanaland) to Mafeking, and on to Bulawayo through grass-covered country, with clumps of Kameeldoorn trees, presenting in many places the appearance of an English park. This is a great cattle country, and provides considerable traffic for the railway over and above the mining traffic of Kimberley and Rhodesia. All the Cape lines connect with one another with two necks which converge at Springfontein for the Orange River Colony and Transvaal traffic. From the Orange River northwards the railways are known as the Central South African Railways. The line through the Orange River Colony runs through flat grassy plains for a distance of 300 miles: plains which, after a devastating war, still hold over a million sheep and 160,000 head of cattle. In time of peace the whole country is one

South Africa and its Future

monotonous scene of pastoral prosperity. On entering the Transvaal at Vereeniging—the place of the declaration of peace—the railway enters at once into the rich gold-bearing region of the Transvaal. There is a gradual rise over open country to the Rand. On every side there is evidence of great industrial activity, and at many places along the line beginnings may be seen of Transvaal agriculture, beginnings which promise a great future.

The south-eastern branch of the Central South African Railways connects with the Natal line at Volksrust, and proceeds along the high veldt *viâ* Standerton and Heidelberg to the Rand. The high veldt of the Transvaal has an average height of 5000 feet above sea-level. It is a vast open grass country with rocky ridges rising a few hundred feet above the ordinary level. A magnificent stock country, and rich in coal, iron, and gold. On the eastern line, the Central South African line connects with the Portuguese line at Komati Poort, and passes up the Elands River Valley already described. From Waterval Boven the railway continues to ascend to the summit of the high veldt at Bergendal, near Belfast. It was here where the last big pitched battle was fought before the break-up of the Boer army into guerilla forces. The line passes along the northern limits of the high veldt *viâ* Middelburg to Pretoria. The country it passes through is equal in stock-raising capabilities and mineral riches to the south-eastern line. There are enormous areas of coal of good quality and abundance of iron ore, and limestone sufficient for the establishment of a great industry which itself will doubtless bring about and maintain great railway expansion in the future.

From Pretoria, the Pretoria-Pietersburg line, formerly a private company, now taken over by the Central South African Railways, strikes north to Pietersburg into the heart of the tropical part of the Transvaal. The country it traverses is partly flat and partly hilly, at some places thick bush and at others wide grassy plains. In the northern district there is a large population of Kaffirs who cultivate the extremely fertile soil, and produce great quantities of mealies (maize) and Kaffir corn, which products, together with timber for the mines, form the principal items of traffic carried by the railway. The Beira railway to Salisbury, originally a narrow gauge, has now been widened to the standard 3 feet 6 inches gauge of South Africa, and carries all the traffic for the Mashonaland mines.

In all, South Africa possesses approximately 5000 miles of railway, having a capitalised value, including rolling stock, of about £50,000,000, or £10,000 per mile. The three important systems are the Cape Government Railways, the Natal Government Railways, and the Central South African Railways (Transvaal and



JOHANNESBURG MAIL TRAIN AT THE FOOT OF MAJUBA

South African Railways

Orange River Colony). The Cape system has a mileage of 2135 miles, and in addition it works 587 miles of the Rhodesian Railways, or a total of 2722 miles. The Natal system covers 612½ miles, and the Central South African system 1312 miles. In addition to these there is the Beira Railway, already briefly described, and there are also several small privately-owned railways. The three chief systems own altogether 1239 engines and 27,806 waggons, and a large but still insufficient equipment of coaches for passenger traffic. Great attention has been given and much money expended in the past two years in bringing the rolling stock up to a state of efficiency for dealing with the greatly-increased traffic anticipated on the establishment of peace in South Africa. The Central South African Railways—the State Railways now owning and working the old Free State and Netherlands systems—have almost doubled the carrying capacity of these railways. Natal had 129 engines before the war; she has now 209. She had 3101 waggons before the war; she has now 6154. The Cape railways have also largely increased their stock. The enormous traffic now being handled, more or less successfully, will justify this provident policy.

All these systems make large annual profits. In its best year, 1896, the Cape Government system showed—

Total Earnings.	Total Expenses.	Profits.
£4,078,561.	£9,921,809.	£2,156,752.

Or £10, 7s. 6d. per cent. on the then capital of £20,799,288. This included the Free State share of profit under the then working arrangement. Deducting the Free State share, the profit was at the rate of £8, 19s. 7d. per cent. In the same year the Natal Railway showed—

Total Earnings.	Total Expenses.	Profits.
£1,136,213, 16s. 1d.	£421,989, 14s. 2d.	£706,224, 1s. 11d.

Or £11, 9s. 0½d. per cent. on the then capital of £6,236,555.

In the same profitable year the Netherlands Railway returns showed—

Total Earnings.	Total Expenses, Plus Interest on Capital.	Total Nett Profits.
£2,903,516, os. 5d.	£1,197,841, 18s. 8d.	£1,705,674, 1s. 9d.

The profits of this railway in this year equalled 59 per cent. of the total earnings.

In 1901, notwithstanding the state of war, the Cape Government Railways showed—

Total Earnings.	Total Expenses.	Profits.
£3,852,871.	£2,875,571.	£977,300.

Equal to £4, 8s. 4d. per cent. on the then capital of £22,125,085.

South Africa and its Future

In the same year the Natal Railways showed—

Earnings.	Total Expenses.	Profits.
£1,650,355, 5s. 4d.	£1,159,026, 7s. 9d.	£491,328, 17s. 7d.

Equal to £5, 15s. 2½d. per cent. on the capital of £8,528,989.

Included in the Natal Railway expenses is the sum of £159,328 expended on permanent work that should have been charged to capital, which, if added to the profits as it should be, would make an actual profit for the year of £650,656, 17s. 7d. There are no returns available to show the result of working the Central South African Railways, formerly the Imperial Military Railways, during the



STATION YARD, DURBAN

(The Tower of the Town Hall is seen in the background)

period of the war. Nor are there any available now, but considering the past results and the great volume of present traffic, and the maintenance of the old high rates for freight and passenger fares, it may be estimated that the earnings of the Central South African Railways in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony will probably be between £5,500,000 and £6,000,000, and the profits between £2,500,000 and £3,000,000, a very important item in the revenues of the two new colonies.

In comparison with other railways in the British Empire the South African railways hold an important position as regards mileage, and the average earnings per mile are more than double

South African Railways

the average earnings of several important colonial and Indian railways. The combined earnings of all South African railways working 5000 miles may be taken at £11,000,000 for the year. The Candian Pacific Railway, working 7000 miles, earned £6,002,061. The Grand Trunk of Canada, working 4179 miles, earned £4,407,016. The Victorian Railways, Victoria, Australia, working 3238 miles, earned £3,337,797. The Queensland Railway, working 2801 miles, earned £1,316,936. The Bombay, Baroda, and Central Indian Railways, with 2764 miles, earned £3,253,866. The Great Indian Peninsular and Indian Midland Railways, with 2800 miles, earned £3,063,066. Comparing with important home railways:—

	Capital.	Miles.	Earnings.
London and North-Western Railways	£118,126,653	1941	£13,812,000
Great Western Railway . . .	84,424,177	2645	11,181,471
Midland Railway	170,550,931	2019	11,153,792
All South African Railways . .	50,000,000	5000	11,000,000 (approximate)

These figures show that South African railways make high earnings as compared even with a great railway like the Canadian Pacific, a railway serving one of the most important trade routes in the world, and traversing a rich agricultural country, with a population of 5,000,000, as compared with South Africa's 700,000 whites and 2,000,000 blacks. The Queensland railways, with more than half the mileage, earn less than one-eighth the total earned by South African railways, while the enormous traffic of the famous London North - Western, with its large capitalised value, only brings in a matter of £3,000,000 a year more than the railways of South Africa, with their moderate capitalisation of £50,000,000.

This comparison should bring home to investors the excellent opening which South Africa affords for safe and profitable participation in the reasonable railway expansion the country still requires, especially is this the case with the two new colonies. Another fifteen hundred miles could well be added. These new railways would have earning capacity little inferior to the existing lines, and the present margin of profits is so wide that a substantial reduction in rates would not materially affect the prospects, because such a reduction would inevitably result in a great increase in the volume of traffic.

The comparison also leads to the conclusion that the present rates are excessive. They have been maintained at their high level through the system of the Colonial Governments looking to the railways for a large proportion of the revenue. The great pivot of

South Africa and its Future

South African industry is the Rand, with its goldfields, and both Natal and Cape Colony have for years past taken toll on the Rand traffic, and thereby swelled their own revenues.

The old Free State and Transvaal Governments in a like manner determined to fleece the industrial workers, and so save their own burghers from bearing their due share of the cost of Government. While they were the greatest sinners themselves, they could not with reason ask the southern Governments to take the first step towards moderation. As a consequence, the Rand, dependent for the most part of its food and for the whole of its industrial equipment on over-sea supplies, became one of the most expensive places to live and work in that the wide world knows. Under the new *regime* there is as yet no improvement ; the Imperial Government is looking for revenue. To the despair of British loyalists the old high rates are maintained, with the effect of delaying and perhaps prohibiting the enormous industrial progress which the wealth of the country would under other conditions make possible. All classes feel the burden, and at the forthcoming Congress of the Associated Chamber of Commerce, which will meet at Kimberley, resolutions bearing on the question are to be submitted. The first affirms : " That the railways, being the highways of the country, should be worked solely with a view to furnishing the transit and traffic requirements of the country, and entirely dissociated from the revenue, political, or protective considerations ; " and " That the policy of raising revenue through excessive railway rates is an objectionable method of taxation. It is unfair in its incidence, and bears with especial hardship on the inland wage-earner."

These resolutions reflect the feelings of the whole inland community of South Africa.

The Canadian Pacific Railway, with 7588 miles open, makes a net profit of £2,620,000 on a capital of £53,000,000 as against South Africa, with 5000 miles open, and net profits of over £5,000,000 on a similar capital. The Canadian Pacific Railway makes a net profit of £371 per mile against a net profit of Natal railways of £803 per mile, and an approximate net profit of £1800 per mile of the Central South African railways (Transvaal and Orange River Colony railways). New Zealand railway returns for 1902 show net earning of £280 per mile. The through rate for ordinary goods from Durban to Johannesburg is just over 3½d. per ton per mile. The rate for ordinary goods on the Central South African railways (Transvaal railways) for fifteen miles is 9d. per ton per mile ; for fifty miles, 6½d. per ton per mile ; for longer distances, approximately 6d. per ton per mile. The average rate for goods



COMMISSIONER STREET, JOHANNESBURG

Photo by Barnett & Co., Johannesburg

South African Railways

on the Canadian Pacific Railway is only one-third of a penny per ton per mile. Were this rate charged on a ton of goods brought from Durban—the nearest colonial port—to Johannesburg, the cost would be only 13s. 6d. as against £7, 13s. 4d., the present cost; that is, the South African through rate is ten times as much as the average rate in Canada; and the Transvaal rate for ordinary local traffic of 6d. to 9d. per ton per mile is twenty times higher than the average Canadian rate. The Canadian Pacific Railway is selected for comparison, because it is a railway built to develop new and sparsely-populated territory, its special work being essentially the same as that required of the railways of South Africa. The Canadian Pacific Railway has doubled its earnings since 1895. If its policy were copied in South Africa, where the whole industrial life of the country depends on railways, enormous developments could be looked for. In South Africa it is fully realised that, until the burden of excessive railway rates is got rid of, the costs of living must prohibit any great growth of population, and without growth of population the development of the natural resources of the country can only make the slowest of progress. The people are quite willing to provide the Government with revenue, but they wish to provide it by different methods than those which obtained in the past.

Owing to exorbitant fares the people of Johannesburg are practically confined within the limits of the town and its immediate suburbs. They are compelled to pay high rents. £250 to £300 a year represents the present rent for an ordinary cottage. The passenger fares on the London and North-Western are from a 1½d. to 1¾d. per mile first, 1¼d. second, and fractionally under a 1d. third. A great reduction is made on season tickets. Transvaal railway fares average 3d. per mile first, 2½d. second, and 1½d. third, and only a small reduction is made for season tickets. With high rents and high prices for food, rendered dear by cost of carriage, the workers, in order to live, must obtain high wages. High wages mean high-working costs for all industrial enterprises. Consequently only a few industries, and only the richer mines, can be worked at a profit. Ordinary industries which can carry only moderate working costs cannot be undertaken.

Judging from the results of the past six years sweeping reductions are quite possible while still allowing for a paying railway revenue. Mr. Cooper-Key has shown, that the excess profits made by the Transvaal railways alone, after providing for reasonable interest on capital at the rate of 4¾ per cent., were:—

For 1896	.	.	.	.	.	£1,162,925.
„ 1897	.	.	.	.	.	1,111,964.
„ 1898	.	.	.	.	.	928,623.

South Africa and its Future

For the present year the excess profits on Transvaal railways, over a 4 per cent. interest on capital, will probably amount to not far short of £1,500,000.

As might be expected after a consideration of the profits and earning capacity of South African railways, important extensions of the previous system are projected and in progress.

In the Cape Colony there is a project to connect Saldanha Bay, the proposed new port, with the main line *viâ* Hopefield. A southern line *viâ* Oudtshoorn and Willowmore will bring Cape Town in closer contact with Mossel Bay and Port Elizabeth, and open up the southern districts of Cape Colony. Another line will join the Port Elizabeth midland line with the eastern system at King Williamstown.

In the Orange River Colony the projected lines are from Springfontein to Koffyfontein; from Bloemfontein to Ladybrand and Ficksburg; from Harrismith to Heilbron or Vereeniging. The line from Bloemfontein to Ladybrand is already partly built. It will open up the wheat-growing section of the Orange River Colony.

In the Transvaal the most important projected lines are: A line from Fourteen Streams to Klerksdorp, providing an alternative route from the Cape Ports to the Rand. A line from Krugersdorp to Rustenburg and thence probably to Zeerust and Mafeking, opening up a valuable agricultural country. A line from Springs to Machadodorp or Ermelo, through the best coal and iron districts of the Transvaal, and providing an alternative route from Delagoa Bay to the Rand. This line would greatly relieve the congestion which exists after the high veldt is gained on the present eastern line, owing to the coal traffic and the over-sea imports having to be carried over a single line of railway. A line from Pietersburg to Leydsdorp and thence probably connecting with the Selati railway at its present terminus. There is a private company formed to build a line from Machadodorp to Ermelo, and the Government is constructing a coal line for the mines along the south of the Rand, and another alternative line from Johannesburg to Vereeniging.

In Natal it is a question of doubling the present main line or of constructing another single line of railway from Greytown to the Transvaal. The first plan would be cheaper, and would give more immediate help to Natal in the competition for Transvaal traffic, while the alternative Greytown route would open up new country to railway influence, and materially add to the prosperity of the agricultural population of that section of the colony. Natal is also about to construct a line from Maritzburg to Riverside on the Cape-Natal frontier. The Cape being under promise to connect this

South African Railways

point with their eastern system, and thus provide direct railway communication with Durban and Cape Town.

In Rhodesia the line connecting Bulawayo and Salisbury is approaching completion.¹ It is possible that Gwelo, a town on the railway, will be the junction or next starting-point of the "Cape to Cairo" railway, or it may be that the route by another new line from Bulawayo to the Wankie coalfields near the Zambesi may be chosen instead. A line is in course of construction from Bulawayo to the Gwanda goldfields, and a line is proposed from Salisbury north to Lo Maghonda. Altogether over 2000 miles of new railway are projected in South Africa. In the Transvaal the new lines proposed will have a length of over 800 miles, and at least 500 miles may be considered as lines whose construction is a matter of urgent necessity.

This forecast of railway development in the immediate future in South Africa means the raising and spending of another £16,000,000, £8000 per mile being about the lowest figure that can be reckoned on to build the lines and provide rolling stock. Transvaal expenditure for new railways may be estimated for the period of the next three years at not less than £6,000,000. When built, however, these railways will be sound properties, thoroughly sure as to their dividend or interest-earning capacity. Lord Milner referred in a recent speech to what he called the governmental plant which he said was required before private enterprise could get to work on making the country productive. Chief among the governmental plant so referred to are railways, but alongside of the recognition of the necessity of railways it is to be hoped that governmental recognition will also be given to the fact that to be of real use the railways must be run at cheap rates, otherwise the looked-for benefit will never come.

As regards over-sea traffic, it is hoped that rates may be brought down by encouraging competition between the various railways from the coast, and the Transvaal Government has a powerful lever in its eastern line. The distance from Delagoa Bay to the Rand is only 395 miles of which only 56 belong to the Portuguese.² From

¹ The British South African Company has decided to expend £2,000,000 on railways in Rhodesia—£1,000,000 to be expended immediately for work to be completed by the end of next year, and a like sum, towards the end of 1903, will probably be sanctioned for the purpose of carrying the Cape to Cairo line north of the Zambesi to the bend of the Kafue, a distance of 300 miles. When the proposed work is carried out Rhodesia will have over 2500 miles of railway.—ED.

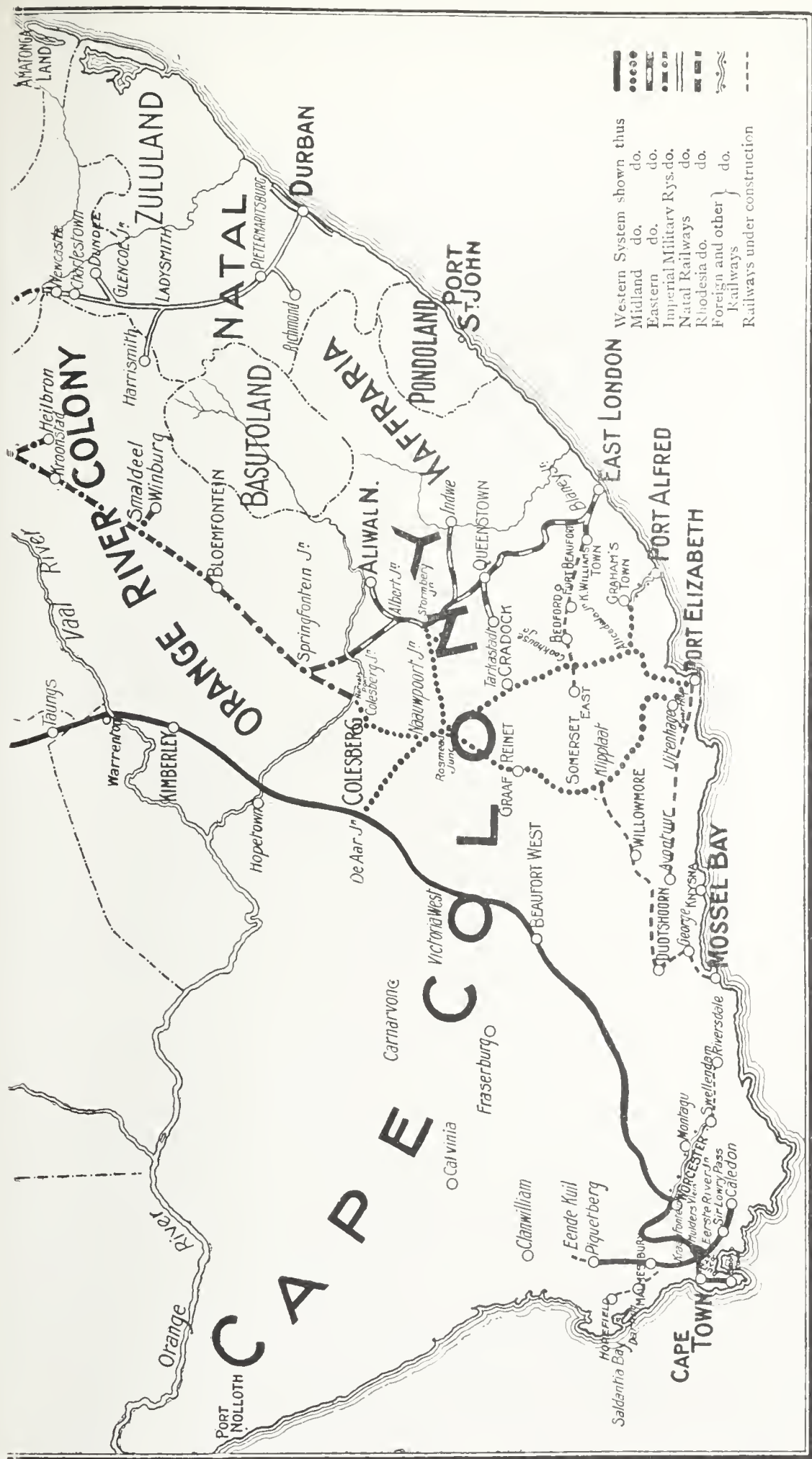
² It is interesting to note that Portugal has strengthened her position in Africa by granting to Mr. Robert Williams a concession for a railway from Lobito Bay, near Benguela (in Portuguese West Africa), to the eastern frontier of the Colony. Lobito Bay is four days' journey nearer to England than the Cape, and it is described as having one of the finest harbours in the world, and accommodation for larger vessels than Delagoa Bay.—ED.





MORNING MARKET AT JOHANNESBURG

Photo by Barnett & Co., Johannesburg



MAP OF THE CAPE GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS, BASED ON THE MAP ACCOMPANYING THE GENERAL MANAGER'S REPORT

(Scale = 120 English miles to an inch)

South Africa and its Future

Durban the distance is 483 miles; from Port Elizabeth, 785 miles, and from Cape Town, 1000 miles. The Transvaal Government has the whip in hand, and it is hoped that it will use it so that all South Africa will be brought into line on the question of moderate freight and passenger rates. At present goods are pouring into the Transvaal at the rate of 21,000 tons per week, and in addition there are 8000 tons being brought up weekly for the military, but if rates are not lowered, this great railway activity will prove only transient, because it is certain that at present the internal industries are making no progress, and consequently trade must fall off.

In conclusion, a word may be said of the important part played by South African railways in the late war. A German strategist predicted that with the existing railway systems of South Africa it would be impossible to feed an army of 250,000 men in the interior of the country. Yet it was actually done, and not for a brief period only, but for nearly three years. Besides bringing the food-stuff for this host, and for the civil population besides, the railways transported guns, ammunition, horses and men up and down, back and forward as the commander-in-chief required. The magnitude of this work can be imagined when it is stated that no less than 126 trains were required for the final concentration against Delarey at Klerksdorp. The working of the railways during the war reflects the greatest credit on the managers and employées of all South African railways. It was impossible to tell when a train would run through a band of snipers, one or more of its occupants paying the penalty of death, or when the engine might be hoisted by a hidden charge of dynamite, and the machine and its drivers turned to wreckage. During the war the railway service required qualities of endurance and courage equal to those possessed by the bravest soldier in the field.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDUSTRIES

At present South African industries (outside of agriculture and pastoral pursuits) may be said to consist of mining and railways. The railways, in spite of heavy rates, have made a great mining industry possible. What could they do in respect of other and ordinary industries? It is a question of rates. Given recognition of the principle that railways should be the most essential part of the governmental plant spoken of by Lord Milner—plainly to be used for developing the country, and not for the use of extracting revenue to which it is at present put, not gold-mining alone, but a hundred industries would presently flourish. On the Rand there are already great engineering works contending against many difficulties, and

South African Railways

especially the cost of labour. These works execute repairs for the mines, make castings, and even manufacture new machinery. A great future industry, which for the present is impossible on account of want of railway facilities, is the exploitation of the rich iron ores of the Transvaal. It is stated that a syndicate with large capital has been formed to undertake this work on a large scale when the conditions are favourable, and within the next few years it is probable that the Middelburg district will have smelting furnaces, foundries, rolling mills, and all the varied works of a young iron and steel industry which may eventually take a leading place in the world. Mr. Carnegie recently stated that the iron ores of Britain will be exhausted in twenty-five years, and those of the United States in sixty years. The extensive deposits of the Transvaal should last for centuries.

Another possible future industry is the distillation of oil from the shales of the Eastern Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. These deposits are at present being tested, and give promise of payability. Throughout South Africa there are many flour mills. The chief works being at Port Elizabeth and Cape Town and in the wheat district of the Orange River Colony. Other industries which have found a footing, and are now making steady progress, are leather-making, boot and harness making, wool-washing, jam-making, candle-making, waggon and cart building from colonial woods. All these industries are carried on chiefly in the Cape Colony and Natal. In the Transvaal there are pottery works, a cement factory, many breweries, and one distillery. In the Cape and Natal there are also several large breweries. One great industry which has arisen, owing to the mining wealth of the country, is the manufacture of explosives. There is a large dynamite factory at Cape Town owned by the De Beers Company, and another—the largest explosive factory in the world—at Modderfontein near Johannesburg. The Modderfontein factory cost upwards of three-quarters of a million to build. The works are spread over a large area, the property comprising 5280 acres. This factory was owned by a company with German, English, and French interests, formed to work the dynamite monopoly for the Transvaal Government. The high prices it charged, and the huge profits it made, being additional direct burdens on the already overloaded mining industry, were the causes of great discontent. Since the war the monopoly has been abolished. The company is now practically a British company, and its policy appears to be to meet its customers, and gain their goodwill. Prices have been reduced by 30s. a case. The prices now being: blasting gelatine, 67s. 6d.; gelignite, 50s.; and dynamite, 50s. a case, as against 97s. 6d., 87s. 6d., and 77s. 6d.

South Africa and its Future

respectively before the war. These prices are fair, and it is stated are just sufficient to give a margin of profit. At present in the Transvaal it is a question of allowing free competition in explosives, or of just granting sufficient protection to the existing factory to enable it to live. As the factory finds employment for nearly 3000 hands, white and black, it would certainly be a national loss if it had to shut down.

In the nature of things in South Africa all classes of industrial undertakings are difficult to establish, and probably a moderate protective tariff would be beneficial to the country in the long run, as in the initial stages it would serve to turn the balance between profit and loss. Every industry successfully established adds to the white population, and is therefore to be welcomed. A policy of moderate protection then for industries, which could be fed by the natural resources of the country itself, should be carefully considered by the Government. Such a policy, together with a thorough cutting down of the present industry-killing railway rates, would go a long way to make a speedy beginning in South Africa of the great industrial activity which is sure to come eventually.

HEALTH RESORTS OF SOUTH AFRICA

By ERNEST GRAHAM LITTLE

B.A., formerly Porter Scholar, of the Cape University; M.D. University of London; Member of the Royal College of Physicians; Physician, with charge of the Skin Department, at St. Mary's Hospital; Senior Assistant Physician to the East London Hospital for Children and Dispensary for Women, Shadwell; late House Physician at St. George's Hospital and at the City of London Hospital for Diseases of the Chest

IN these days, when the physical methods of treating disease are so largely supplementing, and even supplanting, the methods of what may be termed chemical therapeutics, the question of suitable health resorts is one which must engage the attention of every medical man who is anxious to do his best for his patient. The opening up of South Africa by the success of British arms will be followed shortly, it is to be hoped, by a vigorous development of the country through colonisation and the investment of capital. Thus will be afforded a new and more extended field for the employment of the natural therapeutics of climate, soil, and environment, by which to combat the advance of many insidious diseases. We English people are too prone to bend the knee to foreign Baals, who but mock us as we worship. It should be an additional pleasure to every enlightened Imperialist to think that within the borders of our own empire, in lands peopled by those who speak our own kindly mother-tongue, we may find physical conditions in every way superior to those of foreign health-resorts, which have hitherto waxed fat and become insolent in their fancied monopoly. I write with the hope that many who are ignorant of these superior advantages possessed by South Africa may be guided by these pages to make their choice of a recreation-ground more intelligently, and consequently with better results, than is at present usually the case. It is true that at the moment invalids should be dissuaded from going to South Africa while the difficulties exist of transport and maintenance of so large and so sudden an increase of population. Supposing that our railway companies had not been able to run any extra trains for the last Coronation procession in London, we should have had a picture of congestion and discomfort not unlike what is happening in South Africa at the present time. But these difficulties are but of the moment and are passing hourly. When once things have settled down a little, normal methods will prevail; and it may confidently be predicted that travelling in South

South Africa and its Future

Africa will become increasingly comfortable and easy as the flow of population and wealth create a demand for increased facilities. Already far nearer approximation to our standards of comfort has been made than is dreamt of by stay-at-home Englishmen. The ox-waggon is not now the usual means of covering the distance between Wynberg and Kimberley, as was apparently thought by a medical lecturer not many years ago, since he gravely advised his audience to adopt that method of transit. We have only within the last few months seen in London electric trams as good as those that have been running for some years from Cape Town to Sea Point.

The voyage to South Africa is one of the pleasantest and most healthful in the world. It is in itself a powerful factor in the restoration of mind and body. There are two routes by which one can travel, the East and the West Coast routes. The East Coast route, by which Mr. Chamberlain travelled, is of recent development, and the principal steamers running on it are German (the German East Africa Company). Passengers may join the boat at Hamburg, Antwerp, Marseilles, or Naples, and the voyage is broken at Port Said, Suez, Aden, Zanzibar, Delagoa, and is terminated at Durban. It is thus an interesting itinerary, and for those who fear sea-sickness may be recommended, as the vessel is never longer than five days continuously at sea. The pleasantest months in which to travel by this route are February, March, and April. At other times it is apt to be oppressively hot. The personnel of the fleet is very obliging and anxious to promote the comfort of passengers, but the German cooking is not to the taste of all English palates. The steamers carry a German medical officer. The time occupied is about six weeks, and the fares are from £48 for first-class, from £33 for second, and from £21 for third. The West Coast service is at present practically a monopoly of the Union-Castle Company, formed by the amalgamation of the Union and Castle lines, which formerly competed for the passenger traffic. The time occupied by this service, which carries the royal mails, is much shorter, being usually about sixteen days. The fares range from 35 guineas for first, from 23 guineas for second, and from 10 guineas for third class. The voyage is exceedingly pleasant at any time of the year, and but little rough weather is met with, the worst part of the buffeting being often in the English Channel and Bay of Biscay. After leaving Madeira, which is about four days out from England, the sea is usually smooth and the weather gloriously fine. The feeding and accommodation on these steamers are comparable with those of a European first-class hotel, and all of them carry a well-qualified medical man. Latterly, some competition with these lines has been introduced, and is to be welcomed. Messrs. Bucknall

Health Resorts of South Africa

Brothers, Messrs. Rennie, the White Star Company, the German East Africa line, the Shaw-Savill Company, and others are now running frequent steamers to the Cape and Natal, and their fares are lower than those of the Union-Castle line, and the comfort and speed are not much less than obtain with this service. Where, however, time and not money is the important consideration, the Union-Castle steamers must be preferred. These steamers start from London and Southampton, and call at Madeira, Teneriffe, Grand Canary, and St. Helena (not more than two of these places on each voyage). The steamers remain three or four days at Cape Town, and proceed up the east coast, calling at Port Elizabeth, East London, and finally Durban, which is the end of the voyage.

For many cases of nervous break-down, so common a feature of our over-strained civilisation, I regard the Cape trip as an invaluable restorative. Persons who have had a severe attack of influenza would regain their strength more surely in a holiday spent in going and returning from the Cape than in any other way. I particularise influenza for its frequency, but the benefit is equally great in many other affections in which the nervous system especially suffers. Thus I have seen extraordinarily good results follow in a case of persistent insomnia of many months' duration. The patient completely conquered his sleeplessness during the voyage out, and was perfectly free from it on his return, and has remained exempt for years. In another instance a gentleman whose symptoms pointed to the early nervous break-down of general paralysis, recovered his faculties of mental concentration and memory as a result of a visit of a few weeks' duration. In the case of phthisical patients, whose special desiderata I shall discuss throughout this paper, it would be well for the companies to arrange, where possible, for facilities for their sleeping under cover on deck, in order to avoid the unavoidable closeness of cabins during the night. This would be a matter of no difficulty or discomfort for three-quarters of the voyage. The wants of delicate infants are met by the carriage in most of the mail steamers of a cow, so that fresh milk can be obtained throughout the voyage; but a store of milk, adequately sterilised before leaving England, may with advantage be taken with them by anxious mothers to ensure proper supplies for their infants. The milk keeps perfectly, and a couple of dozen pint-bottles will last out the voyage, and be a security against lacking this essential nourishment.

The ports of arrival in South Africa are usually Durban for the East Coast routes and Cape Town for the West Coast. The health-characteristics of these ports will be discussed after a general survey of the climatic conditions of the country has been made.

It is a common mistake to send patients to South Africa with no

South Africa and its Future

detailed instructions as to the localities best suited for individual cases, and regardless of the fact that the physiography of the country is so varied that no general statement as to the climate is possible. Two broad features, however, may be immediately distinguished, if we regard South Africa as consisting of interior highlands surrounded by a narrow, low-lying coast belt, the width of the latter varying much, but seldom exceeding fifty miles. The largest towns, with the exception of Johannesburg, are comprised in the coast-belt, the uplands being for the most part sparsely inhabited. The climate of the seaboard is further conditioned by the prevalence of currents and winds, so that towns on the east coast have a materially different atmosphere from those of the west. It will, of course, be remembered that the seasons in the southern hemisphere are exactly reversed with respect to those of the northern. For the Cape the division of the year may be made as follows :—

Spring—September, October, November.

Summer—December, January, February.

Autumn—March, April, May.

Winter—June, July, August.

In South Africa, however, the matter is complicated by the fact that the rains occur, in some parts, mostly in the winter, as in England and northern countries generally, and in other parts are strictly confined to the summer. The humidity of the air is probably the most important factor in the healthiness or otherwise of a climate for many diseases, and this point must therefore be most carefully considered. For phthisis in particular moist warmth has long been condemned as only less harmful than moist cold. Madeira and the Riviera have consequently lost much of their former vogue as suitable resorts for phthisis, on account of their high degree of humidity. It is to be earnestly desired that the claims of the highlands of South Africa to be considered the most advantageous country in the world for all but the latest stages of this disease, should become more widely known, alike to patients and physicians. A further consideration, of the highest importance to non-wealthy consumptives, is that South Africa is a new and progressive country, in which there are good prospects that the change of environment will lead, not only to restored health, but to the means of earning a livelihood as well.

It will be necessary now to examine more in detail the special characteristics of the several regions of South Africa and their relative fitness for receiving patients and visitors. Besides the question of climate many other factors must be considered, such as the accommodation for invalids, the possibility of obtaining comfort and suitable food, and the social conditions which form, from a psychological standpoint, an important element in the treatment. To take



BLOEMFONTEIN.

Drawing by Donald E. M'Cracken

Health Resorts of South Africa

the last point first, I would earnestly deprecate the focal accumulation of a large number of invalids, especially of tubercular invalids, in one centre; not so much because of the infectivity of such an accumulation, but because of the deplorable mental depression which results from the constant contemplation of other sufferers from this disease. Any one who has had experience of large hospitals or sanatoria for phthisis must have been struck with the undesirability, from this point of view, of the aggregation of patients. Mind and body are so inextricably mingled that the intelligent physician will attach not less importance to factors concerning the first than to those affecting the second. Let the sick man, therefore, avoid his sick fellows, when this is possible, and mix by preference with the healthy and robust. Health, like ill-health, is contagious. But when the patient's forces are too far shattered to allow of this, sanatoria become necessary. I contend still that these should be small and disseminated, rather than central and on a colossal scale. This subject will be discussed in greater detail later.

Accommodation and the obtaining of creature comforts for invalids are, of course, more practicable in the towns than in the sparsely-populated country districts, but, unhappily, the towns are mostly confined to the coast-belt, which is not the healthiest part of South Africa. The variations of climate within this coast-belt are great, and are influenced, as has been said, by the prevalence of winds and rains, and sea-currents. The eastern and south-eastern parts of the seaboard have heavy summer rains; the southern and south-western parts have in the first a rainfall somewhat evenly distributed through the year, with winter rains as one approaches the west. The imaginary approximate line between the summer and winter rains would divide the southern coast in the longitude of Grahamstown. West of this line the rainfall may be said to vary between ten and twenty-five inches; east of this line it is uniformly above the latter figure. The mean humidity of the coast-line is about 75 per cent. It may be said at once that for this reason none of the coast districts, as regards climate, is an advantageous resort for all-the-year-round residence for phthisical patients, but that the seaboard having winter rains is *ipso facto* less suitable than that in which the rainfall is chiefly in the summer months. It is unfortunate that hitherto many circumstances have conspired to make the English visitor in search of health reluctant to live out of the towns, though these are often by no means the most suitable places for him. Political dissension between the two great occupying races has been the bane of South Africa and especially of the Cape Colony. It has come about that the progressive English have settled in the towns,

The Future of South Africa

while the unprogressive Dutch have kept tenaciously to the country. As a corollary from this, it is still the reproach of South Africa that, outside of a few towns, it is impossible to obtain good accommodation for the traveller, and still less for the invalid. It is earnestly to be hoped that the wider knowledge of the country, consequent upon the attention which has been concentrated upon it during the war, will lead to a large immigration of settlers who, eschewing the goldfields, will be content with the securer, if less considerable, competence to be obtained from agriculture, and will thus develop the country. It was a very wise and far-seeing plan of the late Mr. Rhodes to settle energetic English farmers in the midst of a stagnant Dutch district, and it is desirable in every way to break up the hard-and-fast racial division which has made so permanent an impress on the land. But this must be a matter of time, and for many years it must remain true that in the precious search for health the English invalid must be content to live in the midst of an alien majority, sometimes bitterly antipathetic to all things English. An even more important reason for keeping to the towns is that owing to the devastation of cattle caused by rinderpest and redwater, food, especially fresh meat, milk, and butter, has become dear and difficult to procure. To sum up, it may therefore be said that to the seriously ill, who are incapable of roughing it in any sense, the coast lands, though as regards climate not so satisfactory as the upper plateaux, are the only possible resource; but the sick man who is not yet so sick as to be laid up, is urged to quit the coast as soon as possible, and to take up his abode in the higher plains.

HEALTH RESORTS IN THE COAST-BELT

Cape Town, the capital of the Cape Colony, is the usual terminus of the voyage from England. It lies at the foot of Table Mountain, on the shores of Table Bay. Though an ugly town, it has natural surroundings of great beauty, and its suburbs are picturesque in the extreme. It has an excellent water-supply derived from Table Mountain, but its drainage is bad and the death-rate excessively high for a position of such natural advantage. Living is dear and at the present time exorbitant, owing to the large influx of persons wishing to go up to the goldfields, and unable to proceed on their way by reason of the congestion of the railway and the impossibility of finding house-room at their ultimate destination. The hotels are for the most part expensive, and leave much to be desired as regards cleanliness and comfort to the traveller fresh from Europe. There are numerous boarding-houses which are often comfortable and well managed, and in which the charges are about £12 per month for

Health Resorts of South Africa

each person. The city itself, however, is not a pleasant place to live in, and most of the business community have houses in the suburbs, retaining only offices and shops in the town. The pleasantest residential district within the metropolis itself is the part called "the Gardens," at the top of Government Avenue, a fine shady walk not open to wheeled traffic, with a double row of oak trees on each side, some of them planted by Governor Van der Stell, between 1679 and 1699. The magnificent Parliament buildings, Government House (the residence of the High Commissioner), many of the Government offices, the Public Library and Museum, the South African College, are all in close proximity to this part of the town. The library contains the most notable collection of books to be found in any of our colonies, including, as it does, the great Grey collection and the Dessinian bequest. It is particularly rich in literature dealing with South African history.

There is a large native quarter where the Malays congregate. It is overcrowded and insanitary to a degree, and contributes conspicuously to the high death-rate.

The residential suburbs, which are very healthy, stretch east and west of the town, and are connected with it by rail and electric car. The former are the more fashionable, and have become familiar to English readers during the past three years. Rondebosch, in which is Mr. Rhodes's house, Groot Schuur (bequeathed to the High Commissioner), is five miles out. Claremont, a couple of miles eastward, has a large and excellent sanatorium which was of great value to the military. Wynberg, a mile further east, has a military hospital, and is a particularly healthy and pleasant district. It has an excellent independent water-supply. The Government wine-farm, Constantia, which gives the name to the well-known Cape liqueur, is situated in the neighbourhood. The suburban railway is continued to the east, passing by Muizenberg and Kalk Bay, favourite seaside resorts for holiday-makers, and terminating at Simonstown, the headquarters of the Cape and West Coast Imperial naval squadrons. To the west of the bay lie the suburbs of Green and Sea Point, separated from the town by a large expanse of flat open land adjoining the sea, and called "the Common," upon which a large military camp was located during the war. The fresh Atlantic breezes blow directly across the Point, and this is one of the healthiest spots on the coast-belt. A magnificent new road, the Victoria Road, has been made along the sides of the precipitous slope forming the western edge of the Cape peninsula, as far as Houts Bay. From this there is an inland carriage-drive to Wynberg. The Victoria road a little resembles, but is far more magnificent than, the celebrated Corniche

The Future of South Africa

road in the French Riviera. The late Lord Carnarvon, when he visited South Africa in 1887, called this "the finest drive in the world." January, February, and March are the hottest months of the year in Cape Town. The mean maximum temperature for these three months is 80°. June, July, and August are the coldest, with a mean maximum of 62°, and a mean minimum of 49°. Clothing as for the English summer and winter respectively is recommended, but it must be remembered that even in summer the nights are cool, a drop of over 20° between midday and evening temperatures being common. The mean humidity is 79.

Fruit in the Cape peninsula is plentiful and good—grapes, oranges, tangerines, peaches, apricots, nectarines, strawberries, plums, apples, quinces, melons, pears, pomegranates, grenadillas, loquats, figs, guavas, tomatoes, are all procurable in season. The flora of the Cape peninsula is one of the most interesting in the world. Over 10,000 varieties of heath have been described as occurring in this small area. Mr. Chamberlain should be interested in the *Disa grandiflora*, the celebrated orchid to be found only on the summit of Table Mountain.

It is well to give a caution as to the prevalence of venomous snakes which abound in the Cape peninsula and South Africa generally. The cobra and the puff-adder are the most dangerous of these fearsome things. A celebrated South African authoress has confided to me that her habit of looking at her feet when walking, a habit upon which she received much banter in Europe, was derived from her early timidity of snakes. Cautious observation of one's tread in tramping across the Cape plains is very necessary, and many fatal accidents have been due to carelessness in this respect. The visitor is strongly urged to carry with him on any such expedition a hypodermic syringe and a supply of Calmette's "Antivenene," which may be obtained from the British Institute of Preventive Medicine. Calmette's experiments go to show that the venom of all species of snakes and of scorpions is of a similar nature. His serum is obtained by the inoculation of horses with the poison of the cobra. The remedial injection should be made immediately upon the occurrence of the bite. The serum keeps well for months if retained in a cool dark place. The dose is about five cubic centimetres of the serum, to be injected hypodermically.

It is curious that this late observation of modern science should have been in a measure anticipated by the natives, who have been accustomed for many years to eat snakes and swallow their venom, with a view to render themselves immune to the bites of these reptiles.

An infective sore, occurring mostly on the hands and feet, is often contracted in walking on the veldt in South Africa, and it has

Health Resorts of South Africa

been called veldt-sore. Its bacteriology has lately been thoroughly worked out, and it appears to be due to a specific micro-organism, though Professor Wright, of Netley, claims it to be the ordinary microbe of suppuration. I have had personal experience of this small ailment, and can vouch for the discomfort and intractability of the sore thus produced. Free drainage of the wound and antiseptic dressings are recommended.

Another note of warning may be fitly included here. Domestic service being performed almost entirely by natives, it is often necessary to entrust young children to their care. Unhappily, venereal diseases are exceedingly common among the coloured population. I have seen deplorable instances of the infection of young children with gonorrhœa and syphilis derived from their native nurses. These should, therefore, be selected with the utmost circumspection.

Durban, the second most usual termination of the voyage from Europe, is the seaport of the Colony of Natal. Cape Town and Durban have the distinction of being the only ports in South Africa at which landing can be effected direct from the ocean-steamers. The hottest months are January, February, and March, with a mean maximum of 84° , and a mean humidity of 76 per cent. Its dry season is the winter, and it is at its best then, and is a favourite winter resort for residents of Johannesburg, from which it is only twenty-four hours by rail. From April to September, bright, clear, sunny weather may be expected, and the climate is exceedingly enjoyable. The town is one of the most English in South Africa, and its hotels, boarding-houses, &c., are good, but woefully deficient in number for the present influx of settlers. Houses are extremely difficult to procure, and building is very expensive. The recent working of important coalfields near Durban has increased its value as a port and coaling station. The water-supply is ample and excellent, being derived from rivers several miles from the town, and being passed through filter-beds before distribution. A modern drainage system is approaching completion, and the town is being supplied with electric lighting. Mangoes, pine-apples, bananas, and custard apples are plentiful, in addition to many of the fruits previously enumerated as growing in the Cape Colony. There are large sugar and tea plantations in the vicinity, and rice, coffee, pepper, and tobacco are cultivated with success. To sum up, it may be said that although the summer humidity and heat make it not well suited for phthisical patients, the town is in the winter months one of the healthiest in South Africa, and one of the most progressive and pleasant to live in.

Port Elizabeth, the third most important of the coast-towns, is not to be recommended as a permanent residence for invalids. Its

The Future of South Africa

rainfall is more evenly distributed through the year, and the humidity, which is remarkably constant, is about 75 per cent. The variations in summer and winter heat are also within a small range; the highest mean temperature for summer being 75° ; the lowest mean for winter 48° . But the winds are trying, and render it unsuitable for invalids. Uitenhage, a small village three-quarters of an hour's run from Port Elizabeth, is far healthier, and is rapidly becoming a favourite suburb. It has an exceptionally good water-supply. In the near neighbourhood are the largest vineyards in the Eastern Province.

These three towns may serve as types of the climatic conditions to be met with on the south-western, southern, and south-eastern coast-line respectively. It must be again emphasised that climatically none of the coast resorts are as beneficial for phthisis and chest affections generally as the uplands; but that other factors render them at the present time, and for the immediate future, the most suitable resorts for the seriously ill. And though climatically they are not the best that South Africa can afford, they are, nevertheless, better than most of the European resorts that have hitherto been frequented. For they all afford more prolonged sunshine, and purer air, and are more exempt from the infectivity of overcrowding than is the case with the fashionable recruiting places of Europe. But it is to the highlands of South Africa that we eventually look with confidence as promising the maximum of benefit, which will be available as soon as the difficulties of food and accommodation and social environment are adjusted. From the coast-line a series of terraces rise to the northward, with extreme regularity on the western three-fourths, with less uniformity on the eastern fourth of the southern continent, as far as the Zambesi. Four terraces may thus be distinguished, and are divided as follows:—

1. The coast plateau comprising the land within fifty miles of the coast, and reaching a level below 1000 feet.
2. The Southern Karroo, the plateau between the Outeniqua and Langenbergen mountains to the south, and the Zwaarteborgen to the north. Level from 1000 to 1500 feet.
3. The Great or Central Karroo, the plateau between the Zwaarteborgen range to the south, and the Nieuwveld and Roggeveld to the north. Height between 2000 and 3000 feet.
4. The Northern Karroo, stretching north to the Orange River at a level of 4000 feet and over. The Transvaal and Rhodesia, though not commonly included as within the Karroo districts, are high tablelands with similar altitudes, and may be described under this heading.

Health Resorts of South Africa

The climate of the coast plateau is similar to that of the seaboard, and much need not be added to the description given under that heading. Visitors to the higher plains of South Africa must be warned to go not unprovided with warm clothing, and to be careful of evening chills. The fall of temperature as night comes is very great. It has been observed that chills which in England usually result in nasal catarrh, in South Africa take the form of intestinal catarrh, and most visitors experience this discomfort soon after arrival.

In the Southern Karroo is situated the important health-resort of Ceres, much frequented by the residents of Cape Town, from which it is distant only 84 miles. It is a pretty little Dutch town, 1700 feet above sea-level, with picturesque surroundings. It has a small sanatorium under very competent medical supervision. The water-supply is derived from mountain springs, and is very pure. The climate is drier than that of the coast plateau, and its ease of access from Cape Town enables supplies to be readily brought up. Being within the line of winter rains it is not recommended for phthisical patients in other than summer months, but during the latter, which may be taken as extending from October to March, the phthisical patient could live and sleep in the open air in properly-constructed sanatoria. It is much to be desired that further accommodation of this kind should be supplied, as Ceres forms a comfortable halting-place, where the phthisical patient may with advantage spend a few weeks on his road to the higher plateaux, and it would be an invaluable resort for delicate persons whom physicians are obliged to send out of England during the English winter, a time at which Ceres would be at its best.

Grahamstown, though not properly in the Southern Karroo, is at nearly the same level, 1700 feet, as Ceres, and may be considered here. Its rains occur mostly in the summer, and it is consequently more to be recommended as a winter resort. It is one of the prettiest towns in South Africa and one of the most English, and it vies with the capital in educational facilities. It is best reached from Port Elizabeth, from which it is 100 miles by rail, but the journey occupies nine hours. Its climate is remarkably equable but somewhat damp. It has a public library, second only to that of Cape Town, and a magnificent museum. Sport is still to be procured in the neighbourhood, and the society is more cultured and intellectual than is the case in many colonial towns. It has long enjoyed the sobriquet of the "City of the Saints," and is a pleasant and healthy place for family settlement, the schools being numerous and excellent. It is not, however, so well adapted for the presence of sanatoria for phthisis as many other districts in South Africa, owing to its humidity.

The Future of South Africa

The Great or Central Karroo and the Northern Karroo may be considered together, as they have very similar climates, differing only in the greater height of the northern plateau with the consequent influences on temperature and dryness. It may be said to offer a crescendo of advantage as the elevation increases. Here is probably to be found one of the most perfect climates in the world for tuberculosis, and one of the most healthy and invigorating. I would defy the most miserable hypochondriac alive to remain uncheerful on a bright sunny day on these glorious uplands. His struggle to remain lugubrious would be as hopeless as Mr. Thompson's after his second glass of port, even when that gentleman's deference for Sir Austin Feverel urgently required the effort. Something of the same exhilaration may be felt in the higher Swiss altitudes, but unaccompanied by the vivifying influences of the sun. Sunshine and pure air, it must be remembered, are the strongest bactericidal agents known. Mr. Clinton Dent, lecturing at St. George's Hospital, gave expression to his astonishment at the surgical triumphs of healing, which he attributed to pure air, achieved under his observation during the war. The dryness, and consequent clearness, of the air are remarkable, and indeed incredible to the northern European. This feature explains the inferior shooting of our soldiers on their first arrival in South Africa; they would invariably sight their rifles too low, their targets being, in fact, far more distant than seemed possible by reason of the clearness. And this dryness makes it possible to tolerate extremes both of heat and cold which without this factor would mean serious discomfort.

In fact, the moist warmth of our English summers is infinitely more oppressive and less easily borne than the far higher temperatures, but tempered by comparative absence of moisture, which prevail in the Karroo. The rarity of sunstroke throughout South Africa is a clinical observation which establishes the truth of the statements just made. In the records of a military hospital in the Northern Karroo during the months from August to April, including therefore the hottest time of the year, out of 3000 medical cases not a single instance of sunstroke was noted. The experience gained in this hospital has an additional value from the circumstance that the gifted physician, the late Dr. Washbourn, was the observer, and some of the results he records may be more eloquent than many pages of description. Of the medical cases (nearly 3000), 546 were enteric, 379 dysentery, 296 muscular rheumatism, 258 malaria, 187 "continued fever," 152 diarrhoea, 93 jaundice, 70 tonsillitis, 71 influenza, and only 43 bronchitis and chest affections. Dr. Washbourn acutely remarks, "From this list it may be roughly concluded that the air in South Africa is good; the food bad." It



THE MORNING MARKET AT KIMBERLEY

Photo by Wilson, Aberdeen

Health Resorts of South Africa

will be noticed that intestinal diseases form more than a third of the total. The dysentery was probably due to faulty ingesta and not to the specific organism usually associated with dysentery, since *amœbæ coli* could not be found in the stools. Malaria occurs only in limited areas in the northern Transvaal and parts of Rhodesia; the Karroo proper and the coast-belt are entirely free. The causation of malaria is now so well understood that it must yearly become a more and more preventable disease. But the great outstanding features of the list, the prevalence of intestinal diseases, the absence of respiratory troubles, merit closer examination. The intestinal diseases, under which the muscular rheumatism, (caused by toxines), the jaundice, and much of the continued fever, must be included, are due to ingesta, *i.e.* food and water. The difficulty of obtaining good food, and the absence of sanitation which is the main cause of the impurity of the water, are the obstacles which must speedily be overcome in order to make the second feature assume its proper value in the treatment of disease. The rainfall is everywhere adequate for the supply of pure water, but this must be properly stored and kept from contagia. The interesting experiments which Dr. Vivian Poore has made on the subject of rural hygiene are convincing as to the possibility of disposing of excreta with complete security to health, and material profit to the community, without the necessity of abundant water. He has found that in the dry-earth system of closets, followed by the application of the excreta to the soil and their superficial burial in the humus, with subsequent tillage, a perfectly successful system of drainage is obtainable. In an acre and a half of ground he has for many years disposed of the excreta of a hundred persons, and the crops he has raised upon this land have yielded a profit of £50 per annum per acre. It appears to me fortunate therefore that most of the South African towns (except on the coast) have not yet adopted the costly and wasteful methods of destruction of sewage which are the fashion of the moment and which entail an immense loss of water. An intelligent application of very simple methods, within the reach of the smallest community or of the largest town, will ensure proper destruction of excreta, increased fertility of soil, and security against contamination of water—the latter being by far the greatest danger in South Africa. The supplying of food is intimately bound up with the conservation of water. The soil of the Karroo is astonishingly fertile when watered, and irrigation should be widely adopted. In places where this has been done the most satisfactory results have been obtained. At Matjesfontein, for example, a small oasis in the midst of the dry Karroo has been created within recent years by intelligent methods of irrigation. It is to be hoped that more

South Africa and its Future

energetic and progressive settlers will ultimately, as farms change hands under the financial stress of the war, tackle these difficulties with modern methods of agriculture. When it becomes possible to obtain fresh food-stuffs at moderate cost, the country will be ripe for the multiplication of sanatoria and places of reception for invalids and visitors. The type of sanatorium to be recommended for phthisical patients is still much debated. The essay of Dr. Latham and Mr. West, of St. George's Hospital, who have lately won the King's prize, offered for the best solution of this question, will be published within a few weeks, and may go some way towards settling the model to be adopted. At the present time only a few sanatoria exist in South Africa, and it will be well to devote a few words to the localities in which they are to be found.

Beaufort West, on the northern main line from Cape Town, and Cradock, on the northern main line from Port Elizabeth, are old-established health-resorts which offer fair accommodation for invalids. They are of nearly equal altitude, some 2800 feet, and are both in possession of a good water-supply. Their moderate elevation and ease of access from the coast render them particularly suitable for advanced cases of phthisis who are too ill to travel farther north, and for asthma and cardiac affections.

Howick, on the main north line to the Transvaal from Durban, altitude 3500 feet, was much used as a convalescent military base during the war, and is a popular health-resort with adequate invalid accommodation. It has a good all-the-year-round climate, but is particularly recommended for the winter, which is its rainless season. Estcourt, a little farther north on the same line, is some 300 feet higher, with much the same climate. It has a sanatorium. Standerton, 5000 feet, near the Natal-Transvaal border, and on the Durban line, has a bracing winter climate, and is then much frequented by Johannesburg residents, anxious to escape the dust-storms of the Rand. Wakkerstroom, 6000 feet, a few miles east of Standerton, is an advancing health-resort, which has a sanatorium. It is best adapted for cases of early phthisis. Its altitude contra-indicates it for persons with heart affections.

Middelburg, 4000 feet, in the Great Karroo, on the Port Elizabeth line, has a sanatorium, and opportunities of accommodation in farms in the neighbourhood. It has a summer rainfall, and is therefore more especially to be recommended as a winter resort.

Kimberley, altitude 4000 feet, on the Great Northern Plateau, is the fourth largest city in South Africa, and is entirely unique in this, that it may be described as being run by a benevolent despotism. that of the De Beers Company, who own the diamond mines. This company has built at its own cost the best sanatorium in South

Health Resorts of South Africa

Africa. The fierce heat and the dust-storms render it somewhat trying as a permanent residence.

Bloemfontein, 4500 feet, in the Northern Karroo, the capital of the Orange River Colony, has long been a favourite resort for phthisical patients, and has a well-deserved reputation for the extreme dryness of its climate. It has summer rains of short duration but very heavy while they last. Its mean humidity is 58. December, January, and February are the hottest months, with a mean maximum of 85°. It has very fair hotel-accommodation at prices much lower than those ruling in Johannesburg, and has sanatorium establishments. It is on the main line of railway from Cape Town, from Port Elizabeth, and from East London. It has a good water-supply, and should become a most successful centre for the treatment of many pulmonary affections. The principal drawback to its healthiness is the prevalence of dust-storms in the late winter months.

Johannesburg, 5700 feet, in the great northern plateau of the Transvaal, is the largest and busiest town in South Africa, and cannot, for these reasons, be recommended as a health-resort; moreover, for some time to come the scramble for accommodation and the general roughing that results must keep away all but the most active and robust. But it is in a very healthy position, and enjoys a splendid climate for ten months of the year. The later winter months (July and August) are spoilt by the severe dust-storms, and the wealthier Johannesburg residents usually leave it during these months. It is the centre towards which all railways converge, and may be reached from Cape Town (in 45 hours by mail train, once a week; in 60 hours by the ordinary daily service), from Port Elizabeth in 43 hours; from Durban in 24 hours. It has summer rains in heavy down-pours, with clear, fine weather between the showers. The healthiest parts of Johannesburg are the Hill and Parktown, which are fashionable suburbs. There are numerous hotels, which at the present time are very expensive; a single room with board cannot be had under 25s. a day; servants' wages are high, from £6 to £10 per month; food-stuffs are dear and difficult to procure; fresh meat is unobtainable, all supplies being imported frozen; eggs are 11s. a dozen; milk 1s. a pint; house-rent, for a six-roomed house, averages from £20 to £30 a month. These details are mentioned to give the intending visitor warning what he may expect at the present moment; and the great rush which is continuing will doubtless keep up the prices and lack of accommodation, so that for a considerable time to come Johannesburg is a place for the delicate and the ill to avoid.

Pretoria, the official capital of the Transvaal colony, is 30 miles north of Johannesburg, but it is 1760 feet lower, and is sheltered

South Africa and its Future

and shut in by mountains, which render it a pleasant resort from Johannesburg in its windy months. The winter climate is delightful. The sanitation, both of Johannesburg and Pretoria, is very imperfect and bad, and enteric and dysentery are in consequence very prevalent. Pneumonia is one of the scourges of Johannesburg, probably owing to the frequency of chills, the variation in temperature from the heat of the day to the cool of the evening being very great—as much as 70° at times. Water is not too plentiful, and there are seasons of scarcity which increase epidemic disease.

Basutoland has been called the Switzerland of South Africa from its beautiful mountain-scenery. It is, however, not open to invalids, or indeed to travellers, owing to its being still a native reserve.

Harrismith, 5250 feet, in the Orange River Colony, is probably the nearest available health-resort to Basutoland, and is an excellent place for consumption in earlier stages. A sanatorium is being provided. It is easily reached from Durban. I have known a case of phthisis with repeated hæmoptysis to be arrested by a visit of six months to Harrismith.

Rhodesia is, as has been said, a continuation of the elevated tableland of the great northern plateau, and its climate is very similar to that of the higher Karroo, with the exception that malaria is found in some parts of the country, and is not present in the Karroo. The country is on the whole healthy, but is as yet too undeveloped to receive invalids.

THE SPAS OF SOUTH AFRICA

There are numerous mineral-springs in the country, but they remain for the most part but little used, and there is here an excellent opportunity for future development. A few words upon some of the better known of these may be useful.

Caledon, altitude 900 feet, 80 miles from Cape Town, is the best known and most developed watering-place in South Africa. A line of railway, connecting it directly with the Cape main-trunk line, has just been completed. Its reputation dates from the times of the earliest Dutch occupation. It has ferruginous springs, both hot and cold, which offer a most successful treatment for gout, rheumatism, anæmia, and cardiac diseases and renal insufficiency. There is excellent and increasing accommodation in connection with the springs. The climate is very pleasant, and especially to be recommended in summer, as being drier than the coast towns, though within such a short distance of Cape Town. The rains are in the winter.

Brandvlei, near Worcester, 100 miles from Cape Town, has

Health Resorts of South Africa

some very hot sulphur-springs which have not yet been much used.

Montagu, altitude 750 feet, near Robertson (140 miles by rail from Cape Town), has some hot mineral-springs which have been used with success in rheumatism and skin diseases, and there is an "établissement des bains" under progressive management.

Aliwal North, 4500 feet, on the Orange River, best reached from East London, may be compared to the Swiss watering-place, Loèche, in the combination of hot sulphur-springs with a great altitude. The baths are excellent for rheumatism and skin diseases, and good accommodation is procurable. The climate is a delightful one, with short summer rains and bright dry winter. The altitude is unfavourable for cardiac affections, but good for phthisis, and this has long been a much commended resort for the latter disease.

Warmbaths, altitude about 5000 feet, a thermal spring, connected by rail with Johannesburg and Pretoria (from the latter of which it is distant 70 miles), is rapidly becoming an important spa. The water issues at a very high temperature. It is ferruginous, sulphurous, and alkaline. Increased accommodation here is very desirable, and will no doubt be rapidly supplied. Rheumatic affections, anæmia, and skin diseases are benefited by this treatment, but heart disorders are aggravated by the high elevation.

It is impossible within the limits assigned to me to go into further details about the magnificent opportunities for the health-seeker which this great country must offer in the near future. To those who have been bred under those kindly skies, and who have left them permanently, an incurable nostalgia often comes, when the burden of this murky atmosphere of London seems indeed intolerable. I hope that these few pages may lead many a sufferer to find new vigour and new courage in that sunnier air. May it prove to them in very fact a land of Good Hope and pleasant memories, whether they remain in the country or whether they make but a fleeting visit.¹

¹ I have obtained much help, for which I wish to make due acknowledgment, from the following works on South Africa, which I would commend to the inquirer on the subject:—

"John Noble's Hand-Book," published in 1887 by the Cape Government.

"Health Resorts of South Africa." Dr. Arthur Fuller, 1898.

Messrs. Brown's "Guide to South Africa," published by the Union-Castle Company, 1902.

"South African Studies." Dr. Alfred Hillier.

"The New South Africa." Bleloch.

COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS

By WILLIAM EGLINGTON

Editor and Proprietor of "The British and South African Export Gazette"

IT is somewhat of an anomaly that of the scores of books which have been published of late years in connection with South Africa, not one has contained any direct reference to its commerce. This is the more remarkable when it is remembered how little is known, outside the circle of those associated with the trade, of its actual extent and importance. It is true that here and there in the daily press statements, more or less accurate, from time to time appear as to its trend, and of late quite a number of technical journals, somewhat tardily, appear to have only just awakened to the fact that the huge demands made upon British industries by South Africa's consumptive requirements are worthy of further investigation. But however admirable their intentions, the process of enlightening the public to which they set themselves would seem to have failed of its object, for the reason that, while each has done its best in its own particular groove, collectively they reveal nothing but what interests their own immediate circle of readers.

In view of the wide publicity given to South African affairs in recent times, the ignorance of the average man as to the remarkable expansion which has taken place in South African trade since the Majuba scuttle is not a little astonishing. He doubtless has a hazy idea that it runs well into millions, but there his knowledge ceases. He has had it dinned into his ears that British manufacturers have been asleep and sacrificed the trade to the greater activities of their rivals, and while he may deplore this fact, and bewail the decadence of our erstwhile commercial supremacy in oversea markets, there his interest ceases. It is with the view of enlightening a wider public as to the extent and scope of our present trade with South Africa, together with its future prospects, that this article has reference, and it will also serve to show, despite erroneous assertions to the contrary, that we have nothing to fear from foreign competition. However

Commercial Prospects

lax our manufacturers may have been in the past in allowing their rivals to secure so firm a footing in a market where, until a few years ago, they were supreme, after a perusal of the facts herein adduced it will be conceded that their present position is one from which it will be a matter of extreme difficulty to dislodge them.

Strange as it may appear, South African trade first began to show signs of expansion after the events which followed upon the retrocession of the Transvaal to the Boers in 1881. Until that year it was practically insignificant in its proportions and almost stationary in its volume, being mainly assisted by the activity shown in the diamond industry, gold not then having become a factor in quickening the commercial pulse. In the year named, the total imports into the country from all sources amounted to £11,140,027, of which the Cape Colony took, in round figures, all but two millions. After 1881, however, the imports steadily, if slowly, increased in bulk, which was due less to active developments in South Africa itself than to the gradual opening up of the country after the first Boer war. In 1891, in which year it may be said the fabulous wealth of the Witwatersrand first began to attract the attention of the civilised world, the value of the imports stood at £12,230,270, of which the Cape Colony took practically the same amount of goods as in 1881, while Natal had improved her position by taking about one-fourth of the total. After 1891 the imports increased with extraordinary rapidity in proportion as the gold industry made headway, until in 1901 they touched the high-water mark with £31,595,332, or practically three times what they stood at twenty years before.

In 1881, the quantity of goods imported from countries other than England was so insignificant as not to be worth including in the official returns, and so far as the United States was concerned absolutely no trade with South Africa was done at all, and but very little with the European Continent. In 1892, however, Germany and America began to pay greater attention to the possibilities of what then showed signs of becoming an exceedingly promising market, the share of the former country in that year being only £231,172, while that of the latter was £418,126. How successful they were in their efforts is seen by the fact that with each succeeding year the value of the goods entering South Africa from those countries grew by leaps and bounds, until in 1901 the German share had increased to £1,118,010, and that of the United States to £2,640,193. Neither of these amounts was, however, the highest point reached by either Germany or America, their record years

South Africa and its Future

being 1896 and 1898 respectively. It is unquestionable that had British manufacturers paid sufficient attention to the possibilities of the South African trade in the period from 1881-91, and had realised how rapidly the country was developing, thereby quickening them to action, the foreigner would not have got the hold upon its commerce which he now has, the combined share of all the countries competing with Great Britain amounting in 1901 to £4,590,681, or 14.9 per cent. of the total imports. Although the purely British share was as much as 65.6 per cent., the balance being made up by the shares of our Colonies and non-competing countries (*i.e.* goods imported from countries that Great Britain cannot supply), much remains to be done to retain even that percental share; but it is satisfactory to note that the lessons of the past have not been lost upon us, and that with the general awakening to the foreign menace there is every likelihood that we shall more than hold our own in the future, provided our manufacturers are not handicapped by the exactions of labour, the excessive cost of which, and the general disinclination of the Trades Unions to adopt modern labour-saving machinery, being the two principal factors in determining whether competition with other countries shall be effective or not.

It may not be without interest to put on record the values of the principal articles imported into South Africa in 1901 from all sources. They were as follow :—

Animals, Live	£71,771
Articles of Food and Drink	9,641,809
Articles of Personal Use	6,120,903
Builders' Materials	1,245,609
Drugs and Chemicals	437,610
Electrical Goods	136,964
Explosives and Weapons	119,379
Hardware, Cutlery, and Ironmongery	1,276,041
Household Requisites	1,969,724
Iron and Steel	596,928
Leather and Manufactures	394,525
Machinery, &c.	859,685
Paper, Books, &c.	689,216
Textile Manufactures	2,104,245
Vehicles and Vehicular Material	968,210
Other Articles	1,943,465
Goods by Parcels Post	520,265
Stores for Government	2,498,983
Total	<u>£31,595,332</u>



CHURCH STREET EAST, PRETORIA

Photo by Barnett & Co., Johannesburg

Commercial Prospects

The purely British (*i.e.* the United Kingdom's) share in this trade was as follows :

Animals, Living	£29,306
Arms, Ammunition, &c.	143,697
Articles of Food and Drink	2,533,163
Articles of Personal Use	3,528,907
Builders' Materials, &c.	175,078
Drugs and Chemicals	423,190
Household Requisites	1,600,763
Ironmongery and Hardware	275,245
Leather and Manufactures	1,762,438
Machinery, Millwork, &c.	1,210,151
Metals and Manufactures	1,762,438
Oils, other than Essential	55,076
Paper and Stationery	577,228
Textile Manufactures	2,387,666
Vehicles and Parts	635,153
Vessels (Ships and Boats)	23,214
Wood and Timber	108,034
Miscellaneous Articles	965,655
Total	<u>£20,648,529</u>

It is not without instruction to those who are unaware of the potential character of South Africa's buying capacity, the reasons for which will be more clearly set forth later on, to compare the amount spent on the purchase of oversea goods by the white and black population with those of our other colonies and India :—

	White Population.	Native Population.	Total Population.	British Exports to.	Per Head White.	Per Head Native.	Per Head Total.
				£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Australia . . .	3,577,000	200,000	3,777,000	21,329,965	5 19 0	106 12 0	5 13 0
Canada . . .	5,170,000	201,000	5,371,000	8,153,815	1 11 6	40 11 2	1 10 4
India . . .	275,000	294,000,000	294,295,000	39,753,348	144 0 0	0 2 9	0 2 8
New Zealand . .	767,000	52,000	819,000	5,601,979	7 6 0	107 14 3	6 16 0
South Africa . .	1,007,000	3,000,000	4,007,000	20,326,006	20 3 7	6 15 6	5 1 6

In other words, with the exception of India, where the European population is not numerous, each white inhabitant in South Africa spends vastly more in proportion to its population than any of our other Colonies, or exactly £20, 3s. 7d. per head as against £7, 6s. for Australia, the next highest, and £1, 11s. 6d. for Canada, the lowest, or, with black and white combined, £5, 1s. 6d. per head of the total population, as against 2s. 8d. for India, £1, 10s. 4d. for Canada, £5, 13s. for Australia, and £6, 16s. for New Zealand. A reference to the above table clearly shows what an important customer the South African native is for oversea goods, his annual purchases amounting to £6, 15s. 6d., which it will be seen is even

The Future of South Africa

more per head than that of the Australian white population. This latter assumption is, of course, purely deductive, but it is in the main fairly accurate.

Not only this, but it will surprise many to learn that of the total British exports to our Colonies and India, South Africa is our third best market. Moreover, in certain classes of goods, specified below, she is also far and away our most important customer. For instance, of the total exports from the United Kingdom to our Colonies and dependencies, there were shipped in 1901 :—

Boots and Shoes.

To South Africa	£881,266
„ Australia	223,516
„ India	125,256
„ New Zealand	105,671

Of these South Africa took one-half of the total British exports.

Apparel and Slops

To South Africa	£2,198,235
„ Australia	1,353,878
„ New Zealand	376,582
„ Canada	281,100
„ India	195,762

Of these South Africa took two-fifths of the total exports.

Haberdashery and Millinery.

To Australia	£341,241
„ South Africa	310,372
„ India	142,341
„ New Zealand	137,080
„ Canada	125,401

Of these South Africa took one-fifth of the total exports.

Mining Machinery.

To Australia	£129,704
„ South Africa	108,365
„ India	74,714
„ New Zealand	11,272

South Africa took one-fifth of the total mining machinery exports, but had 1901 been a normal year, the exports would unquestionably have exceeded those of all our other Colonies and India combined.

Agricultural Machinery (excluding Engines).

To Australia	£30,829
„ South Africa	26,833
„ New Zealand	18,654
„ India	14,294

Commercial Prospects

Manufactures of Steel, &c.

To India	£268,377
„ South Africa	108,187
„ Australia	57,990
„ New Zealand	20,189

Locomotives.

To India	£535,115
„ Australia	311,616
„ South Africa	281,158
„ New Zealand	38,712

Unenumerated Engines.

To India	£274,257
„ Australia	232,563
„ South Africa	128,786

Cast and Wrought Iron.

To India	£848,857
„ Australia	746,155
„ South Africa	599,018
„ New Zealand	202,451
„ Canada	53,212

Galvanized Sheets.

To Australia	£730,952
„ India	586,023
„ South Africa	358,353
„ New Zealand	125,828
„ Canada	113,015

This brief digest will doubtless be sufficient to prove that South Africa, as a market, is to-day one of the best customers of the Motherland, and, as will be shown later, when dealing with the future outlook for Imperial trade with that country, bids fair to speedily overtop in her demands upon the United Kingdom and her Colonies and dependencies that of any single member of the Imperial family, India—of all our possessions at present our best customer—not even excepted. And what will readily be conceded is a satisfactory feature in our commercial relations with South Africa is the remarkable growth which has characterised the exports thither from British possessions and Protectorates other than the Mother Country itself, the total proportion in 1901 being £4,733,800, as against £4,590,681, the value of the combined trade with South Africa in that year of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and the United States.

Why South Africa must, for many years to come, remain our best customer, ever increasing its demands upon our industries, is

The Future of South Africa

not difficult of comprehension to those who are acquainted with its circumstances. Although it is more than capable in proper hands and with the assistance of capital of being self-supporting, beyond its gold, diamonds, and coal, it produces little or nothing to speak of. It has one of the finest climates in the world ; its soil is more than ordinarily fertile, and only requires water to yield a harvest more than sufficient for its consumptive needs, which could easily be obtained if the ample rainfall were properly conserved and irrigation resorted to on an intelligent principle. Incredible as it may seem, even the mealies or maize, which it could grow in sufficient quantity, without recourse to irrigation, to supply its own wants and leave a margin for export, are imported to the amount of something like £350,000 annually. Its iron deposits are probably unequalled elsewhere ; its seas teem with fish, and its orchards and vineyards groan with the yield which nature lavishes with but little assistance from man. Yet on the shelves of every store throughout the country will be found imported canned fish and fruit, mainly from America ; and while it is true that here and there jam factories are to be found, and the sugar cane grows almost wild in Natal, probably more than half a million yearly is disbursed on imported jams, confectionery, syrups, and the like. Tea likewise flourishes in Natal, but South Africa imports nearly £200,000 worth yearly ; fresh and preserved vegetables, to its shame, are actually landed to the value of £80,000 annually, although, like most other foodstuffs, the soil grows them in luxuriant profusion ; and of wine, despite the fact that the huge quantities made at the Cape, if properly treated according to European methods, would be unsurpassed in the world, the oversea product stands for nearly £300,000.

Moreover, as a cattle country many parts of South Africa are probably unrivalled, notwithstanding which both live and dead stock are freely imported, and while it could support millions of sheep it prefers the frozen mutton of New Zealand and the Argentine. Whoever is to blame for this state of things, which, happily, under the new *regime* and with the influx of population from European countries will gradually be altered, it is certain that, until the old order changes (and this will probably be a work of decades), South Africa must rely upon oversea goods for the maintenance of its growing population, as also for the means wherewith to extract its marvellous mineral wealth. According to Mr. W. Willcocks, C.M.G., if the irrigation schemes which are projected in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies are ever carried into effect, they will add something like £200,000,000 to the value of the agricultural land, a consummation which, in its own interests as well as for our own industries, is devoutly to be wished. If it be true,

Commercial Prospects

as is repeatedly asserted by those most competent to judge, that South Africa's vast mineral deposits have only been "scratched," how much more does this remark apply to its agriculture, which, after all, is the staple wealth of all countries, and which has made the United States and Canada what they are to-day?

Enough has probably been said of the South African trade of the past and present, although the subject is of such profound interest to the student that it deserves greater space than is possible within the scope of a single article. It is to the future that we have now to direct our attention, and it is in attempting to forecast the probable trend of the trade in the years to come that speculation becomes positively fascinating. In making this endeavour, it is well to bear in mind that assumption will be based upon such facts as are within our common knowledge, and therefore may be accepted as a reliable, although not infallible, guide as to what may safely be expected of South African commerce in the future. Setting aside for the moment the possibility of the soil being made to yield any greater abundance than is now the case, or that other than its existing insignificant industries will be promoted or developed, we will first of all confine our investigations to how far South Africa's mineral wealth will beneficially affect trade pure and simple. Altogether, irrespective of the Cape, Natal, Rhodesia, and the Orange River Colony, the mining, exploration, and investment companies at present in existence in the Transvaal alone, or connected therewith, number something like 350, representing a capital of £250,000,000, or about what the war has cost us. Many attempts have been made by competent experts in the past to forecast what the several sections of the Witwatersrand only will yield in gold as interest on this huge sum before the mines at present in working or in process of being worked are exhausted, but few approximate with such exactitude the recent estimates of Messrs. Frederick H. Hatch and T. H. Leggett, both of whom are authorities whose views are entitled to the greatest respect. They have had many years' practical experience of the Transvaal mines, and owing to the uniformity of the yield, tested at a depth of nearly 5000 feet, to which they limit themselves in their calculations, they are of opinion that the gold yet to be extracted from Randfontein on the west to Modderfontein on the east amounts to the almost incalculable total of £1,310,323,000, and that the life of this section is forty-two and a half years.

Now, as it is indisputable that South African trade is in the main practically dependent upon the country's mineral wealth, it is not a matter of supreme difficulty to arrive at some definite conclusion as to what effect the extraction of this stupendous amount

The Future of South Africa

will have upon its consumptive requirements. Herein lies its supreme significance to manufacturers, and particularly to those who are our countrymen. The experts cited are of opinion that by June 1906 the annual output of gold from this section alone will amount to £30,000,000, which compares with £20,000,000, the estimated yield for 1899, had not the war intervened. According to figures taken from the reports issued by the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines, something like 75 per cent. of the yearly output of but seventy-four of the mining companies producing the £20,000,000 referred to has been spent in the past on machinery, stores, development, labour, &c., which would mean a local disbursement alone of £22,500,000 in 1906 to win the £30,000,000 estimated as the yield in that year by Messrs. Hatch and Leggett. But, according to Mr. A. R. Goldring, secretary to the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines, who bases his data upon information supplied by the leading Rand engineering experts, in 1907 no fewer than 17,000 head of stamps will be at work, being an increase of 11,000 on the number in operation just previous to the outbreak of the war. If the annual output of £20,000,000 involved the expenditure of £15,000,000 on stores, machinery, wages, &c., Mr. Goldring's estimate of the number of stamps that will be at work in 1907 means the disbursement of the gigantic sum of £42,500,000 as the total contribution which the Rand gold industry alone will expend for the benefit of the merchants and manufacturers of the Mother Country and the world at large. If to this estimate be added the expenditure necessitated by the numerous diamond and copper mines and collieries in the Cape Colony, Orange River Colony, Natal, and the Transvaal, coupled with that of the Rhodesian gold mines and collieries, as well as the gold mines in districts other than the Witwatersrand, such as Barberton and Zoutpansberg, &c., a reasonable estimate should place the total disbursements of the entire mining industry in South Africa in, say, five years at £50,000,000 sterling, which, added to the normal requirements of the country apart from those of mining, would mean an annual outlay of at least £60,000,000 for the benefit of commerce.

It will be seen that no allowance is here made for possible developments in agriculture and kindred pursuits, which may not unreasonably be expected to ensue as the result of the fostering care of the administrations, under the Imperial Government, of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, although large disbursements might with perfect safety be placed to the credit of these and other industries which may safely be assumed to be promoted during the interval between the present and the year to which these estimates relate. That the Rand gold industry can never be checked again,

Commercial Prospects

short of another war, which is extremely improbable, is as certain as that the sun shines, and the same remark applies to the other mineral propositions. It is therefore well within the bounds of probability to predict that the total purchasing capacity of South Africa five years hence will be at least £60,000,000 sterling per annum (which is an exceedingly moderate computation in view of the fact that the estimated total in 1902 is £42,000,000), a sum which, assuming our other colonies and possessions do not advance in the same ratio, will make that country an easy first as Great Britain's best market. If Messrs. Hatch and Leggett be correct in their surmise that the life of the Rand is forty-two and a half years—and in the main they are supported by other competent authorities—excluding altogether the possibility of other discoveries of precious metals and minerals in that long interval, and eliminating for the moment, what is improbable, that the remainder of the three hundred and fifty mining and exploration companies above referred to remain idle meantime, or that their number is not hugely increased, we arrive at a total expenditure of *two thousand five hundred and fifty millions sterling* as South Africa's contribution to trade in the period in question. As it would be futile to dilate upon what this overwhelming sum means to British industries, it must be left to the imagination. It is worth thinking about nevertheless.

There is, however, always the pessimist to be considered in these matters. While no doubt he will content himself with the satisfactory outlook for British trade which is here unfolded, he may, in anticipation of time, begin to worry himself as to what will happen when the Rand is no more, and when its thousands of stamps are lying idle for the want of further quartz to crush. If one cared or dared to venture upon the hazardous ground of prophecy, one might easily foretell the possibility of other Rands being discovered meanwhile, with the practical certainty that a hundred years hence South Africa's gold yield, instead of showing diminution, will largely exceed even present anticipations; and here it is justifiable to intrude the remark that every expert, without exception, who is connected with its gold industry, is unanimous in asserting that mining has hardly been begun, and that the future will exceed the expectations of even the most optimistically inclined. But, granted that the pessimist be correct that in fifty years the gold will cease to yield and the Rand be a barren, silent waste, is it quite safe to conclude that meanwhile the country has remained at a standstill except for its mining activities? Are the £200,000,000 sterling which Mr. W. Willcocks, C.M.G., the distinguished irrigation expert, asserts will add to the value of the country as agricultural land if irrigation be resorted to, to be counted as nothing;

The Future of South Africa

and is there not the remote possibility of South Africa taking its natural place among the world's producers of other staples than gold? What of its vast coal and iron deposits, its saltpetre, its petroleum, and its countless other products which to-day are but waiting the advent of capital to bring into being, all of which, like its gold, have yet to astonish the world? Gold or no gold, the country must, as the years unfold, become a teeming hive of industry, the only approximation to which is that of the United States of America. South Africa, then, is no place for the pessimist, and the sooner that is understood, the greater the peace of mind of that misguided individual.

As to the trend of the gigantic trade that is before South Africa, it has been incontestably shown that the proportion enjoyed by the Mother Country, and that of its colonies and possessions, is immeasurably in advance of that of all other nations combined, despite the ravings of the alarmists as to the alleged incursions of our rivals on what are pre-eminently our own domains. This fact must not, however, lull us into the false security of our peaceful slumbers of twenty, or even ten, years ago, when we had the field to ourselves, and which we might have retained even now but for our ignorance of its potentialities. The competition to be faced is a keen one; the trade is there and must remain there, in all human probability, for all time, in increasing quantity—for it can never retrograde; and only the alertness, the unceasing activity of those who are interested in retaining it, will preserve the major portion to our own industries. In endeavouring to show that the future outlook for South African trade is one which our manufacturers cannot possibly ignore, by reason of its incalculable vastness, it is reasonable to suppose that each member of the Imperial family, whether it be the Mother Country, its offsprings, or the humblest citizen of either, will strain every nerve to conserve to it the spoils for which such sacrifices in blood and treasure have been made, thus handing down to our children a heritage of wealth which is their right equally as it is our duty.

Much might be written in confutation of the many alarmist reports as to the decadent condition into which British trade has fallen of late years, but, after all, is this worth while? Admitted that, inflated with our past prosperity, we have slumbered on undisturbed by the thought of what the to-morrow will bring, it would need greater imagination than the prospective garnering of the two thousand five hundred millions sterling which it has been shown is likely to fall into the lap of the world's traders as the result of the future expansion of South Africa in less than fifty years, to suppose that our manufacturers have sud-



Photo: Russell, London.

THE COLONIAL CONFERENCE.

The names, reading from left to right, are: Back row—Sir Alfred Bateman, Sir Francis Hopwood, Hon. W. S. Fielding, Sir M. Ommanney. Middle row—Mr W. Holderness, Sir J. Anderson, Sir J. Forrest, Sir W. Mulock, Lord Onslow, Hon. W. Patterson, Rear-Admiral Custance, Lord Selborne, Mr Gerald Balfour. Front row—Sir Robert Bond, Mr R. J. Seddon, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Mr Chamberlain, Sir Edmund Barton, Sir A. Hime, Mr Fuller.

Commercial Prospects

denly become bereft of their senses not to seize the most of their opportunities. It is easy to decry their enterprise, to compare their alleged shortcomings with the activities and the asserted "pushful" tendencies of their competitors—thus advertising the latter at their expense—but how much of foundation is there in such reports? The brief statistics with which this article is accompanied—and they have been confined to the narrowest possible limits—conclusively show that, so far as South African trade is concerned, British manufacturers are more than holding their own; and there cannot be the least doubt that they will continue to do so in the years of prosperity and expansion that are before the sub-continent, provided they are assisted by the ungrudging efforts of labour. This is a matter which need not be intruded here, but it is one upon which the maintenance of our supremacy in the world's markets will depend, and it is one, too, which could be more profitably discussed by those whose apparent mission is to belittle everything that is British in favour of those who, in South Africa as elsewhere, are striving to wrest our commerce from us. As has been shown, the future outlook for trade in that country is of the brightest, and that we shall not prove equal to the task of maintaining our position there is a contemplation that does not come within the scope of probability.

THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTABULARY

VIEWS OF MAJOR-GENERAL BADEN-POWELL

BELIEVING that a short account of the origin and object of the force known as the South African Constabulary for the Orange River and Transvaal would be interesting to those anxious for the prosperity of the new Colonies, General Baden-Powell, the originator of the highly-practical scheme, was invited to contribute to this volume a brief *resumé* of his important work. The General in his reply said, "I am very sorry that it is quite impossible for me, under present pressure of work, to contribute an article;" but he kindly furnished an outline of his scheme, which serves to enlighten home-staying people regarding the importance of this irregular arm of the British service.

In brief the General writes:—

"I can only say of the South African Constabulary that it is not formed on lines exactly identical with any other Police Force, although in many respects similar to some.

"A Military Mounted Police is a bugbear to most administrators, as being an expensive luxury; but I think that it is rather like what a steam-engine is to a Boer farmer—once he knows how to apply it to the many uses of which it is capable, independent of what has been the practice of his predecessors—it will be found to be an economy in place of a luxury.

"I have schemed the South African Constabulary to that end, viz., as the machinery for performing many duties not hitherto included in the province of Police; and my one hope is that it may be found effective for the purpose.

"It is the best paid force of its kind, and by careful selection and elimination I expect it to be the best in quality.

"It numbers at present 10,000 whites and 1000 natives, but these numbers will be liable to alterations as the country progresses.

"It is divided into four separate self-contained Divisions carrying out the duties of District and Town Police in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, together with their subordinate departments of Criminal Investigation and Intelligence, and many minor and temporary duties, such as medical, agricultural, and veterinary, postal and customs, sanitary, public works, &c. &c.

"With a good Reserve, as the Force will shortly have, of men settled in the country in civil situations, and with its married establishment of 600 families, the South African Constabulary will also take an important share in the development of the Colony, and will at the same time be in a position to supply a well-trained mounted force for military work should emergency arise."

This force has been formed for the maintenance of order and public security in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, but is available for service in any part of British South Africa. It acts as a District Mounted Police in time of peace, and as a military force in time of war. At one period drafts of about 80 men per month were despatched from Great Britain and Ireland, but now,

The Future of the Constabulary

owing to the cessation of the war, recruiting is closed. From time to time new blood may yet be in demand. Candidates had to be good readers, writers, spellers, riders, and shots. Single men were preferred, and recommendations, particularly as to sobriety, had to be forthcoming. The term of engagement was for three years for those recruited in the British Isles, with the possibility, for non-commissioned officers and men, of re-engaging on increased pay. The term of service for men enlisted in South Africa (who had not been given a passage) was two years. Promotion by merit and commissions are obtainable from the ranks. The age of candidates is not under 20 nor over 35. The standard of height, without boots, is not over 6 ft. 2 ins. nor under 5 ft. 4 ins. The chest measurement, deflated, is not under 34 inches, and the weight, without clothes, is not over 13 stone 7 lbs. nor under 9 stone.

The following is the scale of pay :—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Sergeant (Staff-Sergeant)	10	0 per diem.
Sergeant	9	0 „
Second Class Sergeant	8	0 „
Corporal	7	6 „
First Class Trooper	7	0 „
Second Class Trooper	6	0 „
Third Class Trooper	5	0 „

Pay commenced from date of attestation in South Africa.

Pay, as well as promotion, is largely in accordance with a man's efficiency and behaviour, troopers being divided into three classes, and non-commissioned officers into four, for this purpose. Promotion from one class to another among troopers depends on their qualifying in Constabulary duties, musketry, signalling, language, and other tests, and on their continuing efficient in these subjects. Men of all grades entered at the lowest pay of their grade. Men selected in Great Britain and Ireland joined as third-class troopers. Promotion in the non-commissioned officers' ranks will generally only be granted to those who qualify in colloquial Dutch. Men desirous of marrying while in the South African Constabulary need to obtain the sanction of the Officer Commanding Division to their doing so, they are then entitled to an allowance to cover lodging and other expenses, such as rations, fuel, light, &c., at the consolidated rate of 3s. a day. On completion of the first three years' service a man may, if approved by the Officer Commanding Division, re-engage for a further term of two years, at 3d. a day extra. On completion of his five years he may re-engage for further service by the year, if the Officer Commanding Division approves, at 6d. a day for every additional year, until the total increase of pay for re-engagement shall have reached 2s. per diem. Rations, horse, forage, clothing, equipment, arms, quarters, and medical attendance are supplied free. In exceptional circumstances, where rations cannot be supplied, a ration allowance will be made of 2s. per diem.

A non-commissioned officer or man may be discharged at any time by order of the Officer Commanding Division with or without gratuity. Discharge may be purchased, with consent of Officer Commanding Division, for £20 during first year, £15 during second year, and £10 during third year.

Any Non-commissioned Officer or Trooper may, with the approval of his

South Africa and its Future

Commanding Officer, be transferred to the Reserve, provided that there is a vacancy for him, at the end of his first engagement (three years), or if he re-engages, at the end of any period of re-engagement, up to the completion of five years from his first entry into the service. Every man transferred to the Reserve is required to remain in it and have his permanent residence in the Orange River Colony or the Transvaal, unless discharged, up to the end of seven years from the date of his first entry into the service. A man wishing to purchase his discharge from the Reserve may do so on payment of £12 at any period of his service in the Reserve. He will receive while in the Reserve pay at the rate of £1 per month. He will be liable to be called out annually for not more than ten consecutive days for training, and shall also be liable to be called out for active service at any time by the proclamation of the administrator, governor, or other person exercising for the time being supreme authority in the Transvaal or Orange River Colony, declaring the existence of a state of war, or of such serious menace to the peace as to render mobilisation necessary. While on training or on active service he will receive full pay at the same rate which he was enjoying when transferred to the Reserve. In addition to their pay, Reservists, if they desire to settle on the land, will receive special consideration in any Government-aided scheme of settlement.

Proposals are at present under consideration, whereby suitable settlers may be assisted to acquire land, and be aided at starting by Government advances, the purchase price and capital advanced being repayable on easy terms. If any plan of this kind is found to be practicable, a certain number of farms annually will be offered in the first instance to members of the South African Constabulary, who, having borne a good character, may be desirous of being transferred to the Reserve with a view to actually settling on the land as farmers. Similar privileges will, if the opportunity offers, be extended to Non-commissioned Officers and men who may quit the South African Constabulary after five or more years' continuous service, bearing a good character.

Any man having served at least five years continuously in the South African Constabulary (not including Reserve service) with a good character will be entitled, on retiring, to a gratuity of one month's pay for every year of service. Men on the Reserve may, with approval of Officer Commanding Division, be taken on to full pay again at any time for a term of two years at 3d. a day extra pay.

Where a number of men joined from one place they were squadded together as far as possible in the South African Constabulary. Leave of absence will where possible be granted to all ranks for one month in each year, cumulative, on full pay, special conditions ruling shooting leave, and leave to England or out of South Africa. After four years without leave six months on full pay will be granted.

Candidates were given a free passage in a transport to South Africa, and a free railway voucher from their place of residence to the port of embarkation. They were liable to further medical examination on arrival at the place of attestation. Any candidate found unsuitable was given a free passage back to England, provided that he was not rejected for any misrepresentation, misconduct, or serious fault of his own. After five years' total service a free third-class passage home will be granted to men recruited in the United Kingdom.

The full strength of the Constabulary will in future be six thousand men: the four thousand enrolled for the war contingency will shortly be disbanded.

These particulars serve to show the nature of the new Force, and give some idea of its value in preserving the future peace of the King's new dominions.

APPENDIX

MR. CHAMBERLAIN AND THE BOER GENERALS

SOON after the conclusion of the war Generals Botha, De Wet, and Delarey, in the hope of making favourable arrangements with the Government on behalf of their fellow-countrymen, sailed for England. They were greeted by the British people with unusual cordiality, not because of any sympathy with the Republics they came to represent, but because it is a characteristic of the British people to honour brave men, even when they are defeated foes. General Botha was received by Mr. Chamberlain, and the Boer future was discussed. A few days later the public was startled to read in the daily journals the following manifesto entitled, "Appeal of the Boer Generals to the Civilised World."

"It is still fresh in the memory of the world how the Boers, after a terrible struggle lasting more than two and a half years, were at last obliged to accept through their representatives at Vereeniging the terms of peace submitted to them by the Government of King Edward VII. At the same time the representatives commissioned us to proceed to England in order, in the first place, to appeal to the new Government to allay the immense distress everywhere devastating the new colonies. If we did not succeed we were to appeal to the humanity of the civilised world for charitable contributions. As we have not succeeded up to the present in inducing the British Government to grant further assistance to our people in their indescribable distress, it only remains for us to address ourselves to the peoples of Europe and America.

"During the critical days through which we have passed it was sweet for us and ours to receive constant marks of sympathy from all countries. The financial and other assistance given to our women and children in the concentration camps, and to the prisoners of war in all parts of the earth contributed infinitely to mitigate the lot of those poor sufferers, and we take advantage of this opportunity to express in the name of the people of the late Republics our fervent thanks to all those who have charitably assisted us in the past. The small Boer nation can never forget the help it received in its dark hours of suffering.

"The people of the Republics were ready to sacrifice everything for their independence, and now the struggle is over and our people are completely ruined. Though we have not had the opportunity of drawing up an exact inventory of the destruction done, we have the conviction, based on personal experience, that at least thirty thousand houses on Boer farms and a number of villages were burnt or destroyed by the British during the war. Our homes with their furniture were burned or destroyed, our orchards were ruined, all

Appendix

our agricultural implements broken, our mills were destroyed, every living animal was carried off or killed. Nothing, alas, remained to us. The country is laid waste. The war demanded many victims, and the land was bathed in tears. Our orphans and widows have been abandoned. Besides, it is needless to recall the fact how much will be needed in the future for the education of the children of the Burghers, who are in great distress.

"We address ourselves to the world, with the prayer to help us by charitable contributions for our widows and orphans, for the maimed and other needy ones, and for the satisfactory education of our children. We allude to the terrible results of the war in order to bring to the knowledge of the world our urgent needs, by no means to inflame people's minds. The sword is now sheathed, and all differences are silent in presence of such great misery. The ruin caused by the war is indescribable, so that the small amount which Great Britain is to give us, in accordance with the terms of surrender, even were it multiplied tenfold, would be wholly insufficient even to cover the war losses alone. The widows, orphans, maimed, needy, and children, on whose behalf alone we appeal, will receive little of this sum, and in most cases nothing.

"All contributions will be assigned to a fund to be called 'General Fund of Help for the Boers,' which will be devoted solely to supplying the wants of those for whom we are collecting, and to provide for their future. We solicit the hearty co-operation of the committees existing in the various countries of Europe and in America. We are now on the point of visiting these countries in succession with the object of establishing a satisfactory organisation.

"BOTHÁ.

"DE WET.

"DELAREY."

The lamentable representations of this manifesto naturally caused a profound impression—and the effect of them was not removed till late in the year when Mr. Chamberlain's correspondence in relation to the matter was published. This correspondence merits more than superficial study by those truly interested in the pacification of the new Colonies, for the evil done by the pronouncements of the Boer "appeal" will live after them, while the good effected by the tardy publication of the Colonial Secretary's refutation will probably be interred in the official mausoleum. To this end the opening despatch from Mr. Chamberlain to General Louis Botha, dated Downing Street, the 6th of November, is here appended:—

"Since the interview which you had with me at this office on the 5th of September an 'Appeal of the Boer Generals to the Civilised World' has been issued, many of the statements in which have, according to Press reports, been repeated and enlarged on in the speeches delivered by yourself and General Delarey and General De Wet during your tour on the Continent.

"The appeal, I regret to say, appears to me to convey an incorrect and exaggerated impression of the circumstances to which it refers, and though I have no desire at this time to enter into controversy, I cannot allow it to pass altogether in silence.

"In the first place I am at a loss to understand why the appeal should open

Appendix

with a statement that you have not up to the present succeeded in inducing the British Government to grant further assistance to your people. It is not, indeed, the intention of his Majesty's Government to ask Parliament to authorise any addition to the free grant of £3,000,000—a grant which is itself without any precedent in the history of the world—but the promise of further assistance by way of loan on very easy terms, as provided by Article 10 of the Terms of Surrender, has never been withdrawn; and I think you will agree, on again consulting the record of our conversation, that there is nothing in the language which I then used which indicates any intention on the part of his Majesty's Government to withdraw it.

“Further, the expenditure on the Burgher camps which, since the conclusion of peace, have to a great extent been transformed into organisations for enabling the people to return to their homes, and the cost of which has been about £200,000 a month, is being borne by his Majesty's Government, and constitutes in effect a very considerable addition to the free grant.

“The cost of the camps since their establishment has exceeded £3,000,000, and there is no room for reasonable doubt that they have been the means of preserving the lives of thousands of women and children, and of providing the latter with a better education than they ever had the opportunity of enjoying before.

“I observe that in an article signed by you in this month's *Contemporary Review* you make it a complaint that the concentration camps are still being maintained.

“It must be self-evident that, on the score of expense alone, it is the interest of his Majesty's Government to abolish these camps at the earliest possible moment, and it is only in the cause of humanity that they continue to maintain this costly organisation.

“If they were to accept the inferences to be drawn from your statement they would turn out into the veldt thousands of men, women, and children whom it has been impossible to return to their farms immediately on the termination of the war, owing to the absence of sufficient transport and the scarcity of stock.

“They have, however, already provided for the return of large numbers of the population of the camps which had been reduced from 116,000 at end of May to about 34,000 in the last week of October.

“I observe that you are reported in the Press to have suggested in a speech at Paris that the British military authorities deliberately used the sufferings of women and children to induce their relatives in the field to lay down their arms, and in the resolution passed at Vereeniging on the 31st of May the sufferings of the women and children were given as a reason for surrender.

“No one deplores more than the British Government the high mortality in the camps during the epidemic of measles and pneumonia, but nothing was spared that money or science could afford to reduce it, and for the last six months the average total death-rate in the camps has been about 21 per 1000 per annum, a rate which must be much lower than any which obtained before the war in normal conditions.

“It is, therefore, clear from the statistics that at the actual time of the surrender there could have been no cause for anxiety as to the condition of the women and children then in the British camps; and in confirmation of this view I may remind you that neither at the time of your conferences with Lord Kitchener in February 1901 nor in the discussions which preceded the

Appendix

acceptance of the Terms of Surrender was any request made for special provision for widows and orphans.

“On the contrary, the request made on both these occasions was that the sums offered as a free grant by the British Government should be applied to the payment of notes and receipts for goods requisitioned by the Boer commandoes, in many cases from persons of considerable means. To this proposal his Majesty's Government objected, and while willing that these notes and receipts should be accepted as evidence of war losses, they stipulated that the grant should be applied for the benefit of the destitute, or, in the words of the Terms of Surrender, ‘for the purpose of assisting the restoration of the people to their homes and supplying those who, owing to war losses, are unable to provide themselves with food, shelter, and the necessary amount of seed, stock, implements, &c., indispensable to the resumption of their normal occupation.’ As at present advised, I believe that the sum allotted will be amply sufficient for the purpose; but, should more be required, there is one source from which a substantial addition may be fairly expected.

“His Majesty's Government are aware that large sums were remitted from the Transvaal to Europe during the war to be expended in the interests of the South African Republic.

“They have no desire to question the expenditure of this money so far as it was legitimately devoted to the purposes for which it was intended, but they cannot doubt that a large balance still remains which would properly come to them as the successors of the late South African Republic, and which they would be prepared to add to the fund provided for the relief of the distressed burghers and their families. I venture to think that in this matter your wishes will coincide with mine, and that you will give me any assistance in your power to discover the persons to whom the money was entrusted, and to obtain from them a statement of account showing the expenditure and the amount of the balance which remains over.

“I may add, with regard to the camps, that the reference in the manifesto to the pecuniary assistance furnished by foreign sympathisers appears to rest on a misconception. It consisted in the Transvaal of 2646 bales and packages, chiefly containing clothing and miscellaneous stores, which were brought up from the coast at military expense, and in the sum of £562, 2s. 2d. received and distributed through the Burgher Relief Fund. I have not yet received exact information as to the money contributions to the camps in Orange River Colony, but it was on a similar scale, and provides no ground whatever for an unfavourable contrast with British liberality.

“On the general question of your appeal for help for the widows and orphans, the maimed and the needy, and for assistance in the education of the children, I desire to say that the Colonial Government is making itself entirely responsible for the maintenance of all destitute orphans, including their food, clothing, supervision, and education. Large orphanages are already in existence at Irene in the Transvaal, and Brandfort and Springfontein in the Orange River Colony; and suitable provision is also being made for widows.

“The Government have been, and are, making themselves responsible for the education of the children. In the last year of the war £100,000 was spent on education in the Transvaal, and £32,500 in the Orange River Colony. At the date of the signing of peace the number of children in Government schools in the Transvaal was 28,000, and in the Orange River Colony 14,500. As a

Appendix

contrast to these figures it may be mentioned that under the late Governments the total number of children being educated never exceeded 15,000 and 9000, in the South African Republic and Orange Free State respectively.

“With regard to your statements as to the desolation caused by the war, I would point out that it was inevitable that much damage should be caused in consequence of the prolongation of hostilities long after there had ceased to be any reasonable doubt as to the issue of the war. Though the principal centres, such as Bloemfontein, Kroonstad, Winburg, Heilbron, Harrismith, Bethlehem, Ficksburg, Ladybrand, Thaba N’chu, Bethulie, Fauresmith, Jagersfontein, Koffyfontein, Boshof, in the Orange River Colony, and Johannesburg, Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Heidelberg, Standerton, Middelburg, Lydenburg, Pietersburg, Nylstroom, Lichtenburg, Zeerust, Rustenburg, in the Transvaal, are practically untouched, it is no doubt the case that a large number of farmhouses and buildings have been damaged or destroyed by one or other of the belligerents or by natives. The value of such buildings in South Africa is, however, in most instances not very great, and the pecuniary loss is probably more than compensated by the increased value of the land. The heaviest loss, and that temporarily pressing most hardly on the people is, no doubt, the loss of their stock; but the statement that every living animal was taken away or killed is a great exaggeration. A recent census taken in the Orange River Colony shows that, excluding animals belonging to the military and Repatriation Department, there are now in the colony over 120,000 head of cattle, 700,000 sheep and goats, and 27,000 horses. Similar figures for the Transvaal are not yet available, but the local government is spending very large sums to supply stock in both colonies. The Repatriation Department in the Transvaal is using 36,000 animals for transport alone. It has already issued some 20,000 head of stock to the farmers, and is in a position to issue another 35,000 by December 1. Assistance is being given in the Orange River Colony on a like scale, and ploughs and implements are being supplied as far as it is possible. So far, indeed, from being a desert the country will, if rain is abundant, be extensively cultivated at the end of the year; and it is the earnest hope of his Majesty’s Government that the strenuous efforts now being made by the local governments, seconded by the co-operation of the people themselves, will result in bringing back a degree of prosperity in no way inferior to that existing before the war.”

This despatch satisfactorily disposed of many vexed questions, and comfortable corroboration of the statements made therein is to be found within the pages of General De Wet’s account of the “Three Years’ War.” There, though the General complains of the hardships endured by women and children, he can offer no suggestion as to how these sufferings might have been averted. On May 16 General Botha is reported to have said:—

“Throughout this war the presence of the women has caused me anxiety and much distress. At first I managed to get them into the townships, but later on this became impossible because the English refused to receive them. I then conceived the idea of getting a few of our burghers to surrender and sending the women in with them.”

Appendix

On the 29th of May, General De Wet, speaking in favour of continuing the war, said :—

“I am asked what I mean to do with the women and children. That is a very difficult question to answer. We must have faith. I think also we might meet the emergency in this way. A part of the men should be told off to lay down their arms for the sake of the women, and then they could take the women with them to the English in the towns.”

Later, General Botha said :—

“When the war began we had plenty of provisions, and a commando could remain weeks in one spot without the local supply running out. Our families, too, were then well provided for. But now all is changed. One is only too thankful nowadays to know that our wives are under English protection. The question of our women folk is one of our greatest difficulties. What are we to do with them? One man answers that some of the burghers should surrender themselves to the English and take the women with them.”

It is gratifying to note how the horrible charges of barbarity, brought by persons ignorant of the real state of affairs in South Africa at the time of the war, are disposed of by this one sentence from the mouth of General Botha, “One is only too thankful nowadays to know that our wives are under English protection.” We owe General De Wet some gratitude for his book, bitter as it is, since he makes evident that a main reason for the surrender of May 31 was to ensure the safety of the women who were *not* in the concentration camps, and whom they feared could not be placed in those positions of security. It is plain that if the Boers could have charged the British Government with the protection of those women they would have held out for some time longer. In discussing the question of the destruction done, we have only again to turn to General De Wet’s history to discover how necessary was the burning of certain farms which, worked by Kaffirs under the direction of the women, were provision bases of the Boers; and how imperative too was the shooting of horses, since, to quote the General himself, the Boer is only half a man without his horse. Indeed, though De Wet complains of the methods of the British in carrying on the war, his own narration of his exploits—the wrecking of trains, the destruction of railways, the burnings of the veldt, and the stripping of prisoners—offers the “best explanation yet published of the necessity for the measures of which he complains.”

To return to General Botha. In reply to Mr. Chamberlain he wrote from Horrex’s Hotel, Norfolk Street, Strand, on the 12th of November, stating :—

“ . . . That there were some misunderstandings as to the reasons which led to the appeal to the world on behalf of their fellow-countrymen, which he wished

Appendix

to try to remove. In the first place, however, he sincerely shared Mr. Chamberlain's desire to avoid controversy, the more so as there were some assurances in the Colonial Secretary's recent speech—which he (General Botha) was privileged to hear—of a kind to gratify all who had the fortunes of his destitute fellow-countrymen at heart. He wished also to say that he and his colleagues welcomed Mr. Chamberlain's decision to visit South Africa, and his determination to see the condition of their country with his own eyes, and form a first-hand judgment on its needs."

Dealing then with the "misunderstandings" which he wished to remove, General Botha wrote:—

"We made no secret in accepting the Terms of Surrender that the compensation or assistance therein promised would be totally inadequate to enable the Burghers of the late Republics who remained in the field or were in the prisons and concentration camps to make a fair start in life again. On the contrary it was made clear by us that in the absence of further help from the British Government we would have at once to appeal to the charity of the civilised world for further help for the widows and orphans of our Burghers, and for those who had been rendered unfit for work by wounds or sickness during the war. . . .

"It was only from your speech of November 5th that we learnt that the grant was intended entirely for all who are destitute, or who cannot make a fresh start in life without help. We always understood that the £3,000,000 were to be given in partial compensation for war losses, and that that was also understood by Lord Milner is clear from his despatch of June 11th (published in Blue Book, Cd. 1163, page 141), in which he expresses his intention of distributing it *pro rata* to those who can prove losses through the war.

"It therefore appeared to us that the free grant made no general provision for widows, orphans, and the destitute except in so far as they could prove war losses, and we distinctly gathered from your remarks that you could do no more for them. Under these circumstances we issued our appeal. We were, I need not say, highly gratified to learn from your recent speech that the Government would undertake a fuller responsibility for those needing their help, and particularly for the information that if more money than has been voted should be needed, the loan would be increased accordingly. We feel sure that it will ultimately be found that the £3,000,000 already assigned will by no means suffice to meet what is required as a free gift. Meanwhile, the needs of the sufferers are pressing, and we are glad to think that the sums which, through the generosity of the public, we have been able to collect, will to some extent minister to them without any delay, while they will also supplement what is being done by the Government.

"In regard to the loan, the provision lately made and the promise that the amount would be augmented if necessary came as a great relief after the months of waiting and suspense, when we were continually being told of those who, from lack of timely assistance, were compelled to part with their property to meet the urgent wants of themselves and their families. Some further and more detailed information as to the terms and conditions under which loans will be obtainable would be gratefully welcomed by the people interested.

"With regard to your reference to the free grant of three millions as something 'without any precedent in the history of the world,' I wish to say nothing

Appendix

that can excite or prolong controversy. You must only allow me to remark that the whole circumstances are unprecedented; that the gift of £3,000,000 was one of the conditions upon which the burghers laid down their arms; and that our view is, that having taken the assets of our Governments, you may fairly be expected to meet their liabilities, not in part, but in full.

"In regard to the large sums of money alleged by you to remain unexpended in Europe out of sums remitted by the Transvaal to Europe during the war, I can only assure you that I have no knowledge of any such remittances, and should be surprised to find that any were made. There is no sum of money belonging to the late Government known to me over which I have any authority whatever. I can only say that should any such sums exist I personally should be very glad to see them devoted to the objects mentioned."

Passing to the subject of the concentration camps, General Botha said it was not his intention in the references he had made to them to suggest that they ought to be broken up before the people could be brought back to their farms. He proceeded:—

"We recognise that towards the close of the war improvements were introduced into them, in consequence of which the death-rate fell to an ordinary figure; but we do not know on what grounds you asserted that a death-rate of 21 per 1000 was lower than that which obtained before the war in normal conditions, and we are not prepared to agree that that was the case. My remark at Paris about the sufferings of the women and children had reference more particularly to those remaining outside the camps, who had their dwellings, with the furniture, food, and all that they contained, burnt or destroyed by British troops; their herds killed or removed, and themselves left destitute on the veldt. These were certainly sufferings, and they did carry great weight with us, among other reasons, in inducing us to surrender."

While admitting that the Government was making great efforts to carry on the work of education in the camps, General Botha said he could not help sharing with his colleagues many objections to the large orphanages which had been referred to. He also wished to point out with reference to the pecuniary and other assistance given to the Boers in their misfortunes by "foreign" sympathisers, that in cash and in kind they totalled a value more than a hundred-fold what Mr. Chamberlain had been led to suppose. On the subject of the desolation caused by the war, General Botha continued:—

"You are about to proceed to South Africa yourself, and if—as I have no reason to doubt will be the case—you get some of our own people to go over the country of the late Republics with you, you will be able to judge for yourself whether the description of the ruin and desolation as given by myself and others of us was—nay, I might almost say, if it could be—exaggerated. . . . If your allusion to 'one or other of the belligerents' is meant to suggest that the destruction of houses was practised by us you have been misinformed. My orders were definite that no houses should be destroyed; I know of only four cases where the orders were contravened, and in those instances every endeavour was made to trace the perpetrators, and where known they were promptly punished."

Appendix

General Botha further stated that he had no definite information relative to the increase in the selling value of the land, but the figures quoted showed to any one who knew the country before the war the fearful loss which had taken place in cattle, sheep, and horses. He concluded:—

“I regret to have to dwell on these points, and have done so only to remove misunderstandings as to the grounds for our appeal for aid. I do not doubt your desire to restore peace and the elements of prosperity to our unhappy country, and I would wish that we might so far as possible avoid controversy as to the past, and address ourselves entirely to the necessities of the present.”

To this letter Mr. Chamberlain replied, on the 15th of November, as follows:—

“I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th of November, in reply to my comments on statements contained in the ‘Appeal of the Boer Generals to the Civilised World,’ and in their speeches on the Continent.

“I appreciate the spirit of the last paragraph of your letter, and share the wish which you express therein, and in view of my approaching visit to South Africa I will not prolong the present correspondence.

“I trust that during my tour I may gain much valuable information which will assist his Majesty’s Government in their efforts to restore peace and prosperity to the countries which have suffered by the war.”

On the 18th of November, General Botha wrote the following answer:—

“I have to thank you for your letter of 15th instant, and wish only to say, in reply, that I cordially join in the hope that your visit to South Africa may be a step towards that restoration of peace and prosperity to our desolate country, which I am sure that it is your desire to promote.”

BRITAIN IN AFRICA



The above map shows the position of the three Powers mainly concerned with the future of South Africa. The total mileage of German territory is said to be about 931,460 miles; that of Portuguese territory about 790,240 miles. The British possessions include the following:—

	Sq. miles		Sq. miles
Basutoland	10,293	Rhodesia, North-Eastern	120,000
Bechuanaland	213,000	Somaliland	68,000
Cape Colony	221,311	Transvaal	119,139
Central African Protectorate	42,217	Swaziland	8,500
East Africa	1,000,000	Gold Coast	40,000
Zanzibar Protectorate	1,020	Lagos	28,910
Natal	29,200	Gambia	4,500
Nigeria	400,000	Sierra Leone	30,000
Orange River Colony	48,326		
Rhodesia, Southern	144,000		
		Total area	2,528,416

These figures are taken from *The Statesman's Year Book* for 1902. The areas of Barotseland, Adansi, and Ashanti are not included in the list, as the figures for these areas are not given.





DT Creswicke, Louis
930 South Africa and the
C7 Transvaal War
v.7-8

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

